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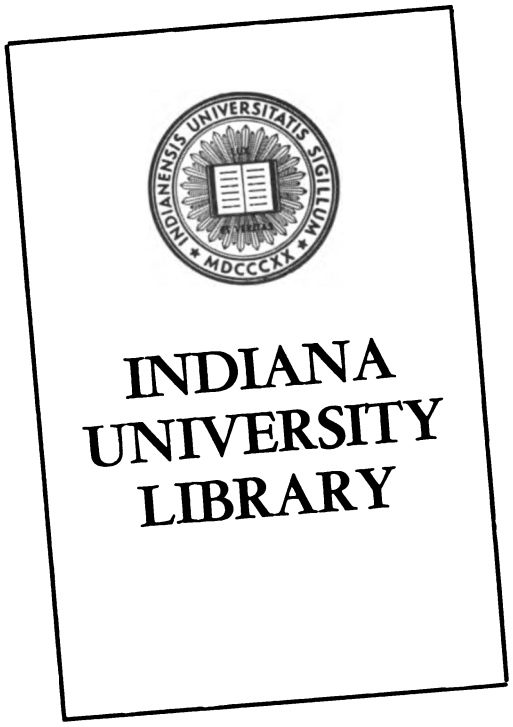


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# Classical Philology

VOLUME VIII *January, 1913* NUMBER 1

## SOME TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS IN SUETONIUS

BY JOHN C. ROLFE

### I. "Post biduum," *Jul.* 43, *Aug.* 10; "Biduo post," *Jul.* 16.

In Suetonius, *Jul.* 43.1, "diremit nuptias praetorii viri, qui digressam a marito *post biduum* statim duxerat," the phrase *post biduum* is generally translated "two days later." The enormity of the offense of the ex-praetor is, however, considerably emphasized if we take *post biduum* to mean "on the following day," and that this is the correct rendering is also suggested by *statim*.

Again in *Jul.* 16 we are told that after Caesar had supported the tribune Metellus in his revolutionary designs, he was deposed from his praetorship, while Metellus also lost his tribunate. The biographer continues: "multitudinem quoque *biduo post* sponte et ultro confluentem operamque sibi in adseranda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem [Caesar] conpescuit." Here *biduo post* is parallel in meaning with *post biduum*, and again the situation favors the meaning "on the following day"; for the mob was a hasty and spontaneous demonstration of devotion to Caesar (*sponte et ultro confluentem*), and as such was likely to have collected on the next day, rather than to delay its action until two days after Caesar's deposition; although here too the translators seem to be unanimous for the latter meaning.

In *Aug.* 10.4, speaking of the battles at Mutina, Suetonius says: "priore [proelio] Antonius fugisse eum [=Octavianum] scribit ac sine paludamento equoque *post biduum* demum apparuisse." Now it



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seems hardly probable that the future ruler of the world ran so fast and so far (or that Antony said he did), that he did not turn up until two days after the battle, although to be strictly impartial, *demum* perhaps favors this interpretation as much as *statim* does a different one in *Jul.* 43. But it is a sufficiently serious charge to make, and one on the whole more likely to be believed, that Octavian was not seen until he finally turned up, minus his horse and his general's cloak, on the following day, and I should be inclined so to translate the words *post biduum.*

In these passages, so far as I have been able to ascertain, we have only mere probability to support the view that *post biduum* and *biduo post* may sometimes mean "on the following day," and the lexicons seem to give no hint that such a meaning is possible. Yet this signification might be inferred from the peculiar usage of the Romans in expressing time relations, as well as a corresponding meaning for *biduo ante* and *ante biduum.* Everyone knows that while the day before the Kalends of any month was called *pridie Kalendas,* the preceding day was called, not *ante diem secundum* (or *alterum*), but *ante diem tertium.* The latter is obviously synonymous with *triduo ante,* and therefore *biduo ante* should be parallel with *pridie;* while the expressions *biduo post* and *post biduum* would naturally have a corresponding meaning. We may compare *nundinae* for a period of eight days, *decem menses* as the period of gestation, and similar indications of a method of reckoning time which differs from our own, although it has parallels in other modern languages.

Fortunately we are not confined to this argument from probability, or it would be futile to discuss the matter; for there are one or two passages in which these phrases surely have the meaning suggested, and a few others in which the likelihood of its correctness is very strong. In Caes. *B.G.* i. 47. 1, after we have been told in the preceding chapter of the treacherous and unprovoked attack which the German cavalry made on the Romans during the conference between Caesar and Ariovistus, we read: "*biduo post* Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos misit: velle se de his rebus quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent agere cum eo." Two lines farther on we find: "colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis quod *pridie eius diei* Germani retineri non potuerant quin *in nostros tela*

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*conicerent.*" Here the commentators and critics, although they differ in their renderings of the phrase, seem for the most part strangely oblivious of the contradiction between *biduo post*, if it be taken in the sense of "two days later," and *pridie eius diei.*

The latter is a very definite and unmistakable expression, meaning "the day before," and the reference can hardly be to anything other than the attack referred to in the preceding chapter; for if a second attack had been made on the Romans, it seems scarcely conceivable under the circumstances that Caesar should not have mentioned it, or at least have added the word *iterum* to his reference in chapter 47. It is significant too, if not in itself convincing, that he uses the same words, "tela in nostros conicere" (conicerent) in both references to the attack. The meaning "on the following day" is given to *biduo post* by Stock and Herzog in their editions of the *Gallic War* (and perhaps by some others), and I gave the words the same meaning independently in my own edition. So far as my examination goes, the greater number of the commentators do not translate or comment on *biduo post* at all, which justifies the inference that they take the phrase in the sense which it is generally assumed to have, and which is the only one given by the lexicons; nor do they refer to the contradiction which is then made by *pridie eius diei.*

Dr. T. Rice Holmes, in the second edition of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 64, translates *biduo post* "two days later," without comment. Napoleon, however, in his *Jules César*, II, 91, without giving any arguments to support his view, assumes a second attack of the Germans on Caesar's troops. He says: "celui-ci refusa, d'autant plus que, la veille, les Germains étaient encore venus lancer des traites sur les Romains." He is apparently followed by Stoffel, *La guerre de César et d'Arioviste*, 60, who speaks of Caesar as "instruit par l'acte de perfidie de la veille." Although supported by no evidence, and apparently by no argument, the assumption of a second attack is the only logical means of escape from the dilemma, if *biduo post* means "two days later"; yet, as has been said, it seems hardly conceivable that Caesar, who is endeavoring to emphasize the treachery of the enemy and the provocation to which he himself was submitted, should not have made at least a casual reference to a second attack, had it actually been made. Moreover, the Germans, at the time of

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this alleged attack, were encamped twenty-four miles away from Caesar's camp (*B.G.* 41. 5), since it was not until the next day (*eodem die*, 48. 1 = *eius diei*, 47. 2) that Ariovistus took up a position nearer to the Romans. The Germans, too, were acting strictly on the defensive, and running no risks, except when such an opportunity presented itself as they thought that they had during the conference, and might have had but for Caesar's foresight. It therefore seems certain that those are right who give *biduo post* in this passage the meaning "on the following day."

Another passage in which this meaning seems all but certain for *biduo post* is Livy 36. 40. 3, where Scipio is reported to have said: "se de Gallis Boiis postulare triumphum, quos acie vicerit, castris exuerit, quorum gentem *biduo post* pugnam totam acceperit in deditionem." In 36. 38. 7 we read of this same victory: "magnam tamen victoriam fuisse apparet, quod et castra capta sunt et Boii *post eam pugnam extemplo* dediderunt sese." Here *extemplo post pugnam* certainly suggests a surrender on the following day at latest, rather than one made two days after the victory.

There is happily at least one passage in which this meaning can be demonstrated mathematically for the corresponding phrase, *ante biduum*. This is Capitolinus, *Aur.* 27. 11, where we read of Marcus Aurelius: "*ante biduum* quam exspiraret admissis amicis dicitur ostendisse sententiam de filio eandem quam Philippus de Alexandro, cum de hoc male sentiret." Then in 28. 3 Capitolinus continues: "deinde abstinuit victu potuque mori cupiens auxitque morbum. *Sexta die* vocatis amicis . . . . dixit . . . . (6) et cum ab eo quaereretur cui filium commendaret, ille respondit 'Vobis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus'." Further on we read: "(8) *septimo die* gravatus est . . . . (9) sed nocte animam efflavit." Here there seems to be no doubt that the emperor died on the seventh day after he refused food and drink, and that he called in his friends and expressed his opinion of his son on the sixth day after making the same resolution. Therefore "ante biduum quam exspiraret" clearly means "the day before he died." Perhaps we should not exclude the possibility that the emperor's death occurred after midnight, in which case he might be said to have died on the eighth day of his illness, but this seems an unwarrantable supposition, and

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Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, VII, 476, puts his death, in accordance with the only natural interpretation of the words of Capitolinus, on "the seventh day of his illness."

A second passage in which the context suggests this meaning for *biduo ante* is Ulpian, *Dig.* 21. 1. 38. 11, "vendendi autem causa ornatum iumentum videri Caelius ait, non si *sub tempus venditionis*, hoc est *biduo ante venditionem* ornatum sit, sed si in ipsa venditione ornatum sit."

There are numerous other passages in which the meaning "on the following [or preceding] day" seems a natural one for *biduo post* or *biduo ante*, although no exact determination of their meaning is apparently possible; for example, Livy 31. 46. 16, "praesidium oppidanique in arcem alteram perfugere, unde *biduo post* deditio facta"; Livy 44. 18. 6, "senatus Cn. Servilio consuli negotium dedit, ut is in Macedoniam quos L. Aemilio videretur legaret. Legati *biduo post* profecti"; Livy 32. 27. 6; "Sextus Aelius consul ex Gallia comitiorum causa Romam cum redisset, creavit consules . . . . *biduo post* praetorum comitia habita"; Cic. *Pis.* 61, *ad Att.* 13. 43, *ad Fam.* 10. 14. 1, and numerous others. In those doubtful cases in which haste, or speedy action, is implied or called for by the context, the constant recurrence of *biduo* seems in itself suspicious, unless it means "on the following [or preceding] day," and in the light of the passages from Caesar and Capitolinus it seems necessary at least to consider the possibility of that meaning.

Passages in which *biduo post* surely means "two days later" are comparatively rare, it would seem. One such perhaps occurs in *Val. Max.* 1. 8. ext. 1, "quae minus admirabilia fere Eris Pamphyli casus facit, quem Plato scribit inter eos qui in acie ceciderant decem diebus iacuisse, *biduoque post* quam inde sublatus esset, impositum rogo revixisse." One would hardly expect the funeral of a man who had lain for ten days on the battle field to be long deferred, and arguing from probability alone, one might be inclined to suspect that here too *biduo post* means "on the day after." But the words of Plato, *Rep.* X. 614 B., seem to exclude this interpretation: *Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου· ὅς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων ὑγιὴς μὲν ἀνῃρέθη, κομισθεὶς δὲ οἴκαδε μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ*

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πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω. It seems evident that the funeral took place two days after the body was found, and Plato makes it clear why there was no haste (ὑγιὴς ἀνηρέθη). This is perhaps implied in the less circumstantial account of Valerius Maximus, although I must confess that before I compared Plato's account, I was inclined to take *biduo post* here also in the sense of "on the day after." This shows the uncertainty of arguments based on probability alone, and makes one thankful for the firm footing afforded by the passages from Caesar and Capitolinus, in which, by the way, we have evidence for the persistence of the meaning "on the following [preceding] day" for some centuries.

A peculiar use of the term *biduo post* occurs in Cicero, *Quinct.* 79: "bona postulas ut ex edicto possidere liceat. Quo die? . . . . Ante diem V Kalendas intercalaris. . . . . De saltu deicitur Quinctius quo die? . . . . Deicitur de saltu pridie Kalendas intercalaris. *Biduo post* aut, ut statim de iure aliquis cucurrerit, non toto triduo DCC milia passuum conficiuntur."

If *biduo post* here meant "on the following day," that is, the day following *ante diem V Kalendas intercalaris*, the reference would be to the fourth day before the Kalends, which is obviously impossible. *Pridie Kalendas* would be, according to our method of reckoning, the third day after the fifth before the Kalends, and according to the usual Roman method of reckoning, the fourth. Bearing in mind, however, that Cicero is trying, in the interests of his client, to make the time which elapsed between the *postulatio* and the *eiectio* appear as short as possible, and that he feels obliged to qualify *biduo post* by *non toto triduo*, we might fairly add this passage to the one from Valerius Maximus, and thus extend the use of *biduo post* in the sense of "two days later" over a considerable period. It is clear, however, that the most natural translation of *biduo post* in this passage is not "two days later," but "within two days thereafter"; in other words, this use of *biduo post* is not exactly parallel with those which we have been considering. We might therefore exclude this passage from consideration and class it with the ordinary uses of *biduo* in the sense of "within two days" or "for [during] two days"; see Caes. *B.G.* 5. 27. 8, "magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc affore *biduo*" (where Stock takes *biduo* to mean "on

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the following day"); Nepos, *Hann.* 6. 3, "*biduo* et duabus noctibus Hadrumetum pervenit;" Suet. *Calig.* 19. 2, "per hunc pontem ultro citroque commeavit *biduo* continenti." The passage from Valerius Maximus cannot be so readily disposed of, unless we may be allowed to say that "two days after" is not precisely the same thing as "on the second day thereafter," a statement which does not seem wholly unreasonable, and to take the words of Valerius in the former sense. Of the numerous passages which I have examined there are no others in which the meaning "on the following day" does not seem to be a possible one for *biduo post*, with corresponding meaning for *post biduum*, *biduo ante* and *ante biduum*.

There are two ways of interpreting this evidence. We may reject the passages from Cicero and Valerius Maximus, and maintain that *biduo post*, *post biduum*, *biduo ante*, and *ante biduum*, as concrete idiomatic (and perhaps more or less colloquial) expressions of time, always meant "on the following [preceding] day." They could be so used even in legal language, in which an effort is made to be exact and free from ambiguity, if our interpretation of the passage from Ulpian is correct. Or if this attempt to prove consistency on the part of the Romans in the use of exactly similar expressions be regarded as savoring of special pleading, we may say that these expressions sometimes meant "on the following [preceding] day," and sometimes "on the second day afterwards." In either case the former meaning should be recognized by the lexicons, and its possibility should be considered in all cases in which the time is not otherwise defined. It seems the more probable one in the three passages from Suetonius.

### II. De die, *Calig.* 37; *Domit.* 21.

In Suet. *Calig.* 37. 2 we read: "fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas. . . . . quibus discumbens *de die* inter choros ac symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret," and in *Domit.* 21, "lavabat *de die* prandebatque ad satietatem." In both of these passages *de die* has its usual meaning of "in the daytime" (see *PAPA*, XXXIV, lv ff.), but in both instances, as well as in numerous other passages, that translation without further qualification is obviously misleading. *Dies* may refer to the complete civil day, from midnight to the next midnight

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(Paul. *Dig.* 2. 12. 8, "more Romanorum dies a media nocte incipit et sequentis noctis media parte finitur"); to the day in distinction from night, from sunrise to sunset (Quint. 5. 8. 7, "sol est super terram, dies est"); and finally to the "working day," the *solidus dies* of Horace, *Odes*, 1. 1. 20.[1]

The second of these two meanings is certainly the most obvious, and it is probably the most usual, so that *dies* would naturally be taken in that sense when there is nothing in the context to suggest a different interpretation, and in English "in the daytime" would ordinarily be understood in that way. In the two passages from Suetonius, however, the reference is clearly to the *solidus dies*, more obviously perhaps in the second, since the practice of bathing only at night could hardly have been common enough to make Domitian's practice worthy of note, if he merely bathed "in the daytime," and not before the usual hour for the bath.

Bagge, *De elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Upsala, 1875, 70, referring to *Calig.* 37, but not citing the obvious parallel in *Domit.* 21, says: "de die=medio die. Ita Ruhnk. ad h. l. Ter. Ad. 5. 9. 7 (=965). Liv. 25. 23." It appears from this note that Bagge recognized that *de die* refers to the working day, but although *medio die* is in a very general way synonymous with *solido die*, it is misleading as an equivalent for it and for *de die*.

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the exact meaning of *solidus dies*, which is apparently not of very frequent occurrence, in spite of the fact that it is perhaps the only expression which designates the "working day," except the ambiguous *dies*. The commentators as a rule say that the *solidus dies* extended to the hour of the *cena*, citing Martial 4. 8. 6. But Martial's words are:

> In *quintam* varios extendit Roma labores;
> *Sexta* quies lassis, septima finis erit.
> Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palaestris;
> Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.[2]

[1] Sen. *Epist.* 83. 3, which is quoted by many editors of Horace as a parallel, may be seen not to be one, if the next sentence be added to the quotation: "hodiernus dies solidus est. Nemo ex illo quicquam mihi eripuit. Totus inter *stratum* lectionemque *divisus est*."

[2] Mau's interpretation in Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, 263, n. 6, seems the correct one.

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The editors of Horace express various views, saying that the *solidus dies* extended "to the end of the ninth hour," "to the middle of the afternoon," "to about three P.M.," etc., etc. Perhaps the greater number confine themselves to citing Sen. *Epist.* 83. 3, which is not particularly illuminating, as has been shown, but is perhaps the safest course, for there can be no doubt that *solidus dies* was, like most general temporal expressions of the kind, an elastic term, not to be defined exactly for all cases in terms of the clock. Its duration doubtless varied not a little according to individual habits and tastes. Some men probably worked steadily, or with a very brief intermission, until shortly before the hour of the *cena*, which all seem to agree in assigning to the ninth hour; while others allowed more time between the end of their *solidus dies* and the principal meal of the day for the siesta, which, as its derivation shows, came at the sixth hour, for exercise of some kind, and for the bath. Probably, too, the habits of the same individual varied somewhat according to the season of the year and other circumstances. That the *solidus dies* was the part of the day spent in actual work of some kind, and that it did not include the time devoted by some to the siesta, to exercise, and to the bath, is a priori probable, and is indicated by the fact that Horace's reference is probably to a man who broke into his *solidus dies* by "a long siesta at noon" (Page); cf., however, Orelli, *ad. l.*

As to the duration of the *solidus dies*, we see that even a *vir strenuus* like Philippus (Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 47) left the forum about an hour before dinner time ("octavam circiter horam"), in order to have time to return to his home on the Carinae without undue haste and perhaps to bathe or otherwise *curare corpus* before dining. It seems probable that the *solidus dies* must in all cases have ended somewhat before the ninth hour, to allow at least time enough to return home from the place of one's business or profession. For those who indulged in the siesta, exercise, and bathing it must have ended earlier still, and probably at the time mentioned by Martial; cf. Juvenal, 11. 204 f.: "iam nunc in balnea salva Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit Ad *sextam*." Here, of course, *solida* is used in its literal sense of "whole"; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4. 3. 36 "At nunc quae solidum diem terebat, Horarum via facta vix duarum"; Livy 1. 19. 6, "desuntque dies solido anno." A "working day"

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which ended at so early an hour is less surprising when we recall the well known fact that many Romans of all classes began their day's work before dawn; see for example, Suet. *Vesp.* 21.

The translation of *de die* in the sense of *solido die* is not easy, for "during the working day," although accurate, is rather clumsy. In the first of the passages from Suetonius the translators for the most part say simply "in the daytime," which has been shown to be misleading. Holland, however, has "in the very daytime," an indication that he felt the meaning of the phrase, although he is not so happy as usual in bringing out its exact force. In the second passage, although *de die* obviously has the same meaning as in the first, it is rendered "early," "by noon," and by Holland, less successfully even than in the former case, "by daytime." Since in both these passages the *dies solidus* may fairly be assumed to have its shortest duration, *de die* might be translated "in the forenoon," a sense which seems certain for the second passage and not improbable for the first. It also suits Plaut. *Asin.* 825, Catull. 47. 6, Livy 23. 8. 6, Curt. 8. 3, and Eutr. 7. 18.

We must distinguish from the above mentioned use of *de die* those cases in which the phrase, usually if not always in connection with *diem*, means "[day] after day." This use of *de* in the sense of "after" seems to be confined to verbs implying motion (literal or figurative, expressed or understood; see *PAPA*, XXXIV, lvi); for example, Livy 5. 48. 6, "diem de die prospectans"; Livy 25. 25. 4, "cum is diem de die differret." With this *in dies* is synonymous, and is used with verbs not implying motion; less frequently we have the singular *in diem*, and very rarely *ad diem:* XII Tab. ap. Gell. 20. 1. 45, "libras farris endo dies dato"; Caes. *B.G.* 3. 23. 7; Livy 22. 39. 13, "[Hannibal] in diem rapto vivit"; Cic. *Phil.* 2. 34. 87, "cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem bibere" (var. lect. *vivere;* here the singular is perhaps used for the sake of the word-play with *de die*, "in the daytime," i.e., "in broad daylight"); Treb. Poll. *Gallien.* 17. 4, "lavit ad diem septimo aestate vel sexto, hieme secundo vel tertio."

### III. De media nocte, *Calig.* 26.

In Suet. *Calig.* 26. 4, "inquietatus fremitu gratuita in circo loca *de media nocte* occupantium, omnis fustibus abegit," two things seem

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to be clear about the expression *de media nocte:* first, that the meaning of *de* is in general "at," not "after"; and secondly, that it is used with comparatively extensive periods of time, which are regarded as not yet completed; see *PAPA*, XXXIV, lvi. Bearing in mind these two points, we may translate the phrase "in the middle of the night." This is more accurate than "at midnight," and it enables us to exclude the possibility that *de* with the ablative ever means "from . . . . on," which is expressed by the ablative with *ab;* see *PAPA*, XXXIV, lvii.

It is rather surprising to find Blümner in *Die römischen Privatalterthümer*, Müller's *Handbuch*, IV, 2, 3d ed., 374, taking *de media nocte* as an actual division of the night, equivalent to "mediae noctis inclinatio." This makes it necessary to take *de* in the sense of "after," which it apparently never has in such a connection, and Dissen, whose *De partibus noctis et diei ex divisionibus veterum* Blümner cites, showed clearly enough that the *nine* divisions of Censorinus (*De Die Nat.* 24) and the *seven* of Macrobius (*Sat.* 1. 3. 12 ff.; the numbers are significant, although Dissen does not seem to note this) consist of general terms, which can no more be considered actual formal divisions of the night (like the four *vigiliae*, for example), than *solidus dies* can be regarded as a formal division of the day. Censorinus would have us believe that there was a period before midnight called "ad mediam noctem" and one after midnight called "de media nocte." But if these were in any sense actual divisions of the night, we should have to consider the possibility of using such expressions as "post de media nocte," "ante ad mediam noctem," and the like. Blümner avoids such a possibility by excluding prepositional phrases from his list, with the exception of "de media nocte," which he gives in parentheses as an alternative for "mediae noctis inclinatio." He also avoids the suspicious nine and seven by making eight divisions. Even so, it seems inconceivable that there should have been eight divisions of the kind which Blümner gives, in any real sense of the term; and even Dissen's four divisions, which he believed to correspond with the four *vigiliae* ("prima nox, nox concubia, media nox, and gallicinium") can hardly have been fixed and definite, or used with any consistency and regularity.

Whether or not we accept any or all of these divisions, it seems

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certain that *media nox* meant in the phrase *de media nocte*, not "midnight," but "the middle of the night;" in other words, that it did not designate a point of time, but a period of some duration, although its limits were not strictly defined either in hours or with reference to other divisions, real or assumed. We may note Juvenal 5. 54: "et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem."

The same thing is true of *de medio die*, and apparently *medius dies* as a rule designated an indefinite period before and after noon, while *meridies* was used to designate the point of time called midday. See Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2. 3. 9, "cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus, post meridiem in Academiam descendimus"; Horace, *Odes* 3. 28. 5. It is true that this distinction, convenient as it is, is not always observed, since examples like "aestivom diem si non diffinderem meo insiticio somno meridie, vivere non possem (Varro, *R.R.* 1. 2. 5) and the existence of the verb *meridio* (*meridior*) for taking a noonday nap (Catull. 32. 3; Suet. *Calig.* 38. 3) show that *meridies* was sometimes used of a period of some duration; that is, that it was synonymous in such cases with *medius dies*.

Censorinus tells us (24. 3) that the day was divided into four parts, corresponding to the watches of the night, of which two were called "ad meridiem" and "de meridie," and Blümner (373) seems to accept this division. The obvious disadvantage of prepositional phrases as actual divisions of time has already been spoken of, and the improbability of their existence indicated. While *ad meridiem* occurs in the sense of "until [up to] midday," I have looked in vain for an example of "de meridie" outside of the passage from Censorinus. When *meridies* designates a point of time, "de meridie" is a very doubtful expression, if not an impossible one; see *PAPA*, XXXIV, lvi. In other cases, if such exist, it must be synonymous with *de medio die* and mean "in the middle of the day."

If *media nox* and *medius dies* designate indefinite periods of some duration, all difficulty connected with the expressions *de medio die* and *de media nocte* disappears. The usage corresponds exactly with such expressions as *de tertia vigilia*, which surely means "in the third watch," and not "after the third watch," to correspond with the hypothetical "de meridie" and with "de media nocte" as a divison of the night; still less does it mean "about the third watch," as it

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is often mistranslated. Just as *de tertia vigilia* is a more or less indefinite expression, referring to any part of a period of approximately three hours, but varying with the time of year, so *de media nocte* refers to any part of an indefinite period in the vicinity of midnight. The former expression, however, is the less indefinite, since it always consisted of a fourth part of the period from sunset to sunrise, while the latter had no fixed duration, so far as we know. Hence *vigilia* (*prima, secunda*, etc.,) is a division of the night in the true sense of the word, while *de media nocte* is not.

*Media nocte* seems usually to be synonymous with *de media nocte;* that is, both expressions commonly mean "in the middle of the night," and not "at midnight"; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94. 4, "cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte [Atia] venisset"; *Claud.* 13. 1 "e plebe homo nocte media iuxta cubiculum eius [=Claudii] cum pugione deprehensus est." In the absence of a term corresponding with *meridies, media nox* perhaps sometimes referred to the point of time called midnight; Suet. *Nero*, 47. 3, "ad mediam fere noctem excitatus;" *Claud.* 2. 2, "togae virilis die circa mediam noctem sine sollemni officio lectica in Capitolium latus"; *Domit.* 16. 1, "circa mediam noctem est exterritus." This does not, however, appear to be very common, as is perhaps indicated by the occasional use of a more definite expression, for example in Juv. 7. 222, "mediae quod noctis *ab hora* Sedisti" and Varro, *Sat. Menip.* 269 Büch., "repente noctis circiter meridie." At any rate, cases in which the meaning "in the middle of the night" is absolutely excluded are not frequent, if they exist at all.

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# THE *AMPHITRUO* OF PLAUTUS

By Henry W. Prescott

In a recent article (*Götting. Nachricht.*, 1911, 254 ff.) Leo, following suggestions of Kakridis and elaborating hints of his own in the first edition of his *Plautinische Forschungen*, has set forth a theory that the *Amphitruo* is the result of a contamination of two Greek comedies; by this theory he explains seemingly uneven and inconsistent features of the dramatic structure. Wilamowitz, in the course of a study of Aristophanes' *Wasps* (*Sitzb. Berlin. Akad.*, 1911, 485–86), briefly demurred; weakness in details, according to Wilamowitz, may be explained by the condition of our text of Plautus, and the assumption that one of the two plays, in Leo's theory, treated the conception of Heracles (the other his birth) presupposes a drama which leads to no easily imagined dramatic issue. Wilamowitz' remarks were so brief and general, however, that Leo has been able, in the second edition of his *Forschungen* (p. 185, n. 2), to dismiss them with the rejoinder that the play in question might be brought to a conclusion by the appearance of Zeus, and that the details in the *Amphitruo* are not the disturbing element: it is the weakness in the dovetailing of the larger essential parts that supports his theory of contamination.

The study of contamination in Plautus is regarded with disapproval by a prominent English scholar (cf. Lindsay, *Burs. Jahresb.*, 130 [1906], 150), and one must admit that it seldom issues in inevitable conclusions; but the by-products of such study are of no little importance; by this means the features of Plautus' technique are set in sharp relief, and ultimately by comparative study of the plays, we may attain results of value to the history of Hellenistic comedy as a literary type. But, however pertinent and valuable the investigation may be, in the case of a mythological travesty it is attended by peculiar difficulties: every mythological travesty, in its original Greek form, was the result of contamination—a contamination of the myth (usually a literary treatment of the myth) with comic



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elements. The real weaknesses in the structure of the *Amphitruo* would be found in the single play which, in my view, was translated or adapted by Plautus; these weaknesses result inevitably so soon as the myth is dramatized, and may well be increased so soon as the dramatized myth is combined with the motives of a comedy of errors for the purposes of a mythological travesty. But to the real weaknesses Leo has added a structural defect which I hope to show is the product merely of his own imagination.

## I

The starting-point of Leo's theory is the fact that the presuppositions and the conclusion of the *Amphitruo* cannot be reconciled with the "long night" which is mentioned in the prologue (113), in the first scene (270–90), and in the parting of Alcmena and Juppiter (546–50). Amphitruo left Alcmena with child; at the opening of the play she is pregnant with a seven-months child by Juppiter; the play concludes with the birth of two sons. With this action the "long night" is incompatible; for the *νὺξ μακρά* is properly the wedding-night of the god, and to make it immediately precede the day of birth "ist ein Unding." It might, of course, be argued that these circumstances were so combined to satisfy the sense of humor of a far from refined audience—such an audience, for example, as found entertainment in the Greek original of Plautus' *Casina*. But Leo might respond that in the *Amphitruo* there is not the slightest indication of any grossly comic intention; the comic effects are produced by the motives of the comedy of errors; there is, to be sure, buffoonery like that of vss. 664–74, but there is no emphasis upon any comic element in the relation of the long night to Alcmena's condition. One might even suspect that this combination of events was from a tragic source, though, from a modern standpoint, it is difficult to imagine a tragic drama constructed on such lines.

It is quite impossible to restore any of the ancient tragedies on Alcmena and Amphitruo from the fragments of plays or from the references in ancient literature. That the long night was at times included in the tragic action is clear: so much may fairly be inferred from the well known passage of Ovid's *Tristia*, unless one regards the pertinent phrase as mere periphrasis for the hero's name:

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> omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit:
> haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet.
> . . . . . .
> quid Danaen Danaesque nurum matremque Lyaei
> Haemonaque et *noctes quae*[1] *coiere duas?* (ii. 381–82, 401–2).

If the vase-painting[2] regarded by archaeologists as suggested by a tragedy, and perhaps by Euripides' tragedy, is accepted as evidence, the appearance of Eos in the scene of Alcmena's rescue from Amphitruo by Zeus must point to early morning as the time of the action, and, as the action is the climax or catastrophe, the presence of Eos presupposes earlier action in the preceding night and, presumably, the long night. Finally, the Νὺξ Μακρά of the comic poet Plato may suggest that the tragic material which it parodied covered the long night. Even in Plautus' play the impressive dignity with which Juppiter dismisses the long night (546–50) perhaps comes, ultimately, from a tragic source. The *νὺξ μακρά* was primarily the night of generation and foreboded the strength of the heroic Heracles: Diod. iv. 9. 2; Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* x; Ovid, *Her.* ix. 9 (". . . . nox . . . . una non tanti ut tantus conciperere fuit"); Seneca, *Agam.* 824 ("sensit ortus, sensit occasus Herculem nasci: violentus ille nocte non una poterat creari"); *Herc.* 23 (where *ortus* is to be interpreted by *nasci* . . . . *creari* in the *Agamemnon*). Nor can there be any doubt, I think, that Leo's answer to Wilamowitz' objection (that the drama on the generation of Heracles "ist gar nicht zu Ende zu denken") is sufficient; the appearance of Zeus would bring about a solution of the difficulties and a dramatically impressive conclusion; indeed, the opening sentences of Apollodorus' account of the myth (*Bibl.* ii. 4. 8) would serve as a description of a good plot: *Ζεὺς διὰ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν μίαν τριπλασιάσας νύκτα ὅμοιος Ἀμφιτρύωνι γενόμενος Ἀλκμήνῃ συνηυνάσθη καὶ τὰ γενόμενα περὶ Τηλεβοῶν διηγήσατο. Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ παραγενόμενος ὡς οὐχ ἑώρα φιλοφρονουμένην πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν· εἰπούσης δὲ ὅτι τῇ προτεραίᾳ νυκτὶ παραγενόμενος αὐτῇ συγκεκοίμηται, μανθάνει παρὰ Τειρεσίου τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Διὸς συνουσίαν. . . . .*

[1] According to Owen's apparatus this is the reading of all the MSS (except L, which has *qui* for *quae*); but many modern editors since Heinsius accept the emendation *noctes cui coiere duae.*

[2] Cf. Engelmann *Beitr. zu Euripides* I, *Alcmene* (Berlin, 1882); Murray *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* XI, 225 ff., and Plate VI. Murray, however, thinks the vase shows kinship with the Apulian vases, and suggests the influence of later tragedy in southern Italy. In general cf. Roscher *Myth. Lexikon*, and *PWRE.*, *s.v.* "Alkmene."

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If the absence of Teiresias in an active rôle from Plautus' play (but cf. 1128, 1145) requires us to imagine another expounder and prophet, obviously Zeus himself would satisfy all the demands of the situation. The birth, then, in such a tragedy was probably foretold in connection with an explanation of the dilemma.

Nor is it difficult to imagine a second type of tragedy in which the birth is announced as an accomplished fact, with an account of the strangling of the serpents; to that extent the birth becomes part of the dramatic action. The splendid effect of the action of the *Amphitruo* 1052, at which point Amphitruo is struck down by a thunderbolt and discovered by Bromia in the midst of her excited announcement of the birth and the strangling of the serpents, can hardly have come from any but a tragic source; and the whole of the last three acts constitutes a unit of uninterrupted action, as Leo sees, and essentially tragic without any emphasis upon the motives of the comedy of errors. This unity is anticipated in the prologue-speech of Juppiter at the opening of the third act when he appears "ne hanc incohatam transigam comoediam" (868). In such a tragedy the long night of generation might well have been among the presuppositions stated in the prologue, but it will be observed that the action would require a visit from Zeus immediately preceding Amphitruo's return in order to provide the dramatic complications; such a night might conceivably be not the long night of generation but a night, long or short, of dalliance. In other words I should exactly reverse Wilamowitz' criticism of Leo: I find it easy "to think out to the end" a plot in which the night of conception is part of the action; I find it difficult to imagine the beginning of a plot that issues in the birth, unless that plot includes in the early part of the action a visit from Zeus by night; and once that condition is satisfied, I feel that there is some difficulty in introducing a night that is differentiated from the long night of the myth. It may be noted that the difficulties in the way of a serious dignified presentation of a tragedy in which the conception is presupposed, the long night as a night of dalliance introduced, and the birth reported as an accomplished fact at the end are difficulties that a tragic poet might at least alleviate by brief reference to the conception in the prologue and by minimizing the element of *voluptas* in the action; the

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impressiveness of *Amphitruo* 546–50 and of the action at 1052 is essentially tragic; one belongs to a plot involving the long night, the other to a plot of Heracles' birth; that they come from one and the same tragedy is, of course, not incontestable.

But whatever difficulties a tragic poet might have met in combining the long night with the plot of birth, no comic poet need have been troubled by the resulting complications. To any poet the possibilities arising from a combination of the long night with the birth must have made a strong appeal. The picturesque and the dramatic effects of the long night, the thunder-storm, the birth, and the strangling of the serpents, although one or two of them may be sufficient for any single drama, become tremendously effective when combined in one play; and at least in a comedy the complications which lead Leo to call the combination an "Unding" cannot be considered for a moment in comparison with the dramatic advantage offered by the combination, and illustrated even in Plautus by the conclusion of the first act and the action at 1052.

In brief I must deny that there is anything inevitable in Leo's ascribing to Plautus the merging of the long night with material that is alien to it. Any Greek poet—comic poet if you insist—would be more naturally tempted than Plautus (whose sensitiveness to dramatic effects is certainly not easily established) to make this combination. The myth supplies a long night of generation and a birth at a natural interval; but once the poet, tempted by dramatic possibilities, combines the two elements, an inevitable result follows: the normal limitation of dramatic action to twenty-four hours leaves the poet an option between (1) keeping the long night as a night of generation and making the birth a miraculous birth on the following day, and (2) changing the long night to a night of dalliance, and setting back the generation so that the birth may follow naturally on the morning after the long night. The second of these two alternatives was chosen by the poet of the Greek original of the *Amphitruo*.

## II

Although the starting-point of Leo's theory is far from inevitable, he seems to have made out a strong case in his analysis of ii. 1, and ii. 2, in their relation to i. 3—at least if the reader of the play conceives

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the scene-setting as Leo does. In his view these two scenes are essentially repetitions of each other: both take place before the house of Alcmena; in the first Amphitruo arrives with Sosia, scolding his slave, doubting the slave's story of Mercury's presence; at the end of the scene he enters the house to test the truth of Sosia's statements, accompanied by Sosia (Leo rejects 629–32 as a later addition); Alcmena appears and delivers her monody (633 ff.); in the following dialogue Amphitruo and Sosia are again present; they appear not to have heard the monody; Amphitruo makes no reference to the previous action; the scene seems to mark their first arrival at the house, duplicating ii. 1; the first scene continues the comedy of errors; the second has no organic connection with the comedy of errors.

Before offering a different explanation of the situation, I must express a mild dissent upon some details of Leo's contention. The monody of Alcmena in his view is unique: it is contrary to the usual practice that Amphitruo and Sosia should not hear this monody or refer to it in any way, or (as Leo neglects to say) that Alcmena should not at the end of her monody note the presence of the other two and, with or without a slight interval, accost them or be accosted by them. This failure to note their presence is the more noticeable defect; for otherwise the situation is not very different from *Bacch.* 385 ff. compared with 405 ff. or *Persa* 52 ff. compared with 81 ff.; and in *Bacch.* 169 ff. compared with 179 ff. Chrysalus delivers his monologue (to be sure, of a special type) and notes the presence of Pistoclerus (who, in my understanding of the action, left the stage at 169, and comes out of the house of Bacchis at 179) only at 182. I venture to suggest that the essential difference—the failure to note the arrival of Amphitruo and Sosia—is due to the fact that the passage is an emotional aria like that of Philolaches in the *Mostellaria*, and the prosaic announcement of the presence of Amphitruo and Sosia less appropriate; similarly Philolaches does not mention the presence of the two women till they have begun their conversation.

Again, Leo remarks (p. 256) that the monody of Alcmena cannot originally have stood before the dialogue that begins at 654; as he reconstructs the original (p. 257), after Juppiter's departure in 550 (Mercury left the stage at 543) Alcmena remained on the stage and expressed her grief at being so soon separated from her lover. In

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this way Leo suggests the intimate relation between i. 3 and ii. 2, and the interruption occasioned by ii. 1. This intimate relation I do not question, but what becomes of the dramatic effect of Juppiter's dignified dismissal of the long night in 546–50 (marking the end of a μέρος in Leo's own scheme of μέρη in *Der Monolog*, p. 61) if, instead of marking the end of a μέρος, it feebly issues into a pathetic monody followed without interval by a dialogue scene? Are there not obvious dramatic advantages in ending a μέρος with the dismissal of the long night by Juppiter, and in accentuating this climax by resuming after it the action of the comedy of errors in ii. 1, deferring to ii. 2 the transition to tragic action? And who is more likely to be sensitive to these niceties of dramatic technique? Plautus or his Greek original?

But, apart from these reservations, I should have to accept Leo's argument if I conceived the action of these two scenes as he does; and I might even strengthen his case by pointing out the repetition of *sequere hac* in 660 and 674 after the *sequere hac* of 628; apparently the case is obvious: we have two versions of Amphitruo's first arrival at home, clumsily juxtaposed in the process of contamination.

Unhappily Leo has misconceived the entire situation: in his view ii. 1 takes place before or in close proximity to the house of Alcmena; but he can hardly have noted significant phrases in ii. 1 which clearly indicate that the action takes place at a considerable distance from Alcmena's house. If the action occurs before Amphitruo's home what possible sense can be extracted from his threat in 583 ff.: "at te ego faciam hodie proinde ac meritus es, ut minus valeas et miser sis, *salvos domum si rediero: iam sequere sis?*" Obviously Amphitruo has not returned home and is not very near to it if he may say conditionally, "*salvos* domum si rediero"; there are some risks, imaginary but plausible, before he can reach home. And if Sosia is standing near the very house that he attempted to enter the night before, why in 603 does he say "prius multo ante aedis stabam quam *illo* adveneram"? Why not "*huc* adveneram"? In 613 why does Sosia say: "Sosiam servom tuom praeter me alterum, inquam, *adveniens* faciam ut offendas domi"? Why the conditional participle or temporal participle *adveniens* if he has already got within sight of the house? And has not 587 ("nunc *venis* etiam ultro inrisum dominum") the proper force only in case, after his misadventure at

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the house of Alcmena, Sosia has returned to the harbor and at the harbor, or between the harbor and the house, is now addressing Amphitruo in this scene? Finally if they are already at home what possible point is there in the clear contrasts of 562 and 593: "scelestissume, audes mihi praedicare id, *domi* te esse nunc qui *hic* ades (562); quo id, malum, pacto potest . . . . fieri, nunc uti tu<et> *hic* sis et *domi*" (593)? That they are near or at the harbor is clear from the verses 629–32, which Leo, in his misconception of the situation, has ejected from the text because they seem to suggest that Sosia is *sent back* to the ship; certainly they are difficult verses if the action occurs before the house of Alcmena; but if the speakers are at the ship already, the lines become absolutely pertinent, and Leo's "hier wird die Sachlage getrübt" (p. 255, n. i) turns out to be only a confession of his own unnecessary mystification.

In brief, the action is as follows: at 550 the long night is dismissed; the scene changes; we are at the harbor; Sosia has returned after his encounter with Mercury (cf. 460) and reported to Amphitruo; Amphitruo refuses to believe the story and abuses Sosia; Amphitruo is about to start for home, and orders Sosia to accompany him (551: "age i tu secundum," and Sosia's reply: "sequor, subsequor te"). But the two delay to indulge in abuse and attempted explanation until 628 when Amphitruo, making a new start, says: "sequere hac igitur me, nam mi istuc primum exquisito est opus." He must go home and look into the matter; but he wishes to take home the trophies, especially the *cistellula* (cf. 773) containing the *aurea patera* of the king, Pterela, whom he has conquered; so he says to Sosia (629): "sed vide ex navi ecferantur quae imperavi omnia." Sosia, however, has not forgotten his orders, and while he is stating this fact (630–31) a train of slaves appears bearing the baggage (cf. "duc hos intro," 854); Amphitruo, Sosia, and the slaves leave the harbor as Amphitruo remarks: "utinam di faxint infecta dicta re eveniant tua" (632). The scene now changes; we are again before the house of Alcmena; she appears and delivers her monody; in the course of it, or toward the end, the party that left the harbor at 632 appears before the house; without noticing the presence of Alcmena, Amphitruo expresses the belief that he will be welcomed by his wife (654 ff.); they stop at some distance from the door; Amphitruo

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urges Sosia on ("sequere hac," 660); Sosia sees Alcmena (664 ff.), who has already discovered them (660); but Amphitruo's eyes are turned in a different direction, and he does not discover her until she comes to meet him (675–76); and there is nothing in the consequent action that conflicts with the sketch that I have drawn; the *cistellula* and the slaves (854) have been accounted for in our description of ii.1. Nor need Leo any longer be surprised that ii. 2 contains no reference to the matter of ii. 1; the more important complications introduced in 683 by Alcmena's casual remark make the confusion in the Sosia-Mercury doublet of secondary interest as compared with the question, Who is Amphitruo's double?

I think any reader will see that this was the action intended by the poet; it solves at once all the difficulties that Leo has foisted upon the text. When Ussing[1] introduced the scene ii. 1 with the comment "nova scena non ante aedes Alcmenae agitur, sed prope naves," etc., he destroyed, without knowing it, Leo's theory of contamination. I am glad that I need not be held responsible for such a disposal of this ingenious if mistaken interpretation of one with whom every student of Plautus seldom disagrees, and then only with reluctance.

Leo will hardly expect a consideration of the details of his argument; he has admitted in his answer to Wilamowitz that it is not a matter of details but of "das Gefüge des Stückes." Nor, I hope, will anybody question my interpretation because this changing of scene is unique. Such change of scene is Aristophanic;[2] mythological travesty belongs to the Old Comedy and to the transition period from Old to New; this unique element is not to be questioned because of its isolation; it means simply that the *Amphitruo* is the most important document that we possess (with the *Persa*) for reconstructing the antecedents of the New Comedy of Hellenistic Athens.

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[1] Ussing marred his interpretation by rejecting vss. 629–31 on grounds that Langen (*Plautin. Studien*, 237) found to be invalid. Palmer says: "Amphitruo . . . . is on his way from the harbor to his home."

[2] It is at present immaterial how the change of scene was managed; but it should be noted that if the interpretation above is convincing and the scenes appeared in the Greek original, the question whether there was a change of background in the supposed changes of scene in the Old Comedy can hardly be considered in future without including the pertinent material in the *Amphitruo*.

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# PREFERRED AND AVOIDED COMBINATIONS OF THE ENCLITIC *QUE* IN CICERO

## CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO QUESTIONS OF ACCENT AND PROSE RHYTHM

By F. W. Shipley

In two papers published last year, "The Heroic Clausula in Cicero and Quintilian,"[1] and "The Treatment of Dactylic Words in the Rhythmic Prose of Cicero,"[2] I have stated briefly some of the statistical results of a study of the enclitic usage in Cicero. These two papers, though published before it, are in reality corollaries of certain portions of the present article, and had their beginning in clues furnished by Cicero's avoidance of certain combinations of the enclitic *que* as shown by the statistical table on p. 26. The study of this enclitic in Cicero's speeches was originally undertaken with a view to determining, by the evidence of prose, the accentuation for his day of combinations such as *eaque, multaque, luminaque;* but it was soon evident that not only this question but all aspects of his usage of the enclitics were so closely bound up with his style and his sense of rhythm that I was obliged to extend the scope of the investigation and to include statistics for all combinations of this enclitic.

The laws of rhythmic prose, on the one hand, throw considerable light upon the accentuation of enclitic combinations, and, conversely, the enclitics throw light upon several questions of Ciceronian rhythm. In fact, the enclitic *que* serves as an important clue in checking the results of investigators of rhythm, and particularly of those who adhere to the mechanical scansion of longs and shorts.

Itself a movable short syllable, with the power of shifting the accent upon the majority of the words to which it is appended, and of changing the quantity of the last syllable in the case of words ending in a short vowel and a consonant, it furnishes to an author desirous of producing certain effects a most convenient means for

[1] *Class. Phil.* VI, No. 4. [2] *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLI, 1911.



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accentual and quantitative variation. Thus the enclitic *que* added to a trochaic word converts it into a dactyl if it ends in a vowel, e.g., *multaque*, and into an antibacchius if it ends in a consonant, e.g., *multumque*. A pyrrhic word ending in a vowel becomes a tribrach, e.g., *eaque*, and if it ends in a consonant it becomes an amphibrach, e.g., *eumque*, etc. If the addition of the enclitic is likely to produce an awkward combination metrically or accentually, this effect may be avoided by selecting for the next word one which begins with a vowel, so that elision results. A high or a low rate of elision points to avoidance of, or preference for, certain forms. Elision is therefore an important factor which, so far as I know, has not been used in the study of the enclitic except by Harant in connection with the appending of the enclitic to words ending in short *e*.[1]

The evidence for Cicero's preference for, or avoidance of, the various possible combinations with the enclitic *que* is set forth in the statistical table. In this table the columns marked A give the percentage of occurrence of the various combinations with *que;* the columns in heavy type, marked B, give the percentage of elision cases, or rather of all cases where the following word begins with a vowel; and the column marked X (the figures in brackets in the list of totals) shows the relative frequency in the language of the types of words (or word endings) to which the enclitic is attached.

A comparison between these sets of figures yields some surprising results, and discloses some details in Cicero's usage of the enclitic *que* which had escaped the writers and revisers of the larger grammars, of such works as Krebs *Antibarbarus*, and the authors of various monographs on the enclitics. In some points they are in direct contradiction to the statements in these works. In others they furnish an explanation for phenomena which had been accounted for incorrectly.

To avoid complicating issues, the statistics are confined to the enclitic *que* in Cicero's orations (figures for the Letters, and for other authors are given incidentally in discussing the various combinations). For the sake of tracing chronological development they are based upon the following speeches or groups of speeches, amounting in compass to two-thirds of the total bulk of the orations: (1) *Pro*

[1] See p. 39.

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*Quinct.*, *Pro Rosc. Amerino* (81 and 80 B.C); (2) *Divinatio in Caecilium* and the *Verrines* (70 and 69); (3) *De Imperio Pompei* and *Pro Cluentio* (67); (4) the orations against Catiline (63); (5) *Pro Sestio* (57); (6) *Pro Plancio* and *Pro Milone* (54 and 52); (7) the *Philippics* (44–43). These speeches (Mueller's text) form the basis of the statistical table. But in dealing with the rarer combinations, which show evidence of avoidance, I have given the examples from all the orations so that the records for these may be complete. In the case of these rarer combinations I have also given the statistics for the letters to Atticus in order to compare the data for the orations with the less formal correspondence.

To facilitate comparison, the figures in the statistical table are reduced to a percentage basis. At the bottom of each column, however, I have given the total number of occurrences of the enclitic *que*.

In the left-hand margin of the table I have given the various types of words or word endings to which the enclitic is attached. The basis of classification is the metrical value of the last two (or three) syllables in the word. In final syllables ⏑ indicates a short vowel, ⏓ indicates syllables containing a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by a consonant which becomes long when the enclitic is added. For convenience of reference the types will be referred to by the number in the margin; thus: type 5 = ⏑ ⏓ *eo(que)*, *testimonium(que)*. In 1 and 7 (pyrrhic words ending in a vowel, and monosyllables) the type indicates words and not merely endings, for reasons which will appear later. The other five types indicate either whole words or (in the case of longer words) the word ending only.

In the rarer types (2, 3, 4), where the enclitic is added to a word ending in a short vowel, the figures in column B are a real criterion only in the column of totals, since the number of examples is too small to furnish a rational percentage system. Thus, a single example in any of the groups of speeches, if elided, would give 100 per cent of elision, and if unelided, 0 per cent. In the column of totals, however, the numbers are large enough to give reliable averages in the elision column.

All the figures in the table are gross figures. These reduce considerably in the rarer types by reason of questioned readings and by the elimination of those passages in which, as in the *Har. Resp.*,

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## TABLE I

| Types of Words (or of Word Endings) to which *que* is Attached* | I *Quinct., Rosc. Amer.* An. 81–80 | | II *Cascil., Verrines* An. 70–69 | | III *De Imp., Pro Cluent.* An. 67 | | IV *Cat.* An. 63 | | V *Sest.* An. 57 | | VI *Planc., Mil.* An. 54–52 | | VII *Philipp.* An. 44–43 | | Ratios Based on Totals of the Seven Groups | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | (Language) X | B |
| 1. ⏑ ⏑, e.g., ea(que), sine(que) | .7 | **100.** | .7 | **42.5** | .5 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2.4 | **25.** | .9 | ..... | 2.4 | **14.3** | 1.2 | [ 1.8] | **25.** |
| 2. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ iu]dicia(que), posita(que) | .7 | ..... | .1 | **100.** | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | .1 | **100.** | .2 | [ 2.7] | **40.** |
| 3. – ⏑ ⏑ crimina(que), cer]tamina(que) | 1.4 | **50.** | 1.1 | **27.2** | 1.1 | **50.** | ..... | ..... | .6 | **100.** | .9 | ..... | 1. | **33.3** | 1. | [ 2.3] | **34.8** |
| 4. – ⏑ multa(que), vi]denda(que) | 2.1 | **33.** | 1.8 | **66.6** | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1.8 | **100.** | .8 | **20.** | 1.3 | [ 8.5] | **57.1** |
| 5. ⏑ ≍ eo(que), testimon]ium(que) | 33.7 | **29.** | 40.4 | **29.5** | 44.6 | **30.4** | 48.7 | **19.** | 29.4 | **30.** | 34. | **18.4** | 45.4 | **28.** | 41. | [28.5] | **26.3** |
| 6. – ≍ vi]dendo(que) vi]dendum(que), etc. | 49.6 | **27.5** | 49.7 | **25.1** | 46.3 | **23.2** | 45.3 | **25.** | 54.6 | **12.3** | 44.4 | **23.** | 36.6 | **18.4** | 45. | [32.0] | **22.** |
| 7. ≍ monosyllables, etc., id(que), nos(que) | 11.5 | **50.** | 4.7 | **46.6** | 7.3 | **61.5** | 5.8 | **85.7** | 13.6 | **52.6** | 16.7 | **44.4** | 13. | **43.2** | 8.6 | [23.5] | **52.5** |
| Average ratio of elision | ..... | **31.6** | ..... | **29.** | ..... | **29.** | ..... | **26.** | ..... | **23.3** | ..... | **25.9** | ..... | **24.6** | ..... | ..... | **27.8** |
| Total occurrences of *que* | 139 | | 963 | | 177 | | 119 | | 163 | | 108 | | 565 | | 2,234 | | |

* Final ⏑ = final short vowel, which remains short when enclitic is added.
Final ≍ = final long vowel, or short vowel followed by consonant. This syllable is of course long when the enclitic is added.

EXPLANATION OF THE STATISTICAL TABLE

Columns marked A.—The figures in these columns indicate in percentages the ratios of the combinations indicated in the left-hand margin to the total number of occurrences of the enclitic *que* in each group of speeches.

Columns marked B.—(In heavy type.) The figures in these columns indicate the percentage of elision cases.

Column marked X.—(In brackets.) The figures in this column indicate in percentages the ratio of normal occurrences in the language of words (or word endings) with the metrical values given in the left-hand margin. These figures are based upon composite statistics for a considerable number of authors and include colloquial and legal Latin.

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Cicero is employing the diction of religious ritual, or, as in the case of the *Philippics*, he is making use of legal terminology in his resolutions in the Senate.[1]

Let us consider first the ratios in the three right-hand columns, in which A and B contain the figures for all the speeches, and X the figures for the language. If the enclitic were added, without preference or avoidance, to words of any metrical or accentual value, the figures in column A for each type should be the same as those in column X. A higher ratio in A should indicate a greater tendency to add the enclitic to words of the type, and a lower ratio a tendency to avoid the combination. It will be seen that in the case of two types (5 and 6) the figures of column A considerably exceed those of column X. On the other hand, in types 2, 3, 4, and 7 the case is reversed. In type 1 the figures are nearly the same. In other words, the figures would seem to show a preference for adding the enclitic to words like *criminis*, *animum*, *animā* (type 5), and to words, like *adiudicatam*, *famā*, *multum* (type 6), and, on the other hand, an avoidance of the enclitic with words like *iudicia* (type 2), *crimina* (type 3), *multa*, *iudicanda* (type 4), and with monosyllables (type 7). The evidence of the elision table furnishes a remarkable corroboration. The cases in which the enclitic is followed by a word beginning with a vowel form 27.8 per cent of the total number of occurrences. The types which rise above the average are: 2 (50 per cent), 3 (34 per cent), 4 (57 per cent) and 7 (52.5 per cent); falling below it are types 5 (26.3 per cent), 6 (22 per cent) and 1 (25 per cent). Here again we have aligned against each other types 2, 3, 4, and 7 on the one hand, and types 5, 6, and 1 on the other. With the exception of 1, the groups are still the same, and *the percentage of elision* (column B) *is consistently in inverse ratio to the percentage of occurrence* (column A). Both sets of figures consistently point to a preference for adding the enclitic to types 5 and 6, and an avoidance of it with types 2, 3, 4, and 7. These are the facts disclosed by the statistics in the table of totals (and also in the tables for each

[1] The greatest number of irregularities in the various classes of combinations occur in the *Philippics*. They are confined, however, to Cicero's resolutions in the Senate couched in the conventional legal phraseology, in which the enclitic *que* is the standard copula and its occurrence is therefore very frequent. For its frequency in legal diction and the relative infrequency of *et* see Elmer *Am. Jour. Phil.* VIII, 294.

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of the groups). It remains for us to consider the reason for Cicero's preference or avoidance. We shall discuss (I) the preferred combinations, types 5 and 6, in which the enclitic is added to words of more than one syllable, with a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a consonant in the final syllable; (II) the avoided combinations: (*a*) types 2, 3, 4, which end in a short vowel, with which will be discussed type 1, pyrrhic words ending in a short vowel, since this type was avoided in the earlier speeches, though cultivated in the later ones; and (*b*) type 7, the monosyllables.

I. *Types 5 and 6*, ⏑ ⏓ + *que*: *eumque, aditumque, conditoque;* – ⏓ + *que: videndoque, videndumque*, etc.—With regard to these two preferred combinations little need be said. In these types the final syllable of the first word forms with the enclitic a trochaic ending. The trochee is a favorite foot with Cicero, either alone or as part of the cretic – ⏑ –. Words ending in a trochee followed by a final word of the types *confectus, cognoscite*, constitute the favorite forms of two of his three most common clausulae, e.g., *morte vicerunt* and *lustrisque confectus* = 1 γ, *cessit audaciae* and *insolenti]amque cognoscite* = 2 γ. (The symbols here and elsewhere are those of Zielinski *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden.*) The language normally furnishes about 25.5 per cent of words with trochaic endings (8.5 per cent ending in a vowel, 17 per cent ending in a consonant), and the enclitic, added to words of types 5 and 6, makes it possible to add materially to the ratio of trochaic endings. It may be said in passing that, where *que* occurs in the clausula, the elision cases fall far below the 27.8 per cent which is the average for enclitic combinations. For example, in the *Pro Plancio* and *Pro Milone* taken together *que* occurs in 36 clausulae (either in periods or at the end of members). Of these 36 examples there are but three elision cases, or 8.5 per cent. The preference for types 5 and 6 is thus readily explained, and we may pass now to the types which were avoided.

II*a*. *Types 2, 3, 4 (avoided), and type 1 (first avoided and then cultivated).*—These types have in common the final short vowel. They will be considered separately, however, as two elements are here involved, namely, accent and quantity.

(1) *Type 4*, – ⏑ + *que; multaque, videndaque.*—The rarity of this combination is attested by low percentage of occurrence, 1.3

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per cent (the ratio for the language is 8.5 per cent in column X). Furthermore, while the average ratio of elision to the total number of occurrences of the enclitic is 27.8 per cent, in this class the percentage of elision rises to 57.1 per cent. In other words, even on the basis of gross figures, which are reduced by interpretation, the number of cases in which the addition of the enclitic to a trochaic word like *multa* forms a dactyl is but one-half of 1 per cent of the total number of occurrences of *que*.

These figures are surprising in view of the fact that, at least to my knowledge, no attention has been called to the rarity of the combination, and modern writers of Latin do not hesitate to use it. Before attempting an explanation of the figures, I shall first give all the examples from Cicero's orations. The elision cases are marked by an asterisk (*). "Cl." after an example indicates that it occurs in a period clausula.

1. *Quinct.* 32. In hoc summa iudicii *causaque* tota consistit.
2. *Quinct.* 47. Eo leviora *infirmioraque** existimo. Cl.
3. *Rosc. Am.* 90. Multi observandi *multaque* servanda sunt. Cl.
4. *Rosc. Com.* Natura *vitaque** est expressa.
5. *Tull.* 33. Pro portu *stationeque** utuntur.
6. *Div.* 71. *Nullaque** in hoc ipso iudicio expectatio futura sit.
7. *Act. Pr.* 8. *Profligataque** esse arbitrantur.
8. *Act. Pr.* 47. *Tantaque** eius vitia.
9. *Verr.* i. 48. *Tantaque** eius auctoritas.
10. *Verr.* i. 59. Per scelus ablata *ereptaque** essent.
11. *Verr.* ii. 7. Religiones . . . . omnium sacrorum fanorumque violatae, *simulacraque* deorum, quae, etc.
12. *Verr.* ii. 14. *Mandataque** acceperant.
13. *Verr.* ii. 53. Spectantibus omnibus evecta *exportataque** esse. Cl.
14. *Verr.* ii. 55. At vero urbem totam *templaque*† deorum.

†(The MSS vary between *templaque* and *templa*.)

15. *Verr.* ii. 88. *Multaque**, ut in primis Siculorum.
16. *Verr.* iii. 21. Composita *comparataque** essent.
17. *Verr.* iv. 82. Qui cum res maximas gesserit *monumentaque* suarum rerum gestarum cum maxime constituet.
18. *Verr.* iv. 122. Sacra *religiosaque** accepisset.
19. *Verr.* iv. 138. Cum a me auxilium communi omnium legationum consilio petebatur *causaque* totius provinciae ad me deferebatur.
20. *Verr.* iv. 1. Sacra *profanaque** omnia.
21. *Verr.* v. 34. *Votaque* pro imperio nuncupasset.

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22. *Verr.* v. 83. Ubi tot *tantaque** ornamenta.

23. *Verr.* v. 118. Cui ex omni gemitu *doloreque* certa merces comparabatur.

24. *Agr.* ii. 41. Alexandria *cunctaque** Aegyptus.

25. *Agr.* ii. 86. Suo iure *libertateque** utuntur.

26. *Har. Resp.* 37. Et video in haruspicum responsum haec esse subiuncta: sacra vetusta *occultaque* minus diligenter facta *pollutaque* (ritualistic diction).

27. *Har. Resp.* 57. *Multaque** in eo.

28. *Planc.* 98. *Confitearеque** aliquando.

29. *Mil.* 42. *Quantaque** et quam sollicita.

30. *Phil.* v. 46. Legio Martia, *quartaque*† summo studio . . . . (legal diction).

31. *Phil.* xi. 33. Summa ingenii indoles, *summaque* virtus † (summaque D, summa i). Cl.

32. *Phil.* xiii. 46. *Maioreque* deorum immortalium beneficio (maiore i).

33. *Phil.* xiv. 26. *Ipseque** in primis (legal diction).

34. *Phil.* xiv. 36. *Ipseque* C. Pansa consul (legal diction).

We have thus 34 examples of $- \breve{} +$*que* in all the speeches, with 21 elision cases, leaving 13 with the value of a dactyl. It will be noted also that of these 34 cases no less than 23 occur in the speeches delivered before 68 B.C., which form but one-third of the total bulk of the speeches. In other words, the usage is rare throughout, and was avoided by elision; but it becomes practically negligible in the last two-thirds of the speeches. Of the 11 examples which occur in the speeches delivered after 68 B.C., No. 31 is corrupt,[1] Nos. 26, 27 occur in a quotation from the *Har. Resp.* written in religious phraseology, and Nos. 30, 33, 34 are from the words of Cicero's resolutions in the Senate in which he uses the conventional legal parlance. If we eliminate these, as not representative of Cicero's normal oratorical diction, we have left in the speeches delivered after 68 B.C. but 5 examples, of which all but one (No. 32 *maioreque*, and here the MSS have a variant *maiore*) are elision cases. In the first third (estimated by pages) of his speeches we have 22 examples (No. 11 is omitted because of the uncertainty of the text), with 15 elision

[1] The manuscripts vary between *summaque* and *summa*. The laws of the clausula point to *summa*. See Zielinski *Clauselgesetz*, p. 215, and my own article on the "Heroic Clausula in Cicero and Quintilian," *Class. Phil.* VI, No. 4, where I have shown that Cicero never, except here, uses the combination $- \breve{} \breve{} - \times$ in the clausula except with a strong pause after the dactyl.

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cases; in the remaining two-thirds we have 5 examples, with 4 elision cases. The exception is again No. 32, with the variant already referred to. The increase in the elision cases and the decrease in the actual frequency point to a tendency to avoid the combination which in the later speeches amounts practically to elimination.

As we are here dealing with rhythmic prose, the avoidance must be due to one of two things—accent or quantitative value. If one accepts the statement of the late grammarians that the accent was *musáque donáque, multáque,* this combination would fit beautifully into metrical forms involving a resolution of the first long of the cretic or molossus of the base, a resolution of the last long of a molossus in the base, or a resolution of the long syllables in the cadence of any of the *S* forms.[1] The avoidance of the combination is for this reason sufficient ground for denying that it ever had the accentuation *multáque, donáque, simulacráque,* in Cicero's day at any rate. If, on the other hand, we dismiss the statement of the grammarians and assume that the accentuation was *múltaque, dónaque, simulácraque,* according to the regular penultima law, these combinations would differ in no way from any pure dactyl, ⏑ ⏑, of the type *cóndere, cárcere, crímina, ómnia, ómnibus.* This assumption is not valid, however, unless it can be shown that ⏑ ⏑ is avoided also in the case of words of the type *cóndere, crímina,* etc. In reality these words are not used with the dactylic values by Cicero in his orations.

Acting on the parallel suggested by the rarity of this enclitic combination, I made a special study of the dactylic words in several speeches of Cicero. My results for the *De Imperio Pompeii* have been published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* XLI, under the title, "The Treatment of Dactylic Words in the Rhythmic Prose of Cicero." In summary they were as follows: Cicero avoids in his speeches words with dactylic values ⏑ ⏑. In practically every case dactylic words, when not elided, or when the last syllable is not long by position, are followed by pauses, either pauses of ordinary punctuation, or those caused by phrasing or emphasis, so that the pause lends to the final short the *inane tempus* and the words thereby take on the value of cretics ⏑ ⏑ ⏓.

The great rarity of combinations of the type *videndaque, multaque*

[1] I use here Zielinski's terminology.

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is now explained. They are avoided because, inasmuch as the enclitic is for the most part a particle of continuation, they are rarely followed by punctuation or rhetorical pauses, and therefore rarely assume cretic values ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ as in the case of words like *condere*, *crimina*. The value of *multaque*, etc., is therefore ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, and the accent is *múltaque*, and not *multáque*.

The figures for the letters to Atticus, though in a less formal style, are almost parallel to those for the orations. Examples of the type *multaque*, *simulacraque* form 1.9 per cent of the *que* combinations, of which no less than 70 per cent are elided and therefore remain trochees instead of forming dactyls.

(2) *Type 3*, – ⏑ ⏑+*que*: *omniaque*, *ceteraque*, *criminaque*, *indulgentiaque*, *periculaque*.—The enclitic is but rarely added to a dactylic word ending in a vowel when the number of syllables is increased by its addition. The total number of examples in the speeches covered by my statistics is 23, or 1 per cent. The ratio of elision, 34.4 per cent, in column B of the totals, is lower than in the case of type 4, but, as will be seen later, the increase in the number of syllables by the addition of *que* could in many cases be avoided by synizesis or syncope. Words of this type form 2.3 per cent of the words of the language. The relative rarity of the type cannot be due to quantitative values, since – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ e.g., *accipere*, *iudicia*, occurs 242 times[1] in period clausulae, in a single type of resolution, viz., that of the first long of the cretic in the base (–] ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ –) in forms $1^1$, $2^1$, $\mathbf{2}^1$, etc. The reason for the rarity of the combination must lie in awkwardness of accentuation. But first let us consider the examples. Here again I include all the examples from the orations. Elision cases are marked with an asterisk (*). Period clausulae are indicated by "Cl."

1. *Rosc. Am.* 31. *Periculaque** impendeant omnia.
2. *Rosc. Am.* 91. *Omniaque* miscebant.
3. *Tull.* 8. Omnes leges *omniaque* iudicia, quae etc.
4. *Div.* 6. Cuius furta atque flagitia . . . . ante oculos omnium maxima *turpissimaque* nossemus.
5. *Verr.* i. 49. Quid ego adventus eius, prandia, cenas, equos, *muneraque* commemorem? Cl. (Asconius gives *munera*.)
6. *Verr.* i. 91. Vina *ceteraque* quae . . . . facillime comparantur.

[1] See Zielinski's tables in *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*.

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7. *Verr.* i. 103. *Criminaque** ea, quae.

8. *Verr.* i. 112. In quo omnis nostra diligentia *indulgentiaque* consumatur. Cl.

9. *Verr.* ii. 95. *Omniaque** habuisset aequora.

10. *Verr.* iii. 183. Tabulae publicae *periculaque* magistratuum committuntur.

11. *Verr.* iv. 4. Thespiadas . . . . *ceteraque* profana ex illo oppido signa.

12. *Verr.* iv. 72. *Omniaque*, quae ornamento urbi esse possent.

13. *Verr.* iv. 138. Cum . . . . mandata, legatos, litteras, *testimoniaque* sumpsissem.

14. *De Imp.* 4. Causam rei publicae *periculaque* rerum suarum.

15. *De Imp.* 40. Signa et tabulas *ceteraque** ornamenta.

16. *De dom.* 1. Commissa *creditaque** esse videantur.

17. *Har.* 40. Ne caedes *periculaque* creentur (citation from the *responsum*).

18. *Sest.* 17. Scelera *vulneraque** inusta rei p.

19. *Vat.* 6. *Omniaque** ea.

20. *Vat.* 13. *Omniaque* mea tela in sic te coniicientur.

21. *Planc.* 41. *Omniaque* potius permiscuerunt.

22. *Phil.* v. 37. *Galliaque*, quae semper praesidet.

23. *Phil.* x. 19. *Omniaque** ad eorum voluntatem.

24. *Phil.* x. 25. *Consuetudineque* rei p.

25. *Phil.* x. 26. *Omniaque** eius consilia.

26. *Phil.* xi. 30. Navis nautas pecuniam *ceteraque* quae . . . . pertineant.

We have in all 26 examples. These are reduced as follows: in No. 5 Asconius gives *munera*, which is no doubt correct, since the long series is more forceful with asyndeton. No. 17 is quoted from the *haruspicum responsum*, and is an example of legal phraseology. Nos. 24, 25, 26 are from Cicero's own *sententiae* expressed in the Senate, and are also examples of legal diction. This leaves 21 examples. Of these, 14 (with 4 elision cases) occur in the speeches delivered before the end of the year 67, and 7 (with 4 elision cases) in the speeches delivered after that date. There is therefore a marked decrease in the usage, with a considerable increase in elision, in the last half of the speeches. Both point to increased avoidance.

We have already said that the avoidance cannot be due to quantity, and must be ascribed to awkward accentuation. Let us first assume the accentuation *omnídque*, *ceterádque* on the evidence of the late grammarians. The value of these combinations would

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then be $- \smile \overset{\smile}{-} \smile$, a cretic with the last syllable resolved. Used in the clausula, the values would be $1^2$, $2^2$, $3^2$, etc. Now, when this form of base is used, Cicero is obliged to form his clausulae in the following fashion: *ésse vìdeátur*, *ésse vìdeámini*, etc. The resolved long is regularly formed by the first two syllables of a word, never by the last two. The reason is that under the ordinary accent law a short penultima cannot have the accent. But, according to the grammarians' evidence, we have here an accented penultima, so that combinations with this accentuation should be very common in clausulae of the types mentioned, and particularly in the last, $3^2$, where the typology of the normal clausula is $- \smile - \overset{\delta}{|} - \smile - \asymp$. But, in fact, this resolution is exceedingly rare. The 14 examples given by Zielinski all have the $\gamma$ caesura, and the $\delta$ caesura is not found at all. The rarity of *criminaque*, etc., is sufficent evidence that an accentuation so convenient for Cicero's clausulae, and particularly for the form $3^2$, did not exist in Cicero's time. Whatever the accent was, it was not *crimináque*, *ceteráque*. The avoidance is therefore unexplained.

What, then, was the accent? If we fall back upon the regular penultima law, the accent would be *turpissímaque*, *indulgentíaque*, *omníaque*. With this accent these combinations would fit beautifully into clausulae of the types $1^1$, $2^1$, $3^1$, etc., with the first long of the cretic resolved, e.g., $\overset{\smile}{-} \smile \smile - | \overset{\smile}{-} \smile$, *fácere conétur*. Even including the end of members, there are but three examples which could be assigned to this type on the hypothesis of this accentuation: *turpissimaque nossemus*, *testimoniaque sumpsissem*, $1^1\gamma$, and *indulgentiaque consumatur*, $S\ 2^1$. The examples are nearly as rare as on the other assumption.

We have seen that in combinations of the type *multaque* the phenomena can be explained only on the assumption that the accentuation was *múltaque*, and that the statements of the grammarians cannot apply to Cicero's time. Now, assuming the operation of the ordinary accent law, one can see the reason for the avoidance of a combination in which the accentuation would be *testimoníaque* as against *testimónia*. Such a shift of accent from the usual syllable to that which was ordinarily the weakest syllable in the word must

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have been felt as awkward, and this must be the reason for Cicero's avoidance.

The shift of accent can of course be avoided by elision. But, if we consider the types of the unelided examples, it will be seen that Cicero was probably avoiding the shift of accent in them as well. In the 13 unelided cases (omitting those which have been eliminated, as couched in legal diction) the words to which the enclitic is attached have the following endings:

*-ia*, 8 cases, omnia 5, Gallia, testimonia, indulgentia.
*-era*, 2 cases, cetera.
*-ula*, 2 cases, pericula.
*-ima*, 1 case, turpissima.

Twelve examples are in cases of words capable of synizesis or syncope; one only, *turpissima*, is incapable of contraction. Synizesis in words ending in *-ia* needs no comment; *periclum* beside *periculum* is attested by the evidence of both poetry and prose; and for the syncope of *-er-* in *ceteraque* we have the evidence of *altrinsecus* beside *alteri*.[1] It is significant that the unelided examples from speeches written after the year 67 all end in *-iaque*.

Cicero's usage may therefore be stated as follows: He avoids adding the enclitic *que* to words ending in a dactyl when the last syllable is formed by a short vowel, except where the shift of accent to the antepenult of the combination can be avoided either (1) by elision, or (2) by synizesis or syncope within the word to which it is appended.

REMARKS

1. That the avoidance of this combination is not a phenomenon of rhythmical prose is shown by the fact that there are only three examples in Cicero's letters to Atticus (7, 12, 2; 7, 25, 1; 9, 18, 3). They are confined to *omniaque*, and 2 of them are elision cases. In the philosophical and rhetorical works there are 12 unelided examples, as follows: *ceteraque* 8 cases; *Tusc. Disp.* 5. 100; *de Inv.* 11; *Top.* 52; *de Fat.* 33; *de Nat.* 3. 75; 1. 28; *de Senect.* 16; *de Or.* 1. 85; *litoraque collucent, de Nat.* 2. 99; *cognominaque Statoris, Leg.* 2. 28; *reliquaque praeclare, Fin.* 2. 106. One passage is corrupt, so that *litoraque* and *reliquaque* are the only examples, except the cases of *ceteraque*.

In the other writers of the time of the Republic the unelided examples are still more rare, if we omit the cases of *-iaque*. Caesar *B.G.* vii *reliquaque*

[1] Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 172.

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*quae* 19. 6; 81. 2; 84. (These three chapters of Book vii show other peculiarities which differentiate them from the diction of Books i–vi. See "The Seventh Book of Caesar's *Gallic War*," *Proceed. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1911.) *B.C., plurimaque proelia*, 1. 7; *singulaque latera* 1. 42. 1; *tabernaculaque constituta* 1. 80. 3; *proximaque respiciens* 2. 39. 2; *Auct. Bell. Afr., grandineque constituta*, 47. 6; *amplitudineque caesa* 40. 6; *oppidaque vexare* 25. 4; *notissimaque conciliavit*; Lentulus *Ad. Fam., ceteraque tot*, 12. 15. 4.[1]

2. A natural objection may be raised to my assumption of syncope and synizesis. If *omniaque, ceteraque* reduce to *omnyaque, cet(e)raque*, the result is the same as in the case of *multaque, videndaque*, namely a dactyl, which Cicero avoids. But an examination of the 12 examples in which synizesis or syncope is postulated will show that the context demands a pause in the following instances: in Nos. 6, 12, and 22 the enclitic combination is followed by a relative clause; *omniaque* is emphatic in Nos. 2, 3, 20, and 21; and in No. 13 *testimoniaque* ends a series of four nouns. The value of the final syllables is therefore not ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ but ⏑ ⏑ ⏓. The matter is discussed in "The Treatment of Dactylic Words in Cicero," already cited.

(3) *Type 2,* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ + *que: positaque, mariaque, iudiciaque*, etc.— The number of examples of this type is exceedingly small, two-tenths of 1 per cent in the statistical table, although words of the type *posita, maria*, etc., form 2.7 per cent of the words of the language. Elision cases form 40 per cent of the examples, but, as in type 3, the percentage of elision does not adequately represent the avoidance of the combination, since here also synizesis and syncope are operative. In the Latin introduction to a recent critical edition by an eminent German scholar I have found half as many examples of the combination on a single page as occur in the 1,700 pages of Cicero's orations. The writer was probably all unconscious of the fact that Cicero practically never uses the enclitic in this way.

I give below the 7 examples to be found in all of Cicero's orations.

1. *Rosc. Am.* 131. Cuius nutu et arbitrio caelum terra *mariaque* reguntur.
2. *Div.* 68. Leges *iudiciaque** administrentur. Cl.
3. *Verr.* ii. 73. *Operaque* daretur (quotation from a decree).
4. *Verr.* iii. 130. Post hominum memoriam *iudiciaque* de pecuniis repetundis constituta.
5. *Arch.* 5. *Studiaque** haec in Latio vehementius tum colebantur.
6. *Dom.* 38. *Auspiciaque* populi Romani.
7. *Phil.* vi. 6. Merita *beneficiaque** eorum (from a *mandatum senatus*).

[1] I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Schlueter for the data for much of the pre-Ciceronian literature.

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Of these, No. 1 is probably a religious formula,[1] and Nos. 3 and 7 are quotations from decrees. All three are examples of archaic religious or legal phraseology.[2] This leaves 4 examples in Cicero's own diction, of which 2 are elision cases, and the other 2, ending in *-ia*, may have avoided the increase in the number of syllables, and also the shift of accent, by synizesis. In view of this, positive evidence for the accentuation of such combinations is lacking.[3] The absence, in Cicero's own diction, of any examples in which the number of syllables is surely increased by the addition of the enclitic shows in a negative way a reluctance to shift the accent from the syllable which held the accent before the addition of the enclitic. This points to the operation of the penultima law rather than to the accentuation indicated by the grammarians, since Cicero was clearly avoiding an awkward accentuation, while, if it were the rule to accentuate the syllable which precedes the enclitic, no such awkwardness would in that case be felt.

That Cicero's avoidance of combinations of this type is not confined to the speeches is shown by the fact that not a single example occurs in the letters to Atticus, which are colloquial and, for the most part, non-rhythmical. In the philosophical works there is one example (which, however, has a variant *incolumem*), *incolumeque vellet, de Fin.* 4. 19. In all the prose writers of the republican period (exclusive of Cicero) there are but 4 unelided examples which do not have the ending *-iaque*. Cato *de Agr.* 141. 2, *pecuaque quae; ibid.* 2. 1, *operaque quae; Bell. Afr.* 47. 2, *opereque faciendo;* Plancus *ad Fam.* 12. 24. 1, *meritaque tua.*

(4) *Type 1,* ⏑ ⏑ + *que:* Combination with a pyrrhic word ending in a vowel: *eaque, meaque, suaque,* etc.—I have here omitted from consideration *itaque* (where it is often impossible to distinguish

[1] It is possible, however, that Cicero wrote *caelum terra maria*, with asyndeton, as in other passages in which the same words occur: *Tusc.* 5. 105, *caelum terras maria; de Nat.* i. 22, *caelum ignes terras parerent; ibid.* ii. 77, *caelum maria terras regnantur; ibid.* i. 100, *caelum terras maria . . . . vidissent.*

[2] In legal phraseology, in particular, *que* was commonly added to words of this type (see Elmer, *op. cit.*). The practice may date back to a time when initial accent was still operative, and may have continued with the tenacity of legal diction after the accent laws had changed.

[3] The evidence of the clausula does not help, since in it Cicero avoided words ending in four short syllables (Zielinski *Clauselgesetz*, p. 234).

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between the conjunction "accordingly" and *ita*+*que*), and *mihique*, *tibique*, *sibique* (where the second *i* is probably long).[1]

We have seen how, in the other types ending in a short vowel, Cicero's tendency toward avoidance grew in the later speeches, as is indicated by the decreasing ratio of occurrence and the increasing ratio of elision. With this combination the case is reversed. Rare at first, its frequency increases in the later speeches. In columns i–iv it occurs but nine times in 1,398 examples of the enclitic = 0.7 per cent of occurrence, with 43 per cent of elision. In columns v–vii it occurs 20 times in 936 examples = 2.1 per cent of occurrence (the percentage of occurrence in the language is 1.8), with only 15 per cent of elision cases.

The combinations of this type are: *eaque* 17 times, elisions 5; *utique* 5 times (in decrees only), no elisions; *suaque* twice, no elision; *meaque* twice, no elision; *viaque* once, no elision; *bonaque* once, with elision; *sineque* once, with elision.

*Utique* occurs only in the legal phraseology of Cicero's resolutions in the Senate in the *Philippics*, and all the other examples are sporadic except *eaque*. Cicero uses *eaque* with increasing frequency. Of the 17 examples 7 occur in the *Philippics*, of which but one is an elision case. Furthermore, while in the earlier speeches *eaque* occurs only at the beginning of a member, 4 of the 7 cases in the *Philippics* are in clausulae, 2 at the end of a period, and 2 at the end of a member.

These four clausulae furnish the only evidence for the accentuation, but it is conclusive. They are:

1. *Phil.* i. 3. Multa praetereo *eaque* praeclara. $1^1\gamma$.
2. *Phil.* i. 34. Multa ex me *eaque* saepissime. $2^1\gamma$.
3. *Phil.* ii. 73. Non multa *eaque* maculosa. $1^{12}\gamma$.
4. *Phil.* vii. 2. *Eaque* defendunt. $1^1\gamma$.

In all the accent is the same, *éaque*. In other words it is the penultima law that is operative and not the rule given by the late grammarians.

[1] The evidence of the clausula is in favor of *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*. See Borneeque *la prose métrique dans le correspondance de Ciceron*, p. 212, and Zielinski *Clauselgesets*, p. 183. The presumption is therefore in favor of *mihique*, *tibique*, *sibique*, although, since unelided cases in clausulae do not occur in my examples, positive evidence is lacking.

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Let us briefly recapitulate our conclusions in regard to the types ending in a short vowel.

*Cicero's usage.*—Cicero avoids adding the enclitic *que* to words ending in a short vowel (except pyrrhics) where the number of syllables would be increased by its addition. In the case of words ending in a tribrach or a dactyl the avoidance is due to reluctance to shift the accent from the usual syllable to the weakly accented syllable which follows it; in the case of trochaic words it is due to the tendency to avoid a dactyl except before a pause. The enclitic may be added, however, if the increase in the number of syllables can be avoided by elision, synizesis, or syncope.

*Accent.*—In spite of the statements of the grammarians, the evidence for Cicero's usage, negative in types 2, 3, and 4, positive in type 1, points to the penultima law as the only accent law operative,[1] except in passages couched in legal or ritualistic diction which may have preserved the older initial accent.

*The enclitic "que" and words ending in ĕ.*—Harant (*Revue de Phil.* 1880, 25) called attention to the rarity of this combination in classic prose, stating that there was not a single example in the orations of Cicero. His statement for Cicero was subsequently modified by Thomas,[2] and by Lebreton,[3] who cite the examples of ĕ given in the above lists. They are: Type 1, *sineque ferro*, *Div.* 64; type 3, *consuetudineque rei p.*, *Phil.* x, 25; type 4, *stationeque utuntur*, *Tull.* 33, *doloreque certa*, *Verr.* v. 118, *libertateque utuntur*, *Agr.* ii. 86, *confiteareque aliquando*, *Planc.* 98, *maioreque deorum*, *Phil.* xiii. 46, *ipseque in primis*, *ibid.* xiv. 26, *ipseque C. Pansa*, *ibid.* 36. It may be questioned whether the avoidance was due to the ĕ or simply to

[1] Similar results were reached by C. Wagener (*Neue phil. Rundschau* 1904, p. 505) for type 4 (*Músaque*) on the evidence of the usage of the epic poets. However, in the case of polysyllabic words with the accent on the antepenult (types 2 and 3) he assumes the accentuation *líminaquè*, on the evidence of *liminaque laurusque dei*, *Aen.* 3. 91. But all the examples of the lengthening of the *que* in these combinations are followed by a caesura, and are furthermore imitations of Homer. Besides, if this were the regular and normal accentuation, the rarity of the combinations in non-rhythmical prose would be hard to explain. It is very probable, however, that this was the accentuation in the few cases in which the combination is followed by a pause. See "Treatment of Dactylic Words," p. 153, where I have discussed the value of the final short before phrase and emphasis pauses.

[2] *Rev. de Phil.* 1884, 132.

[3] *La langue de Ciceron*, Paris, 1901, p. 415.

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the short vowel in the avoided types which we have been considering. In type 2 there are no examples of *ĕ*, but all the examples with final *ă* end either in *-ia* or *-era* and, where there is no elision, are subject to synizesis or syncope. In type 3 there is but one example of *ĕ*, but there is also but one example of *ă* which is not subject to elision, synizesis, or syncope. In type 4, which contains the largest number of examples, both of *ĕ* and *ă*, and where synizesis and syncope are not operative, the evidence of elision is interesting. The ratio of elision in the case of *ă* is 57 per cent; in the case of *ĕ* it is 42 per cent. It is true that in the language words of this type ending in *ĕ* occur more frequently than words ending in *ă*. But, if *posse* and *esse* be left out of consideration—since, granting the tendency to avoid adding the enclitic to trochaic words ending in a short vowel, *posse* is generally associated with an infinitive in a word group, and *esse* with a noun, adjective, or participle, to which the enclitic may be attached—the words in *ă* occur more frequently. In type 1 words in *ĕ* are rare.

II*b*. *Type* 7. *Monosyllables.*—What is the reason for the relatively low ratio of occurrence (8.6 per cent as compared with the ratio of frequency of monosyllables in the language, 23.5 per cent), and the high ratio of elision, 52 per cent? In Caesar *B.G.* i–vi the ratio of occurrence, 7.4 per cent, is even less, and the ratio of elision is much higher, 77 per cent. The explanation cannot be either of those given for the avoidance of the other combinations. This combination forms a trochee, which should class it with the preferred types 5 and 6, and there is here no awkwardness in the accentuation. Before attempting to answer this question I shall first give in Table II the figures for each word in the type (column A), with the number of elision cases (column B). In columns $A^1$ and $B^1$ the same figures are given in percentages for each of the parts of speech. These percentages are limited to the totals except where examples are sufficiently numerous to give an adequate percentage basis. The figures in column X express the ratio of words in each group to the average occurrence of these monosyllables in the language, after deducting those words to which, owing to their meaning, the enclitic could not possibly be appended: *vel, et, aut, nec.*

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TABLE II

MONOSYLLABLES

| | A | B | $A^1$ | X | $B^1$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total No. of Examples | Elisions | Col. A in Percentages | Monosyllables of This Type in Percentages | Col. B in Percentages |
| *Conjunctions—* | | | | | |
| quodque | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| cumque | 44 | 30 | .. | .. | 70. |
| | 48 | 31 | 25. | (25.) | 66. |
| *Relative pronouns—* | | | | | |
| quique | 6 | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| quaeque | 4 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| cuique | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| quasque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| quodque | 5 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 17 | 10 | 9. | (11.) | 59. |
| *Demonstrative pronouns—* | | | | | |
| isque | 4 | 0 | .. | .. | 0. |
| idque | 32 | 11 | .. | .. | 34. |
| | 36 | 11 | 19. | (7.) | 30. |
| *Personal pronouns—* | | | | | |
| tuque | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| meque | 9 | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| teque | 13 | 7 | .. | .. | .. |
| seque | 6 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| nosque | 10 | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 39 | 19 | 21. | (14.) | 48. |
| *Verbs—* | | | | | |
| datque | 1 | 1 | .5 | (11.) | 100. |
| *Prepositions—* | | | | | |
| inque | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| exque | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| cumque | 4 | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| deque | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. |
| proque | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 16 | 13 | 8.4 | (25.) | 81. |
| *Adverbs—* | | | | | |
| dumque | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| tumque | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| quamque | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| tamque | 14 | 6 | .. | .. | 43. |
| plusque | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 19 | 10 | 10. | (7.) | 53. |

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TABLE II—*Continued*

| | A | B | $A^1$ | X | $B^1$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total No. of Examples | Elisions | Col. A in Percentages | Monosyllables of This Type in Percentages | Col. B in Percentages |
| *Nouns*— | | | | | |
| iusque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| spemque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| duxque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| resque | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| remque | 4 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| disque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| vique | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| vimque | 1 | 0 | .. | .. | .. |
| | 13 | 3 | 7. | (3.) | 23. |

In the table the individual words to which *que* is added most frequently are *cum* (the conjunction), *id*, and *tam*. The ratio of elision is very high in the case of *cum*; it is relatively low in the case of *id*, 34 per cent, and *tam*, 43 per cent. If we consider the totals for the various parts of speech, the percentage figure in column $A^1$ is very much less than that in column X in the case of verbs—of which there is but one example and that elided, in spite of the very frequent occurrence of *est*, *sunt*, *sit*, *sint*—and in the case of prepositions, with 81 per cent of elisions. On the other hand, the figure in column $A^1$ is much higher than that in column X in the case of nouns and demonstrative pronouns. Here the ratio of elision is very low, 23 per cent and 30 per cent respectively.

What is the reason for Cicero's preference for some combinations and the avoidance of others? It seems to be this: the majority of the monosyllabic words occur in word groups in which the main group accent falls either (1) upon the following word, as is the case with the conjunctions (e.g., *quàe cum ita sint*), the prepositions (e.g., *in prímis*), and to a large degree with the relative pronouns, or (2) upon the word which precedes the monosyllable, as, for instance, is the case with the monosyllabic forms of *sum*. In the former case the monosyllable is treated as a proclitic, in the latter as an enclitic. On the other hand, some monosyllables may carry the main accent in their groups, e.g., the nouns, the demonstrative pronouns, or a

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demonstrative adverb such as *tam*. In the case of the personal pronouns the accent would vary according to the emphasis placed upon them. Now the addition of an unelided *que* to an unaccented monosyllable in a word group gives to the monosyllable an accent and tends to destroy the balance of the group. This is the principle of avoidance. The enclitic is not ordinarily added, without elision, to a monosyllable, unless the monosyllable has an accent of its own. This explains the rarity, or the high ratio of elision, in the case of the forms of *sum*, in the case of the prepositions, and of the relative pronouns;[1] it also explains the relative frequency of occurrence, or the low rate of elision, in the case of the nouns, the demonstrative pronouns, and of the adverb *tam*, which is frequently emphatic.

REMARKS ON THE MONOSYLLABLES

1. *The conjunctions.*—It is interesting to note that, of the conjunctions which most frequently introduce subordinate clauses, *cum*, *ut*, *quod*, the first should be the only one to which *que* is attached with any frequency, and here elision is the rule. These are four examples of *quodque*, but three of these occur in the legal diction of Cicero's motions in the Senate. Of *utque* there is no example. Draeger, *Hist. Syntax* II, 36, though noting the rarity of *utique*, does not mention *utque*. *Utique* occurs 5 times in the *Philippics*, in Cicero's resolutions in the Senate: 2. 25; 5. 53 (twice); 11. 30 (twice).

2. *The prepositions.*—In the statistical table *que* occurs with monosyllabic prepositions 16 times, with but three unelided examples. These three cases are repetitions of the same official formula: *exque re publica*. The 13 elided cases are interesting, since they furnish but a single type. The following word is invariably a demonstrative pronoun (*is*, *id*, 12 times, *hic*, once). The examples are:

*Inque* followed by eam rem, iis sacris, eo exercitu.
*Proque* followed by eo, iis rebus, hac . . . . diligentia.
*Exque* followed by eo.
*Cumque* followed by eis (twice), eis copiis, eorum exitio.
*Deque* followed by ea societate, eius exercitu.

Cicero's practice may be stated as follows: Except for the formula *exque re publica*, Cicero does not add the enclitic *que* to a monosyllabic preposition except before the demonstrative pronouns[2] *is* and *hic*. Here elision takes place and the number of syllables is not increased by the addition of the enclitic. That *que* is not avoided with dissyllabic prepositions such as *contrā*

[1] Elmer, *op. cit.*, p. 350, has pointed out that *que* is added to a relative pronoun only when the pronoun is repeated.

[2] Landgraf had noted that *que* is only added to *in* and *ex* when a demonstrative pronoun follows, and Mayhoff (*Archiv.* XIII, 196) that this was also the case for *cum*.

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## TABLE III

*Que* IN PERIOD CLAUSULAE IN *De Imp.*, *Cluent.*, *Sest.*, *Planc.*, *Mil.*, *Philippics*

| | NUMBER OF EXAMPLES | PERCENTAGE | PERCENTAGE IN EACH TYPE | LENGTH OF WORD TO WHICH ENCLITIC IS ATTACHED WITH NUMBER OF EXAMPLES IN EACH TYPE | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 1 Syll. | 2 Syll. | 3 Syll. | 4 Syll. | 5 Syll. | 6 Syll. |
| I | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 γ – ⏑ \| – – ⏓ suspicio]nesque moverunt | 45 | 42.5 | .... | 1 | 6 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 2 |
| $1^1$ γ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ \| – – ⏓ eaque defendunt | 1 | .9 | .... | . | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| $1^2$ γ – ⏑ \| ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ cur]suque veniamus | 16 | 15. | .... | 1 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| $1^3$ γ – ⏑ \| – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ vir]tusque contremuit | 2 | 1.8 | .... | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| | 64 | .... | 60. | | | | | | |
| II | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 γ – ⏑ \| – – ⏑ ⏓ discipli]namque praescribere | 24 | 22.6 | .... | 1 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 2 | .. |
| $2^1$ γ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ \| – – ⏑ ⏓ eaque saepissime | 1 | .9 | ... | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 2 tr ζ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ \| ⏓ flagitiosumque sit | 1 | .9 | .... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. |
| | 26 | .... | 24.5 | | | | | | |
| III | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 δ – ⏑ – \| – ⏑ – ⏓ maxime(que) oppidano | 5 | 4.7 | .... | .. | 2 | 3 | .. | .. | .. |
| 3 (3) ζ – ⏓ – ⏑⏑ ⏑ \| – ⏓ memor]es simus quamque grati | 7 | 6.6 | .... | 3 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. |
| *S* $3^4$ γζ – ⏑ \| ⏑ ⏑ – \| – – – auctorita] temque populi Romani | 1 | .9 | .... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. |
| | 13 | .... | 12.2 | | | | | | |
| Unclassified | 3 | .... | 2.8 | .. | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. |
| | 106 | | | 6 | 27 | 25 | 29 | 16 | 3 |

Elision cases, 7. For percentages see table on p. 46.
Number of examples of the enclitic in these speeches, 1,013.
Proportion of elision cases in the above, 26 per cent.
Proportion of enclitics occurring in period clausulae, 10.4 per cent.
Proportion of elision cases in period clausulae, 6.6 per cent.

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is probably due to the fact that, having two heavy syllables, a word like *contrā* was not subordinated in word groups, as was the case with the monosyllabic prepositions.

Of the 16 examples the preposition is repeated in 6 only. This does not square with the old rule that *que* is not added to a monosyllabic preposition unless the preposition is repeated. Repetition seems to have little to do with the matter so far as Cicero is concerned.

### THE ENCLITIC *que* IN CLAUSULAE

As the clausula is the most carefully constructed portion of the Ciceronian period, it will be of interest to see what use Cicero makes of the enclitic in that portion of the sentence. I have given in Table III, p. 44, the statistics for *que* in period clausulae in the *De Imperio*, *Pro Cluentio*, *Pro Sestio*, *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Milone*, and the *Philippics*. The symbols are those of Zielinski *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*. In clausulae I and II there is but one caesura, namely that which follows the enclitic. In clausula III, where there may be two caesurae, the Greek letter indicates that which follows the enclitic combination except in $S\ 3^4$.

In the 106 examples given above, two significant things stand out: (1) the fact that there are but 7 elision cases or 6.6 per cent, and (2) the fact that *que* is added but twice to a short vowel. In 97 of the 106 clausulae *que* is added to a long vowel, or to a vowel followed by a consonant, so that with the last syllable of the preceding word it forms a trochee. This trochee forms the first two syllables of the cretic base in $1\ \gamma$, $1^2\ \gamma$, $1^3\ \gamma$ (63 examples, 59.1 per cent), in $2\ \gamma$ (23 examples, 21.3 per cent), and in $S\ 3^4\ \gamma$ (1 example, 0.9 per cent); in the aggregate in 87 examples, or 82 per cent. It forms the first two syllables of the cretic in the cadence of II in one example, .9 per cent. It forms the first trochee in the ditrochaic cadence of III in 7 examples, 6.6 per cent. It also forms a trochee in two examples which I have not classified on account of their abnormal form. In base and cadence together it forms a trochee in 97 examples, or 91.5 per cent. With *ea* (the only case in which it is added to a short vowel) it forms a tribrach in *éaque defendunt*, $1^1\gamma$, *éaque saepissime*, $2^1\ \gamma$, with one example of each. Of the 7 elision cases 5 are of the type III, *maximeq(ue) oppidano*. The other two are *Phil.* vi. 6, *magnoq(ue) honori fore* II $\beta\epsilon$, and *Phil.* x. 21,

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*quam sibi armis animisque infestam.* This latter I have not classified, since, if elided, it gives 2 tr; if there is hiatus, which would be justified by the phrase pause after *armis animisque*, the type is $I^2$, Cicero's favorite clausula.

Arranged on the basis of Table I, the results are as follows:

| | A Frequency of Occurrence Expressed in Percentages | B Elision Cases Expressed in Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| Type 1, ⏑ ⏑ +*que* | 1.8 | 0 |
| Type 2, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ +*que* | 0 | 0 |
| Type 3, – ⏑ ⏑ +*que* | 0 | 0 |
| Type 4, – ⏑ +*que* | 0 | 0 |
| Type 5, ⏑ ⏓ +*que*<br>Type 6, – – +*que* | 92.6 | 6.6 |
| Type 7, ⏓ +*que* | 5.6 | 0 |
| | 100 | 6.6 |

The table bears out previous statements as to the avoidance of types 2, 3, 4, either for reasons of accent or quantity. In type 7 the monosyllables are *is* (2 examples), *id*, *quas*, *dux*, *quam*. *Is*, *id*, and *dux* belong to the few favored types of monosyllables, and *quam* may be reckoned with *tam* (see list of favored monosyllables). In type 1 the presence of *éaque*, with the value of a resolved trochee, shows that when both accent and quantity are favorable, Cicero does not hesitate to add *que* to a short vowel.

In discussing the avoided forms for all the speeches, I have given all the examples which occur in clausulae. I have not included in the above statistics the ends of phrases, but there the results are practically the same.

NOTE.—The relative rarity of elision in the case of *que* at the end of members and of periods would seem to indicate that elision was in general more frequent in the more rapid enunciation at the beginning of phrases and clauses, and less frequent in the more distinct enunciation which marks the end.

### THE ENCLITIC WITH WORDS OF 5 OR MORE SYLLABLES

It will be noted in Table III that, of the 106 examples which occur in clausulae, Cicero adds the enclitic *que* to words of 5 syllables 16

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times, and to words of 6 syllables 3 times, 19 examples in all, or 18.8 per cent. Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, II, 314, and Schmalz in Krebs *Antibarbarus*, 7th ed., make the statement that the enclitic is seldom added to words of 5 or more syllables. This statement does not apply to Cicero. The period clausula is, as I have said, the most carefully constructed portion of his period, and the large proportion of examples, and the entire absence of elision, show that Cicero cultivated the combination as giving a sonorous ending. These words of 5 or more syllables form but 6 per cent of Cicero's vocabulary in the orations, and the high rate of occurrence of *que* in combination with them in the clausula is an indication of distinct preference.

Thus far I have given the figures for the clausula only. Even in the body of the period the figures both for occurrence and for elision still show a preference. In the *Verrines* and the *Philippics*, for instance, to take two large groups representing his earlier and his later speeches, there are 1,428 examples of *que*. Of these 1,428 examples, 199 are added to words of 5 or more syllables, or 14 per cent. The percentage of elision is 24 per cent, which is much higher than in the clausula but less than the average ratio of elision for enclitic combinations, which is 27.8 per cent. Naturally the 5-syllable words predominate. But, of the 199 examples just mentioned, *que* is added to words of 6 syllables 34 times, and 10 times to words of 7 syllables.

In the present paper I have dealt only with the types of words and word endings to which *que* is added, and from the point of view of the bearing of Cicero's practice in this regard upon his sense of rhythm, and upon questions of accent. I have not attempted to treat of several questions, such as the relation of *que*, *at*, *ac*, and *atque*, which have been fully discussed by others.

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# ON CICERO TO BASILUS (*FAM.* VI. 15)

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill

In the sixth book of the letters of Cicero commonly designated as *Ad Familiares* stands one (no. 15) of unique brevity addressed merely to Basilus. Certain MSS of the poorer sort give the name as Basilius, which is doubtless erroneous, and can be readily explained by the frequent occurrence of the name Basilius (Βασίλειος) in later Roman-Byzantine history. The other corruptions of spelling (Basillus, Basillius, etc.) are of no importance for the present discussion. The complete text of the letter runs as follows: "Tibi gratulor, mihi gaudeo; te amo, tua tueor; a te amari, et quid agas quidque agatur certior fieri uolo."

The letter would appear on the face of it to be a brief and hasty, but hearty, expression of gratitude to Basilus for some effective service that he had rendered to Cicero personally. Yet this somewhat commonplace interpretation is far from being that put upon the letter by editors and translators, to say nothing of historians. It has appeared to these persons to be "an extraordinary little note" (Tyrrell and Purser), a "jubilant letter" (Abbott), a "burst of joyful congratulation" (Muirhead), a "note of almost hysterical exultation" (Shuckburgh), an "almost inarticulate shout of exultation" (Tyrrell and Purser), a "scream of triumph" (*id.*). These will serve as specimens—the most exuberant specimens—of the characterization it has undergone. And why has it been thus described? Not because of anything in the analysis of the letter itself (for none of these commentators have pointed out aught in the phraseology that would appear to furnish the basis for their understanding), but because they, in common with all other commentators, so far as I have observed, at least since the edition of Schütz (1812), assign this letter by conjecture to a certain date, and interpret it accordingly. It is universally believed to have been written by Cicero on the Ides of March of the year 44 B.C. to the Basilus who was numbered among the assassins of Caesar, and to



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have been written almost immediately after the murder, when the assassins had just taken refuge on the Capitol, and before Cicero had penetrated to them. The letter is undated; therefore it might as well be assigned to this date, where it would have an interesting significance, as to any other. Cicero expressed not infrequently after the event warm approbation of the act of the conspirators; therefore he must have been overjoyed on witnessing, perhaps with his own eyes, its consummation. The letter is brief, congratulatory, and friendly; it must therefore, when all is summed up, be "an almost inarticulate shout of exultation," "a scream of triumph," or the like "hysterical" utterance.

This might reasonably be deemed a somewhat topsy-turvy method of interpretation. It assumes as a starting-point that which ought to be a deduction (namely, the date and occasion of the letter), and thence proceeds to propound as a deduction that which is a pure assumption (namely, the tone of the letter). I venture to think that the writers I have quoted as specimens, and the others whom I have not quoted, have simply adopted the dating of the letter that has been traditional, and have allowed themselves totally to overlook the difficulties that view involves in historical and linguistic interpretation. As the letter in question has, under the false interpretation, contributed not slightly to the view currently formed of Cicero's attitude toward the murder of Caesar, it may be worth while to take the matter up anew.

That more than one Basilus was numbered among the contemporaries and possible acquaintances of Cicero is certain. It is not so easy a task to determine just how many there were. Evidence is too fragmentary. (I forbear many citations, as all are easily accessible in such works as the *Thesaurus*, De Vit's *Onomasticon*, Paully's *Realencyclopädie*, Drumann's *Geschichte Roms*, and like books.) But no other extant letter of Cicero is addressed to a Basilus. Only once, indeed, is a Basilus elsewhere referred to in the *Letters*.[1] That is in *Att.* xi, 5, written from Brundisium in November, 48, when Cicero had just returned in great dejection and anxiety to Italy after the disaster at Pharsalus: "Ego propter incredibilem et animi et

[1] The topographical reference to a *bustum Basili*, or *Basilii* (*Att.* vii. 9. 1), may, of course, be disregarded.

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corporis molestiam conficere pluris litteras non potui; iis tantum rescripsi a quibus acceperam. Tu uelim et Basilo et quibus praeterea uidebitur, etiam Seruilio, conscribas, ut tibi uidebitur, meo nomine." The conjunction in this connection with Servilius, who was then consul as Caesar's colleague, indicates that Basilus also was a friend of Caesar, and from their good offices with the all-powerful victor Cicero hoped for some assurance of security in his presumably dangerous status. This would conduce toward an identification of the Basilus of *Att.* xi. 5 with the L. Minucius Basilus who had been an officer of Caesar in both the Gallic and the Civil wars (Caes. *B. G.* vi. 29 f.; vii. 90; Luc. iv. 416) and was made praetor by him for the year 45, but in the following year, much to his own chagrin, was left without public employment, and therefore (so says Dio) was easily led to join the conspiracy against Caesar. That he was actively engaged with the others in the actual murder seems a fair inference from the account of the conspiracy by Appian, and is later on definitely stated by him as well as by Nicolaus Damascenus. Additional authorities need not be cited. Whether this Basilus is the one sneeringly referred to by Cicero in the *Philippics* (II. 107) as an associate of Antony cannot be determined, but it appears to me likely. If it be so, Basilus must have made a lightning change of his political associates within a brief time after Caesar's death, an even swifter change than he had made a few months before, when from being a follower of Caesar he became one of his murderers. It may be remarked incidentally that the reference to Basilus in the *Philippics* is quite reconcilable with that in the *Offices* (iii. 74) on the theory that the same person is referred to in both places. The uncle Basilus who left his name to his sister's son, according to the reference in the *Offices*, was dead while Crassus and Hortensius yet lived, therefore years before the death of Caesar. He is not elsewhere referred to, and there is no indication that Cicero had any especial acquaintance with him.

We are accordingly left with the probability that of this immediate period only two men named Basilus, an uncle and his adopted nephew, are referred to in the writings that have come down to us. The nephew certainly must have been within the range of Cicero's acquaintance; the uncle may have been. There may also have

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been other men of that name known to him, but at least no mention of them falls within the chronological range of our present question (e.g., Cic. *Cluent.* 107). The reference in *Att.* xi. 5 could not possibly be to the uncle, who was long before dead. It might very well be to the nephew. There is, therefore, some reason, though no certainty, in supposing that the brief note under discussion was written by Cicero to the particular Basilus with whom we know him to have been acquainted, and at one time in some degree of correspondence, rather than in imagining it written to any other. So much must certainly be conceded. (The hostility to Basilus displayed in the single references in *Philippics* and almost contemporaneous *Offices* is readily explained by his presumed forsaking of the cause of the *liberatores* for that of Antony.)

The full text of the letter is given above. It may be translated as follows: "My congratulations! I am delighted! Grateful appreciation and assurances of service! Pray keep me informed (with your regards) of how you are and what is doing."

That the main point of the letter is the expression of gratitude for some service rendered Cicero personally would seem to be assured both by the expression *mihi gaudeo* and especially by *te amo*. That such expressions with *amo*, or its equivalent *amamus*, have precisely this force in colloquial style is a commonplace of knowledge. A considerable number of conclusive citations are given under the proper rubric in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (i. 1957. 33 ff.). Others might readily be added to these; for example, *Fam.* xiv. 2. 2, "Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum" (Piso, Cicero's son-in-law, was especially serviceable in Cicero's interest at this period of his exile); *Att.* iv. 1. 8, "Quintum fratrem insigni pietate, uirtute, fide praeditum sic amo ut debeo" (Quintus had recently done much for his brother). Nor is this understanding of the main purpose of the letter at all interfered with by the words *tibi gratulor*, with which it begins. Differences of polite epistolary form among different nations often enough exist. We, for example, are more likely nowadays in concluding a letter to express our own continued regard for our correspondent than to exhort him (or her) to affection for us. The Romans were more likely to do the latter, as Cicero does in this letter and in a hundred others. A similar difference of

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usage explains the words *tibi gratulor* with which Cicero begins his letter to Basilus. The expression of thanks alone, and not congratulations, would seem to us the proper recognition of effective service rendered us by another. The Romans apparently had no such scrupulous feeling. The success of the intervention ought to be recognized, to their minds, by congratulations to the active agent, and this as well from the person immediately benefited as from others. So Cicero on his return from exile makes haste to extend to Atticus his congratulations on the success that had attended the efforts of Atticus in his behalf (*Att.* iv. 1. 1, "Cum primum Romam ueni fuitque cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putaui quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer: cognoram enim . . . te . . . plurimum operae, studii, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse"). Of course plenty of other citations to similar purport might be given. Any good-sized Latin dictionary will supply them (Lewis and Short, Merguet's *Handlexikon zu Cicero*, later the *Thesaurus*). And it is possible that we ought to use some other word than "congratulate" to translate *gratulari* by under such circumstances. But that is unnecessary for my purpose.

Of *tua tueor* little need be said except that it appears from the frequent use of it and similar phrases with *tueri* in other places in the *Letters* to imply a general attitude of mind and purpose rather than necessarily an immediate and strenuous activity in any specific matter or matters. It may even be as politely formal as our traditional subscription, "Ever yours to command." At any rate there is nothing in the phrase to indicate that Basilus at this moment had some threatened interests which Cicero was actively defending, or even vigilantly guarding.

The phrases *quid agas quidque agatur* would not appear to need especial care in elucidation, had they not been misinterpreted in this place. *Quid agis* is well known as a common expression of informal greeting, like our "How are you" (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 9. 4). Also like our "How are you" it seems to be strictly an inquiry after the health of the person addressed, as is also our nearly identical "How do you do." Cicero so uses it in a number of places in the *Letters;* cf., for example, *Att.* xiii. 13. 2, "Attica mea, obsecro te,

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quid agit? quae me ualde angit" (Attica had been down with fever); similarly *Att.* xiii. 15; xiii. 17; xiv. 6. 2. The phrase certainly has nothing to do with activity in any other sense; *quid agas* is merely "how you are." Nor has *quid agatur* any suggestion of important events in progress. It is as commonplace as *quid agas*—a mere ordinary inquiry after the news of the day. Cicero, to be sure, in *Att.* xi. 4 distinguishes between *quae accidunt* and *quae aguntur* ("Meas litteras quod requiris, impedior inopia rerum, quas nullas habeo litteris dignas, quippe cui nec quae accidunt nec quae aguntur ullo modo probentur"), but this is with a certain whimsicality rather than with the serious recognition of a necessary distinction. The collocation of the two verb-forms in *quid agas quidque agatur* appears to be suggested by the echo, and the combined phrase is apparently traditional. Cicero, for example, concludes a letter to Atticus (xiv. 6) with precisely the same formula, "et tu [*sc.* scribe] quid agas quidque agatur" (Atticus had recently been ill).

The letter to Basilus, therefore, must be judged to be a brief message in grateful acknowledgment of some act of kindness accomplished by him for Cicero personally, concluding with merely customary expressions of friendly interest.

But when was it written? External circumstances must here be taken into account. Whatever belief we may hold concerning the date and manner of the compilation of the books of letters *Ad Familiares*, it would seem unlikely that the editor would include in them such a single and uniquely brief note to a man as little known as Basilus, unless it had, at least in the editor's opinion, an element of interest in connection with some especial event in Cicero's life, or with some other letter in the collection. The posthumous fame of Basilus appears to be summed up in the fact that he was one of Caesar's assassins who himself not long thereafter met a violent death at the hands of his own slaves. If we owe the present selection and arrangement of the letters *Ad Familiares* to an editor far removed in time from the Ciceronian age, the connection of Basilus with the murder of Caesar would most likely be the suggestive cause for the inclusion of this letter, and in all frankness I must acknowledge that I think it probable (assuming this time and manner of the compilation) that the editor would believe the letter to refer to the death of

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Caesar. But it does not follow, I hasten to say, that he would be right, or even that he would have more material on which to base a judgment than is accessible to us. Indeed, unless he were a man of great talent (and the existing compilation does not indicate that), he would in all probability be less critical than we are, or may be.

What are, then, the difficulties in the way of assigning the letter to the fateful Ides of March in 44? As regards Basilus himself, he certainly was not a leader in the conspiracy. Why should Cicero write to him and not to one of the actual leaders, especially as these leaders were among Cicero's most intimate friends, and we have nothing to indicate that at this time Cicero and Basilus were on especially intimate terms? Or if he wrote letters to all, or to several, what editor or what chance could be so preposterous as to preserve to us this note addressed to one of the least of the company, and none of the other messages? What I have set forth above has, I trust, sufficiently established the meaning of the letter in itself. It does not fit this occasion in the slightest degree. Is it likely, for example, that, if the letter were sent to Basilus on that eventful day, Cicero would speak of the assassination as merely a personal favor to himself; would say *tibi*, *te*, *tua*, and not once *uobis*, *uos*, *uostra;* would conclude with a commonplace inquiry after his correspondent's health, and after the news in general, instead of the news on that particular spot? Cicero's favorite and oft-repeated plea for the assassins during the days and months that followed was that they had rightly killed a tyrant and restored liberty to the commonwealth; that is said to have been the gist of the first triumphant outcry to him by M. Brutus himself as the tumultuous rout swept by him a moment after Caesar fell (*Phil.* ii. 28); yet there is not a whisper of such a perfectly natural and obvious ground for joy and congratulation in the letter. Nor is it possible that Cicero was here writing "in enigmas," or with reserve, for he did not for a moment hesitate to cast in his lot openly with the conspirators. It is indeed also very difficult to believe that such a brief note, written under the assumed circumstances of agitation, would have been preserved at all, by either writer or recipient. The general difficulty is yet greater if we endeavor to suppose that the letter was not written on the Ides of March, but within the next few days. But this need hardly be argued.

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In short, not one thing speaks for the assignment of this letter to the Ides of March, 44, except the fact that this little-known Basilus is best known merely as one of Caesar's assassins. The certain thing evidently is that, whenever the letter was written, it is impossible that it could have been written on the Ides of March, 44, and it has nothing to do with Caesar's death: nor is it necessary to the completeness of the argument to establish a satisfactory alternative date and occasion for the letter. That might properly enough be left as indeterminable.

It is possible, however, to push the inquiry into the date and occasion of the letter yet further, and to that I now proceed. Of course the letter could not date from the time when Basilus had deserted the *liberatores* for Antony. We must look for its occasion to the period before the death of Caesar. It is conceivable that it had for its cause an occurrence now utterly unknown and untraceable. But in this case we must suppose that Tiro, as the original compiler of copies of Cicero's miscellaneous correspondence, included such other letters to Basilus or others as would explain the mystery to us, if we had them; and we must blame a later epitomizer, as I have indicated above, for a blundering interpretation that led to the preservation of this single letter. If a postulated larger correspondence *Ad Basilum* were due to the activity of a later collector who had access to files of letters left by Basilus (which indeed seems unlikely), the ultimate preservation of this single letter would yet be explained in the same way. But Tiro himself could hardly have been in error about the letter. He certainly could not have attributed it to the Ides of March, 44. And he would surely not have included it in the collection merely because it was addressed to an assassin of Caesar, while in no other reasonably conceivable way could Basilus in himself appear important enough to justify its inclusion. If, then, the collection *Ad Familiares* in its present condition is due to Tiro's editorship (and perhaps even if it is not), the occasion for this letter must be looked for, if at all, in some connection with the other letters.

The looked-for point of connection is perhaps furnished in *Att.* xi. 5. 3, referred to above (pp. 49 f). That the object of the proposed letters to Basilus, Servilius, and the others, was to secure their

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favorable representations to Caesar on behalf of Cicero's "pardon" is indubitable, when the similar applications proposed to Atticus through the weary months that followed are considered (e.g., *Att.* xi. 6. 3; 7. 5; 8. 1; 12. 4; 14. 2; 18. 2). Such intervention on the part of friends of Caesar who were also friends of Cicero appeared doubly necessary because Cicero's brother and nephew were reported to be maligning him to Caesar in every possible way, and Antony, who was in charge of Caesar's interests in Italy, was not well disposed to Cicero (*Att.* xi. 7. 2). We are without evidence on the question whether Basilus actually did plead for Cicero to Caesar, but the fact that he was the first man mentioned by Cicero as proper to be applied to in the matter would fairly indicate that he was in a position to render effective service, and might certainly be expected to be willing to do it.

When Caesar finally returned from the East, and landed at Tarentum on or about Sept. 24, 47 (cf. O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, etc., 226), the long suspense was most happily ended. Cicero was most cordially received by him, and immediately set out on his journey homeward. I venture to suggest that the letter to Basilus may well have been written at this time, even amid the hurry of preparations for departure, in warm recognition of the friendly representations to Caesar that had resulted so successfully. No external or internal evidence appears to speak against such an assignment of date and occasion, and the language of the letter fits the event perfectly.

The foregoing argument was conceived and put into shape some years ago, but not printed. I have but recently noticed, what doubtless I should have observed before, that P. Groebe, in a brief note on Drumann's life of Caesar (*Geschichte Roms* III², 627, n. 7) says of this letter, in correction of Drumann, "Wir kennen das Leben des Basilus zu wenig, um den kurzen Glückwunsch Ciceros zeitlich unterbringen zu können. Die Datierung auf den 15. März 44 erscheint mir bedenklich." As he says nothing further, I have not thought it necessary to suppress the publication of this paper.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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# THE COMPOSITION OF THE *RUDENS* OF PLAUTUS

By Cornelia Catlin Coulter

The problem of the relationship of Plautus to his Greek originals, which has interested Plautine scholars for two generations, has received special attention within the last few years. Careful analyses of the plays themselves have supported Terence's statement (*And.* Prol. 15–21) that Plautus "contaminated" (i.e., worked together the plots of two or more Greek comedies to make one Latin play). Both the *Miles gloriosus* and the *Poenulus* have been shown to contain two full plots;[1] the *Pseudolus* seems to combine the whole of one action with part of another;[2] and it is possible that the two scenes of the *Amphitruo* which introduce the *νὺξ μακρά* come from a different source from the rest of the play.[3] Strong reasons may be urged for adding the *Rudens*[4] to this list.

The scene of the *Rudens* is laid on the coast near Cyrene. A young Athenian named Plesidippus is in love with a girl belonging to the *leno* Labrax, and has already paid part of the sum necessary to obtain her; but Labrax is persuaded by another procurer to go to Sicily, and accordingly takes ship, with this girl and one other. A storm comes up just after they leave the harbor, their ship is wrecked, and the passengers barely escape with their lives. The two girls, Palaestra and Ampelisca, have taken refuge in a temple of Venus on the shore, and Ampelisca has won the heart of Sceparnio, a slave of the old peasant Daemones, who lives in a cottage near by, when Labrax and his companion appear. Labrax discovers the

[1] Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, 1895, pp. 153–67.

[2] Bierma, *Quaestiones de Plautina Pseudolo*, 1897; Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.*, 1903, pp. 347–54.

[3] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.*, 1911, pp. 254–62.

[4] The suggestion that I, 1 and 2 did not belong to the Greek original was made by Kakrides (*Barbara Plautina*, 1904, p. 27) and accepted by Hueffner (*Woch. klass. Phil.*, 1905, coll. 712 f.); Leo (*Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 144) notes the "innerlich einheitliche, aber äusserlich zweigeteilte Handlung," although he holds Diphilus responsible both for the division of the action and for the essential unity of the play; and Langen (*Plautinische Studien*, 1886, pp. 205 ff.) and Sonnenschein (ed., 1901) comment on a number of difficulties in the plot.



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girls and tries to regain possession of them, although they take refuge, first at the shrine inside the temple, and then at the altar outside. He is prevented, however, by Daemones and Trachalio, the slave of Plesidippus; and Plesidippus himself, being hastily summoned, drags the *leno* off to trial in the city on the ground of fraudulent action. Among the articles lost in the shipwreck was the *leno's* traveling-chest, which contained a casket of tokens belonging to Palaestra. The chest is recovered by the fisherman Gripus, the slave of Daemones, but is recognized by Trachalio, who happens to see Gripus bringing it to shore. Palaestra proves her right to the casket by describing its contents, and, with the aid of the tokens, Daemones discovers that she is his daughter, who was lost as a child. A little later, Labrax returns from the trial, claims the chest, and receives his property; and Gripus is appeased by the freeing of himself and Ampelisca.

To a student of *contaminatio* the very length of the play is significant. The *Rudens* contains 1,423 lines, one more line than the *Poenulus* and only 14 lines less than the *Miles gloriosus*. Moreover, the action is unquestionably divided into two parts: Acts I–III, the shipwreck of the two girls and the *leno*, and the attempt of the *leno* to regain possession of the girls; and Acts IV–V, the recovery of the casket which proves Palaestra the daughter of Daemones. The break between these two parts is clear and distinct. The action of Plesidippus in III, 6 has a certain air of finality, and the scene itself is so like the closing scenes of the *Curculio* and the *Poenulus* that it inevitably suggests the end of a play. Perhaps, too, one is justified in feeling some awkwardness in the exits and entrances at this point. There is no apparent reason for the departure of Daemones at l. 820, nor for his reappearance at l. 892,[1] and the girls, who at l. 880 have been taken into the house to await the return of Plesidippus, are brought out again at l. 1045 on the slightest of pretexts.

The division in the action of the play is emphasized by the comparative independence of the two halves. The first half of

[1] A monologue at the beginning of an act is natural enough (cf. Leo, "Der Monolog im Drama," in *Abhandl. Gött. Ges.* X [1908], 48 ff.), but the monody of Gripus (ll. 906–37) supplies a more suitable form of "Auftrittsmonolog" than the speech of Daemones in iambic *senarii* (ll. 892–905). The speech of Daemones forms a connecting link, since ll. 891–96 refer to earlier, and ll. 897–903 to later events of the play; but it serves no purpose beyond that of a connective.

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the *Rudens* must be played before the temple of Venus on the shore near Cyrene, for action and dialogue are alike inseparably connected with that spot (cf. especially ll. 615, 629 ff., 713); in the second, the sanctuary of Venus, although mentioned in ll. 1286, 1332 ff., is not necessary, and any other city could be substituted for Cyrene. On the other hand, although it is stated in ll. 738 ff. (cf. l. 605 *popularibus*) that both Daemones and Palaestra were born in Athens, this statement is not essential to the early part of the play, and assumes importance only in the recognition-scene in Act IV.

Then, too, certain characters connected with one part of the play are absent from the other. Of the two slaves of Daemones, Sceparnio appears only in Acts I and II, and Gripus only in Acts IV and V.[1] Charmides, the companion of Labrax, is prominent in the first three acts, but has no part in the action after l. 891, and (except perhaps for the corrupt sentence in ll. 1307 f.[2]) is not even alluded to in the latter part of the play. It is significant, too, that Ampelisca, who is of equal importance with Palaestra in the first part of the play, is almost ignored in the last two acts.[3]

A careful reader of the *Rudens* will notice a number of passages connecting the two parts of the play. These passages, however, are so limited in extent, and, at times, so awkwardly introduced, that they suggest intentional additions rather than integral parts of the scenes in which they appear. The disclosure of the parentage of Palaestra is prepared for by ll. 106, 388–98, 649, 714, and 736–51. The information of l. 106:

filiolam ego unam habui, eam unam perdidi,

is quite gratuitous, inasmuch as Plesidippus has just met Daemones, and is interested only in the whereabouts of Labrax, not in the family of his new acquaintance. In ll. 388–98, after Trachalio has asked to be taken to Palaestra, Ampelisca detains him with an account of

[1] Cf. Sonnenschein, note on Act IV, scene 1.

[2] The sentence is given in the manuscripts in the form *hac proxuma nocte in mari et alii confracta est navis*. Some editors read [*mi*] *et alii;* but it is so unlike Labrax to mention Charmides or anyone else at this point, that we may assume that *et alii* is corrupt.

[3] Ampelisca speaks only one sentence (l. 1183) after the close of Act III, and is addressed or mentioned in nine short passages, none of which has any vital connection with the plot, and some of which introduce actual contradictions (ll. 892 ff., 1045 ff., 1104 ff., 1113 ff., 1129, 1183, 1220, 1286 f., 1405 ff.).

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Palaestra's special grief over the loss of the casket of tokens which the *leno* had had in his traveling-chest.[1] In ll. 649 and 714, Trachalio asserts to Labrax that both his slaves are free-born; in ll. 736–51 he repeats the assertion, and adds that one is an Athenian, although he confesses that he does not know the birthplace of the other. The mention of Athens in this last passage makes Daemones exclaim that he, too, is from that city, and the sight of Palaestra reminds him of his own daughter, who was lost when a child, and who, if alive, would be just Palaestra's age.

At the close of the third act, Plesidippus sends Trachalio along the shore to summon his friends to the city to aid in the punishment of the *leno;* Trachalio is then to return and keep guard (ll. 855–58). If this command is meant to unite the two parts of the play, it serves its purpose badly. Trachalio returns, to be sure, at l. 938, but he enters in the entirely new guise of a spy on Gripus; there is no mention of his errand or of the friends of Plesidippus, who ought to pass along this part of the shore in order to get from the farther coast to the city of Cyrene.[2]

Similarly, there are a few brief sentences in the latter part of the play that refer back to preceding incidents. In ll. 1055–56, Daemones asks Trachalio if he is not the slave that was sent a little while before to fetch his master, and Trachalio replies that he is; in ll. 1065–66 Trachalio describes the owner of the trunk as the *leno* whom Daemones had driven out of the temple; and in ll. 1281–87 Labrax himself gives an account of the suit which Plesidippus brought against him. As the free birth of Palaestra had been announced in the early part of the play, so in the latter part there are two references to these announcements:

ll. 1078–79 sed isti inest cistellula
huius mulieris, quam dudum dixi fuisse liberam;

and (a statement which includes Ampelisca as well)

l. 1104 hasce ambas, ut dudum dixi, ita esse oportet liberas.

[1] In ll. 545–46, Labrax himself laments the loss of his chest, with the gold and silver and other property contained therein (cf. l. 396), but, naturally enough, makes no specific mention of the casket.

[2] Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 145.

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On the whole, therefore, these connecting links offer no obstacle to the theory of *contaminatio*. In fact, the story of Palaestra's birth introduces difficulties which support this theory. When Ampelisca tells Trachalio about the casket which would enable Palaestra to find her family, his indignant exclamation (ll. 393 f.):

> o facinus inpudicum,
> quam liberam esse oporteat, servire postulare!

would indicate that, up to that time, he knew nothing about her birth. Later, however, he boldly makes the statement that both girls are free-born, and that Palaestra is an Athenian citizen (ll. 736 ff., cf. 1104 f.). We might have expected Palaestra to tell her lover the secret before, in the hope of finding her parents through him;[1] and in any case Trachalio should have shared the news with Plesidippus immediately, as Milphio reports a similar bit of news to Agorastocles (*Poen.* 961 ff.). But although Trachalio has ample time to talk with Plesidippus, in the interval between l. 779 and l. 839, and although he has given him a detailed account of the scene before the temple (cf. ll. 839 ff.), he has apparently said nothing about the family of Palaestra; for, instead of making the ground of his suit the detention of a free-born girl (cf. *Persa* 745 ff., *Poen.* 1343 ff.), Plesidippus bases his legal action merely on the fraud that Labrax has tried to practise (ll. 860 ff.).[2]

The mention of Ampelisca in ll. 736 ff. and 1104 gives rise to another discrepancy. Although the statement is made in these passages that *both* girls are free, the recognition-scene is concerned with Palaestra alone, and the manumission of Ampelisca is planned at the end of the play without a hint that she is free-born.

We note inconsistencies, too, in the few facts that are told us about Plesidippus. That he is an Athenian, we learn from l. 1198; but why this Athenian youth should be living at Cyrene, and in love with a girl who is regularly established there, is far from clear.[3] We are also informed, after the recognition of Palaestra by her father, that the father of Plesidippus had been an acquaintance of Daemones, and that the two were related (ll. 1198, 1214). At the beginning of

[1] Langen, pp. 209 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[3] Sonnenschein, Introd., p. vi, note 2.

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the play, however, Plesidippus and Daemones have met as strangers, and in no part of the dialogue before l. 1198 has there been a suggestion of any previous connection between them.

This same part of the play presents difficulties in chronology. In l. 1217, Trachalio refers to a previous conversation with Daemones (of which there is not a trace in our play) in which Daemones promised to secure the slave's liberty. Again, we must assume that a trip to the city and a lawsuit there took some time. No matter how close to the city we may locate the temple of Venus, the interval between l. 891 and l. 1265 or l. 1281 is much too short for Plesidippus and Labrax to go to Cyrene, present their case, and return to the temple again.[1]

All these considerations—the distinct break in the action in the middle of the play, the insufficient attempts to bind together the two halves, and the discrepancies in time and action—suggest that the *Rudens* combines the plots of two Greek plays. The scene of the first was undoubtedly Cyrene. In it, a young man, presumably a citizen of the place, was in love with a girl in the service of a *leno*, and had paid part of her cost, but was defrauded by the *leno*, who set sail for Sicily with this girl and one other. The ship was wrecked, and the girls, escaping, took refuge in the temple of Venus. The *leno* followed them ashore, and tried to get possession of them, but was prevented by a peasant who lived near by, and by the slave of the first girl's lover. The lover was summoned by the slave, and took the *leno* off to court on grounds of fraud.[2]

The second play must also have taken place on the seacoast, but not necessarily in the vicinity of Cyrene. In this play, too, a *leno* was shipwrecked, together with one slave, an Athenian girl who had been stolen as a child, but who still retained the casket of tokens proving her identity. The trunk containing this casket was lost in the shipwreck, but recovered by the slave of a man who had

[1] Cf. Langen, p. 208. To solve all these difficulties in chronology, Sonnenschein assumes (without, however, quoting a parallel from any other comedy) that at least a day elapsed between l. 1190 and l. 1191. See his notes at the beginning of IV, 5, and on ll. 1198, 1217.

[2] The fate of Ampelisca is left in doubt. The scene with Sceparnio (II, 4) hints at a romance, but there is no indication that this hint was followed up in the Greek original. In any case, the request of Trachalio for her hand (l. 1220) and her manumission by Labrax (ll. 1405 ff.) are probably original with Plautus.

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befriended the young woman, and through the *crepundia* she was discovered to be the daughter of her benefactor. The girl's lover, likewise an Athenian, proved to be a kinsman as well, and the play (like the Καρχηδόνιος, which Plautus embodied in the *Poenulus*) ended with a family reunion and a happy marriage.

In writing the *Rudens*, Plautus combined the whole of the first plot with the greater part of the second, omitting, however, the scenes of the Greek original which would have explained the relationship of Daemones and Plesidippus. The prologue, which must have been adapted by Plautus from the first Greek original, introduces the combined play, giving the setting of the first plot, with some preliminary events leading up to the first scene, and some details from the second plot (ll. 32 ff.). It is, however, a scene from the second plot, the struggle between the two slaves for the possession of the trunk (IV, 3) that gives the name *Rudens* to the play.

In the proportion in which the two plays are combined, the *Rudens* reminds us most strongly of the *Pseudolus;* but it far surpasses the *Pseudolus* in dramatic technique. The two parts of the plot present comparatively few inconsistencies, and the number of connecting threads is much larger than in any other of the contaminated plays. We may assume, therefore, that the *Rudens* dates in the poet's later period; that, at the time that it was written, Plautus had passed beyond the stage of crude workmanship represented by the *Miles* (*ca.* 204 B.C.), and had gained some skill in the management of a complex plot.

If this analysis of the *Rudens* is correct, and if only the first part of the play is connected with Cyrene, then it is for this first part alone that Diphilus is responsible (cf. ll. 32 f. *huic esse nomen urbi Diphilus Cyrenas voluit*). The second Greek original probably had a different setting, and may well have been written by a different author. As a matter of fact, it is only in the first half of this play that we find the traits most characteristic of Diphilus. His nearness to Middle Comedy is illustrated by the chorus of fishermen[1] (ll. 290 ff.), and by the many literary and mythological allusions[2] (some of them obscure) in this part of the play: the *Alcumena* of Euripides (l. 86); Palaemon,

[1] Schoell, ed. (1887), Praef., p. viii.

[2] Cf. Schoell, p. viii.

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the comrade of Neptune and friend of Hercules (ll. 160 ff.); Libertas, who was unwilling ever to take ship with Hercules (ll. 489 f.); Thyestes and Tereus (l. 509); Philumela and Procne (l. 604); Vulcan, the enemy of Venus (l. 761); and Hercules *claviger* (l. 822). There is an almost tragic tone about the lyrics of Palaestra and Ampelisca (ll. 185 ff.); the figure of the priestess Ptolemocratia is one of great dignity[1] (ll. 258 ff.; cf. 406 ff.); and the motives of the suppliants at the altar and the prophetic dream are taken direct from tragedy.[2] On the other hand, the scenes of conflict with the *leno* (III, 4–6) exhibit the same violence as the scene of the *Adelphoe* (II, 1) which Terence tells us he owed to Diphilus. The latter part of the play is very different in tone. Mythological allusions disappear; tragic motives (except for the *ἀναγνώρισις*) are neglected; and lively action gives place to quibbling and tedious discussions (cf. especially IV, 6, 8, and the first part of 4).

This analysis also throws some light on the title of the play of Diphilus from which Plautus drew. It has been generally assumed heretofore that this title had some connection with the *vidulus* of the *leno*. But since the *vidulus* plays a part only in the latter half of the *Rudens*, we need not search among the works of Diphilus for a Πήρα[3] or a Κίστη[4] or assume that he wrote a second Σχεδία on the same theme as the original of the *Vidularia*.[5] The most appropriate title would be one referring to the shipwreck or the rescue of the girls. Unfortunately, however, the one title which might contain such a reference (the Ἀνασωζόμενοι[6]) appears in the masculine gender; and neither of the fragments quoted from this play can be identified with lines in the *Rudens*.

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[1] Schoell, p. viii.

[2] Leo, pp. 144 ff.

[3] Schoell in *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII (1888), p. 298.

[4] Hueffner, *De Plauti Comoediarum Exemplis Atticis*, 1894, p. 68.

[5] Cf. Studemund, *Über zwei Parallelkomödien des Diphilus*, 1882.

[6] Suggested by Francken in *Mnem.* III (1875), p. 34, but rejected by Schoell (p. viii).

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# LABIAL TERMINATIONS III

By E. H. Sturtevant

## WORD-LISTS (*Continued*)

### Words in *-πος* and *-πον*; Gen., *-που*

Substantives in *-πος* are masculine unless otherwise stated

ἀν-άγαπος, *ον*, Cyrill. ap. Matthaei Lect. Mosq. 2. 76.
τηλεδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Hom.,+[VII. 420 f.
ἠμεδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Ar.,+[VII. 420 f.
ὑμεδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Clem. Al. 1. 45. 19 Dind.,+
ἐνδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Nicet. Acom. 123. 13 Bekk.
†ἐχθοδαπός, *ή*, *όν* (= -δοπός), Epigr. Gr. 1038. 38 [VII. 421.
ἀλλοδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Hom., +[VII. 420 f.
ποδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Aesch.,+[VII. 421.
ὁποδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, Hdt.,+
παντοδαπός, *ή*, *όν*, h. Hom. Cer.,+
Μέθαπος, P.
Πρίαπος, P.
κάπος, Hesych., Schol. Luc. 62. 11 Rabe,+
†Κᾶπος, IG. 7. 1888.
Φιλό-, P.
ὁμό-, *ον*, Epimerid.
σκᾶπος, Hesych.
Σκᾶπος (or Ἄσκαπος), P.
?λάπος, Hesych.
†Ἄσκλαπος, IG. 2. 956. 14,+
*-ζούλαπον*
†*lo-*, Simeon Seth Aliment. Fac. 48. 1 Lankavel.
†*νυμφαιο-*, id. ib. 73. 8.
?Δάμαπος, P.
Ἄναπος, P.
σάραπον (or *σαράποδα*?), Alcae. 37 Bgk.[4] [VII. 434.
ἁτραπός (Ep. ἀταρπός), ἡ, Pind. Paean 9. 5,+
τετράπος, *ον*, Arat. [VII. 434.
†*καίσαπον* (v. l. *esapon*), Plin. 20. 59.
Μέσσαπος, P.
Μέταπα, P.
Σήταπος, P.
ἀμφί-ταπος, *ον*, Callix.,+[VI. 211.
ποταπός, *ή*, *όν*, Dion. H. Ant. Rom. 4. 66, N. T.,+[VII. 421.
Ὕαπος, P.
*-σκεπος*, *ον*
ἄ-, Amyntas in pap. Oxy. 4. 662. 37.
κατά-, Schol. Opp. (Th.).
φιλό-, Theophr.
?ἄ-λεπος, *ον*, Ael.
χαλεπός, *ή*, *όν*, Hom.,+[VII. 435.
Χάλεπος, P.
ἀ-χαλέπως, Philo Byz. (Th.).
παγ-χάλεπος, *ον*, Antipho,+
ἠλιό-πεπος, *ον* (or *-πεπτός*?), Hippiatr. (Th.).
ἀρεπός, sign. inc., Theognost. Can. 69. 2.
*-πρεπος*, *ον*
†ἐπί-, Hesych. s.v. ἔμ-.
ἔμ-, Hesych.
θηπός, *ή*, *όν*, Hesych.
Ἄλθηπος, P. [VII. 435.
κῆπος "garden," Hom.,+
κῆπος = κῆβος, Strabo,+
Κῆπος (also Κῆποι), P.
*-κηπος*
ἄ-, *ον*, Greg. Naz. 3. 29 A Migne.
ἀλεξί-, *ον*, Geop. 12. 16, 17. 16,+
περί, Diod.,+
μανιό-, *ον*, Anacr. 156 Bgk.[4]
φιλό-, Diog. L.
†ἀγρό-, IG. 3. 61. 26.
ξηρό-, Act. SS. Mart. 3. *7 D.
†Ξηρό, Germ. 216 B Migne.



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Αἴσηπος, P.
Ἶπος (ἡ, Pind. Ol. 4. 11), Archil. 169 Bgk.[4]+
αἰπός, ή, όν, Hom.,+
λαῖπος, Hesych.
† ? μάγιπα, sign. inc., pap. Gen. 55. 15.
Οἰδίπος, P. [VII. 434.
† ἀνέλ-λειπος, ον, Act. SS. Mart. 3. *7 B.
† ? ὑπό-λειπος, ον, see Tzerepes Syntheta 261.
† Ἄλιπος, IG. 7. 3356 (Ditt., Ἄλ[υ]πος; cf. λίπη).
νήλιπος, ον, Theocr. 4. 56 (MS. ἀνάλιπος), + [VII. 434.
Ἀργίλιπος, P.
† ἔλ-λιπος, ον, Vett. Val. 4. 3 Kroll.
κνιπός, ή, όν, Lucill. in Anth. P.
σκνιπός, ή, όν "niggardly," Aspas. (Th.), Hesych. [VI. 210.
σκνιπός, ή, όν "dim-sighted," Semon. 19 Crusius [VI. 210.
† ὑπό-σκνιπος, ον, pap. Petr.[2] 4. (2) 28,+
τρύγοιπος, Ar.,+
σκοῖπος, Hesych.
λοιπός, ή, όν, Aesch., Pind.,+
† Ἄ-λοιπος (=Ἄλυπος), IG. 14. 1370.
-λοιπος, ον
παρά-, Arist.
κατά-, Plat., +
πεντέ-, Cic.
ἐπί-, Pind.,+
περί-, Ar. fr. 174 Bl., Thuc.,+
ὠρεσί-, Anth. P. 9. 524.
† ἔλ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1900, 91. 3.
ἀπό-, LXX, pap. Grenf. 1. 14. 13.
ὑπό-, Hdt.,+
† πρό-, Wilck. Ostr. 1032,+
πρόσ-, IG. 2. 5. 834 b II 27,+
πῖπος, ἡ, Arist.
† Πῖπος, IG. 12. 8. 282. 26.
ῥῖπος, Diosc.,+
† Ῥῖπος, IG. 7. 1373.
γρῖπος, Artemid., Diog. L.,+[VI. 210.
† γριπός[1] (v. l., γρυπος), CGL. 2. 265. 17. [VI. 210.
Γρῖπος, P.
† Δεξίριπος (for Δέξιππος?), IG. 2. 1783.
Κεντόριπα, τά, P.
τρίπος, ον, Hom., + [VII. 434.
εὔριπος,[2] Xen.,+
Εὔριπος, P.
μάρσιπος (-πος, pap. Petr. 107 (d) 1. 9, +), Xen., +
† ? αἰγιπιπος· *semicaper*, CGL. 3. 290. 24.
ἀρτίπος, ον (=-πους), Hom. [VII. 434.
Ἄλπος, P.
σταγονο-θάλπος, Hesych, s.v. στάγων.
κάλπος (Schm., κάλπ<ι>ον), Hesych.
σάλπος, v. l. Arist.
? ἔλπος, Hesych.[VI. 210.
ἄ-ελπος, ον, Eust. 1548. 9.
σέλπον (Schm., σέλπ<ι>ον)· σιλφιον, Hesych.
κόλπος, Hom.,+
† Κόλπος, IG. 2. 963. 35.
-κολπος, ον
ἄ-, Ael.
μελάγ-, Nonn.
ἔγ-, Anast. Sin. (Th.).
Ἔγκολπος, ὁ. P.
δί-, Galen 2. 890 Kühn.
† ἐπί-, Simoc. 2. 16. 7.
ἀγλαό-, Pind. Nem. 3. 97.
ῥοδό-, lyr. fr. adesp. 140 Bgk.[4]
ἰό-, Alcae. 63 Bgk.[4]

[1] γριπός· *serro*. It is impossible to read γρυπός on account of the alphabetical arrangement. The word seems to be a contamination of ἀγρίφη and γρυπός.

[2] The adjective use is late; Caesarius 992 Migne,+

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-κολπος, ον
φιλό-, Theophil. 1125 A Migne.
μελανό- (MS. μεγαλό-), Bacchyl. fr. 23 Jebb.
ὑπό-, Jo. Pediasim. Mul. Mala 9.
δύσ-, Agath. in Anth. P.
εὖ-, Archestr. fr. 10 R.,+
βαθύ-, Hom.,+
πολύ-, Galen 2. 890 Kühn,+
εὐρύ-, Pind.
μολπός, Hesych.
Μόλπος, P.
-μολπος, ον (proper names, ὁ)
†λυροκαλλί-μολπα, adv., Leont. Mag. Carm. 4. 66 Bgk.[4]
†ἀναξί-, Bacchyl. 6. 10.
†Χαρί-, IG. 372. 403.
ἐρασί-, Pind.
ἀρχεσί-, Stesich. 77 Bgk.[4]
φιλησί-, Pind.
ἀντί-, Aesch.,+
σύμ-, Eur.,+
φιλό-, Pind.,+
ἀμολό-, Nonn.
αὐτομόλπως αὐτόμολπα ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις, Hesych.
λιγύ-, h. Hom. 19. 19.
εὖ-, Herodian 1. 233, 13 L.,+
Εὖ-, P.
πολύ-, Poeta in Cram. An. Par.
ὀξύ-, Aesch.
?δαμπόν, Hesych.
κάμπος· ἱπποδρόμος. Σικελοί, Hesych.; see Herw.
ἱππό-καμπος, Menand. 4. 281 Mein.,+
†?ἰσό-καμπος, ον, Gl. (Du Cange).
†λαμπός, ή, όν, Herodian 1. 187. 16, 2. 3. 40 L.
Λάμπος, P.
Μελάμπος, P. [VII. 434.
-λαμπος
†Πυρί-, Ditt. and Purg. Olympia 400. 4.
†ἀνισό-, ον, pap. Denkschrift. d. Wien. Akad. 36. 2. 1132.
†ὑπέρ-, ον, Act. SS. Iun. 2. XLV D.
†κεμπός, ή, όν (=κεπφός), Hesych.
Θεό-πεμπος, P.
κόμπος, Hom.,+
κομπός, Eur.,+
-κομπος, ον
ἄ-, Aesch.,+
μελί-, Pind.
προδωσί-, Phot.,+
ὑψί- (adv., Soph.), Eust.
ματαιό-, Schol. Ar.
φιλό-, Justin. M. Apol. 2. 3,+
ἀφιλό-, Cyrill. Al. 2. 257 C Migne.
δημό-· Hesych., Suid.
κενό-, Theod. Prodr. (Th.).
μυκτηρό-, Aesch.,+
μακρό-, Tzetz. in Cram. An. Ox. 4. 52. 22.
ψυχό, Pisid. (Th.).
πτωχό-, Pisid. Hexaem. 62, etc.
ὑπέρ-, Aesch.,+
εὖ-, Eur.
πολύ-, Epiphan. 2. 253. 10 Dind.
βαρύ-, Pind.
πομπός, Hom.,+
Πόμπος, P.
-πομπος, ον (proper names, ὁ), oxytone and proparoxytone
ἀνα-, Aesch.
παρα-, Polyb.,+
Ἀνδρά-, P.
τηλέ-, Aesch.
Σει- (also Σι-) =Θεο-, P.
†ἐπι-, pap. mag. Leid. V 7. 11.
ἐπί-, Poll. 10. 192.
ναυσί-, Eur.
ἀντί-, Andr. C. (Th.).
θεό-, Pind.,+
Θεό- (also Θέ-, Θιό-, Θεύ-), P.
Κλεό-, P.
Ἰό-, P.
Διό-, P.

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-πομπος, ον
† φιλό-, CGL. 2. 559. 6 in margin.
† ξυλο-, Philes (Koum.).
Ἀνδρό-, P.
ἠερό-, Hesych.
ἱερο-, Philo 5. 20. 8 Cohn, etc.
σπινθηρο-, Schol. Arat. 999.
ὀνειρο-, Justin. M. Apol. 1. 18, +
νεκρο-, Eur., +
προ-, Aesch., +
πετρο-, Theodos. Diac. Cret. 2. 54, +
† σιτο-, Philes (Koum.).
παντό-, Theodos. Diac. Cret. 1. 34.
† Νεκυο-, Jo. Malal. 121. 8, +
ψυχο-, Eur., +
εὖ-, Aesch., +
Εὖ-, P.
εὐθυ-, Pind.
ὠκύ-, Bacchyl. 16. 90, +
βου-, Pind. fr. 193 Schr.
δορυ-, Ducas 179. 19 Bekk.
ταχύ-, Aesch.
Ὄλυμπος, P.
ὄλυμπος "sky," Parmenides 11. 2 Diels, +
ὀπός, Hom., +
ἄ-οπος, ον "sightless," Hesych.
ἄ-οπος, ον "speechless," Hesych.
ἐχθοδοπός, όν, Soph., + [VII. 421.
κάρδοπος, ἡ, Ep. Hom., +
κέρδοπα (= κέδροπα), Herodian 2. 531. 23 L., +
-οπος, ον (proper names ὁ)
Κλέ- (usually called Κνῶπος), Paus. 7. 3. 7; P. [VII. 433.
δί- (: διέπω), Aesch., +
δί- (: ὀπή), Poll. 4. 77, +
ἀδί-, Aesch. fr. 269 Nauck.
Ἀλκί-, P.
καλλί-, α, ον, Theocr.
† Καλλί-, Altchristl. Literat. N.S. 4. 3. 5. 18, etc.
ἠμί-, Anacr. 16 Crusius, +
† τρί- "three-eyed," Act. SS. Iun. 3. 278 F.
Τρί-, P.
Τρίοπον, τό, P.
Δουρί- (MSS. also Δευρί-), P. [VII. 427.
κόπος, Aesch., +
-κοπος, ον, paroxytone and proparoxytone [VII. 433 f.
ἄ-, Hipp. 1. 144. 1 Kühlew., +
διά-, ὁ, pap. Goodsp. 30. 4. 3, 6. 4 (see Crönert Woch. f. kl. Phil. 20. 733), +
ἀδιά-, Philo 1. 106. 17 Cohn, +
εὐδιά-, Polyb.
? λάκοπος, Hesych.
? ἀγνάκοπον (or -ος?), Diosc. 3. 157.
παρά-κοπος, ον, Aesch., +
μυράκοπον, Paul. Aeg. (Th.), Not. Tir. 98. 86 Schmitz, +
κατά-, LXX Job 3. 17, +
ἔγ-, LXX, +
σύγ-, Diod., +
† μυλη-, Poll. 7. 20.
δρυη-, Lyc.
ἠμί-, Schol. Opp. (Th.), CGL. 2. 172. 23.
ἐπί-, Luc., +
? ἀνεπί-, E.M. 103. 36.
† περίκοπα, adv., Lambros Romans Grecs 1. 2523.
ἀπερί-, Timario, +
† μονοπερί-, Mar. Vict. 6. 59. 13 K.
† πολυπερί-, Mar. Vict. loc. cit.
ἀμφί-, Eust. Hysmines et Hysminiae Amor. 4. 5.
ἔκ-, Theodotian (Hatch and Redp.), Suid., +
ἀνεκκόπως, Oribas. (Th.).
ὀρτυγο-, Plat. Com. 2. 654 Mein., +
μολυβδο-, IG. 3. 3. 100 a 13.
ἐλεο-, Lys. fr. 28 Scheibe.
νεό-, Eupol. 2. 434 Mein.
χρεο-, CGL. 2. 478. 21, etc.

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-κοπος, ον
δστεο-, Theophr.
λιθο-, Antipho Soph. 92 Diels,+
† ὀρθο-, Kern Inschr. von Magn. 290. 2.
† ματαιο-, Anton. Mon. 1469 A Migne.
† ? δανειο-, pap. Fiorent. 1. 61; see Wilcken Archiv. f. Papyrusf. 2. 536.
φαντασιο-, Eus. D. E. 3. 6. 6,+
† βαλαντιο-, Leo Philos. 252 A Migne.
† καλό-, Lybistr. et Rhod. (Koum.).
μελο-, CGL. 2. 23. 39.
ἡλο-, pap. Lond. 3. 187,+
† φυλλο-, CGL. 457. 55, etc.
ὁλό-, Diosc.
συμβολο-, Aq. Prov. 23. 21,+
† ὑλο-, CGL. 3. 505. 40.
καυλο-, Eucholog. (Th.).
μυλο-, pap. Tebt. 278. 12,+
ξυλο-, Xen.,+
ὀχλο-, Polyb.,+
βωλο-, Cratin. 2. 20 Mein.,+
ἀβωλό-, Poll.
δημο-, Dion H.,+ [VII. 434.
? Δημό-, Sophron 128 Kaib. [VII. 434.
† ἀσχημό-, Belthandros et Chrysantza (Koum. s.v. καλόκοπος).
σεισμο-, Genes. 45. 12 Lachm.
† καινο-, Herw.[2] s.v. σεμνοκόπος, without ref.
πρινο-, Hesych.
ἀμνο- (or ἀμνοσκόπος?), Hesych.
† σεμνο-, Philodem. de Vit. 29. 30 Saupp.
ὀνο-, Alexis 3. 387 Mein.
πορνο-, Menand. 4. 320 Mein,+
δοξο-, Teles ap. Stob. 3. 269 Gaisford,+
ἀπό-, Strabo,+
Ἀπόκοπα, τά, P.
ὑπό-, Xen.
† φλυαρο-, Wagner Carmina Graeca Med. Aev. 152. 322.
† δενδρο-, CGL. 3. 307. 34, etc.
ἑτερο-, Anna Comn. 4. 6.
† χερό-, Theod. Prodr. (Du Cange).
σιδηρο-, Jo. Chrys. (Th.),+
μαχαιρο-, pap. Louvre 11. 2. 8.
χειρο-, Macrob. 5. 601. 4 K.
ἀπρό-, Ptol. (Soph.), Vett. Val. 92. 30 Kroll,+
† δυσπρό-, Vett. Val. 76. 24 Kroll.
θεατρο-, Ptol. (Th.).
πετρο-, Maximus Cythaer. (Th.),+
ἀργυρο-, Phryn. Com. 2. 582 Mein., +
θυρο-, Aesch.
† ὀλυρο-, Ditt. Inscr. Gr. Or. 729.
σφυρο-, Soph. fr. 445 Nauck,+
† δωρο-, CGL. 3. 134. 11.
† μετεωρο-, Cercidas Cyn. 1. 54 in pap. Oxy. 8.
μεσό-, Cratin. 2. 172 Mein.,+
† πραγματο-, Philodem. Rhet. 1. 226. 7 Sudh.
ποιηματο-, Hesych. s.v. μιξίαμβος.
† στρατο-, Lambros Romans Grecs 2. 965.
σητό-, Diosc., Lucill. in Anth. P.,+
πολιτο-, Phryn. in A. B.
ἀρτο-, Hdt.,+
χορτο-, pap. Goodsp. 30. 20. 12,+
ναστο-, Plat. Com. 2. 693 Mein.
ὀστο-, com. fr. adesp. 4. 681 Mein.,+
πιττο-, Poll.
† πρωτό-, pap. Lond. 1. 216,+
δρυο-, Arist.
† Ματτυο-, Amm. Marcell. 15. 5. 4. [VII. 433.
στυφο-, Ar. [VI. 211.
ὑπέρ- "overstepping bounds," Aesch. Sept. 455,+
ὑπέρ- "overtired," Arist.,+

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σκοπός, ὁ, ἡ "watcher," Hom.,+
σκοπός, ὁ "mark, aim," Hom.,+
† Σκόπος, IG. 12. 1. 504.
-σκοπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
ἀ- "inconsiderate," Hom.,+
ἀ- "not seen," Aesch.,+
ἀ- "aimless" of weapons, Dion. H.,+
ἀδιά-, Schol. Aesch.
† δικα-, SGDI. 214. 12, 14.
τερα-, Aesch., Pind.,+
κατά- "spy, inspector," Hdt.,+
κατά- "closely covered," Schol. Opp. (Th.).
ἀκατά-, Clem. Al. 1. 657 B Migne,+
συγκατά-, Syncell. 260. 3 Dind.
† προκατά-, Schol. Eur. Hec. 1135 Schwartz.
τηλε-, Ar.,+
τηλέ-, Hes.,+
† Τηλέ-, IG. 2. 316.
† ἀρχέ-, inscr. (Herw.).
ὑλη- (or ὑλο-), Philipp. in Anth. P. 6. 107.
θεμι-, Pind.
ἐπί- "overseer," Hom.,+
ἐπί- "hitting the mark," Aesch.,+
-επίσκοπος
ψευδ-, Adam. 18. 1. Bakh.
† ἀλλοτρι- (v. l. ἀλλοτριο-), N. T. 1 Pet. 4. 15.
ἀρχι-, Miletus ap. Athan. 1. 377 A Migne,+
φιλ-, ον, Jo. Climac. 636 B Migne.
ἀν-, ον, Eus.,+
παν-, ον, LXX Sap. 7. 23, +
συν-, ον, Conc. Sard. (Soph.), Athan. 1. 264. A Migne,+
ψευδο-, Cyprian Ep. 55. 24.
ἀλλοτριο-, Ps.-Dion. Areop. 1089 C Migne,+
† ἀπο-, v. l. in Theophan. Chron. 420. 8 de Boor, Theod. Balsam. (Koum.).
χωρ-, Conc. Anc. (Soph.), Athan. 1. 400 B Migne,+
† τρισ-, MS. (Du Cange, Add.).
ἀντ-, Greg. Naz. 3. 1060 A Migne.
παντ-, ον, v. l. in LXX Sap. 7. 23, Acta Philippi 132 (2nd recension) Bonnet,+
αὐτ-, Cyrill. Al. 6. 273 A Migne.
πρωτ-, MS. anni 943 (Th.).
† ἀρχ-, Comment. Byz. in Artem Dion. Thrac. 577. 27 Hilg.
-σκοπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
? περί-, Dion. H. Ant. Rom. Epit. 17. 11.
ἀπερί-, Suid. s.v. ἀπερίγραπτον.
ταυσί-, Poeta ap. Julian.
λογο-, Pallad. Vit. Chrys. 22 Migne.
ἐργο-, id. ib.
βατιδο-, Ar.
κυδο-, Ps.-Manetho 4. 35.
θεό-, Naucrat. de Obitu Theod. Stud. 1828 A Migne.
ὀρνεο-, Vett. Val. 4. 14 Kroll,+
ὀρνιθο-, Soph.,+
† ματαιο-, Method. 173 C Migne.
σημειο-, Aq. V. T.,+ (Hatch and Redp.).
βαλαντιο-, Pallad. Vit. Chrys. 20 Migne.
κακο-, Eucholog. (Th., Soph.).
† συκο-, Zenodorus in Miller Mél. de Liter. Gr. 412.
μηλο-, h. Hom.
φιλό- (or επί-), Himer. Or. 14. 71. 12 Dübn.
αἰολο-, Christ. Pat. 1650 Ellissen.
παλ(α)μο-, Balsam. (Th.).
ἐρημο-, Suid.
βωμο-, CGL. 2. 23. 41, 68. 17.
μωμο-, Philo 2. 121. 6 Cohn,+
† γνωμο-, Walz Rhett. 3. 675.
οὐρανο-, Plin.,+
λιμενο-, Call.,+

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-σκοπος, ον
†κτηνο-, Philes (Koum.).
χηνο-, Philes.
θυννο-, Arist.
†πτερνο-, Jo. Diac. Act. SS. Apr. 1. XXXIII A = 105. 968. 9 Migne.
ὀρνο-, Jo. Malal. 1. 199, 200 Dind.
πορνο-, Ps.-Ignat. 905 B Migne.
σπλαγχνο-, Theophan. Chron. 51. 21 de Boor, CGL. 2. 435. 50, etc.
οἰωνο-, Eur.,+
βοο-, Nonn.
ἀπό-, Emped. 62. 3 Diels.
†ἱππο-, pap. Petr.[2] 54 a (2) 1. 2, (4) 2. 2.
ὑπό-, Aesch. fr. 339 Nauck.
μετωπο-, Plin. 35. 88,+
ὑδρο-, Theodoret. 4. 1216 A Migne, CGL. 2. 18. 45, etc.
ἱερο-, Dion. H.,+
ἡμερο-, Aesch.,+
ἀστερο-, Artemid.,+
θηρο-, h. Hom.,+
καιρο-, Greg. Thaum. 996 B Migne,+
ὀνειρο-, Poll.,+
χειρο-, IG. 9. 1. 109. 9, Artemid., +
Ὀρόσκοπα, τά, P.
πρό-, Pind. fr. 231 Schr.[2],+
ἀ-πρόσ-κοπος, ον, LXX Si. 35. 21, 3. Macc. 3. 8,+
ἀπρό-, Aesch.
†εὐπρό-, Ptol. (Soph.).
†θεατρο-, Pallad. Vit. Chrys. 21 Migne.
λιτρο-, Soph. fr. 962 Nauck.
ἀργυρο-, Ditt. Syll. 653. 48, Phryn. Praep. Soph. 30. 10 de Borries,+
ἐμπυρο-, Schol. Il.,+
ὡρο-, Strabo 16. 2. 39 (?), Vett. Val. 69. 14 Kroll,+
μετεωρο-, Plat.,+
†μωρο-, Anna Comn. 3. 2.
ἡπατο-, Artemid.,+
†ζωοθυτοκαρδιηπατο-, Const. Rh. (Koum.).
τερατο-, Plat.,+
ἀλφιτο-, Hesych.
βιοτο-, Ps.-Manetho.
βροτο-, Aesch.
ἀριστο-, Tzetz. (Th.).
†ὑο-, Jo. Charax ad Theodos. 2. 413. 5 Hilg.
θυο-, Isid. Pelus. 665 B Migne,+
μορφο-, Artemid.
δύσ-κοπος, ον, Damocrat. ap. Galen 13. 351 Kühn.
εὖ- "sharp-seeing," Hom.,+
εὖ- "far-seen," Ar.
εὖ- "of sure aim," Hom. (?), Aesch.,+
†Θεύ-, SGDI. 2813. 3, etc.
†βαθύ-, Georg. Pachym. 2. 395. 7 Bekk.
εὐθυ-, Hesych. s.v. οὐκ εὐθυσκόπου.
ὠκύ-, Anth. P.
πολυ-,[1] Pind. Paean 9. 1.
εὔ-κοπος, ον, Polyb.,+
βου-κόπος, ον (MS. βουσκόπος), Hesych. s.v. βουπλήξ.

[1] Herodian's rule (1. 233. 3 L.), ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ συντίθεται ἐκ τοῦ πολὺ προπαροξύνεται, is, of course, purely empirical; he himself records one exception: σεσημείωται τὸ πολυφάγος. ἐξηκολούθησε γὰρ ἑτέρῳ κανόνι. As a matter of fact active compounds with πολυ- are comparatively few, and some of them seem to have conformed in accent to the more numerous passives and possessives; Herodian, *loc. cit.*, cites πολύλαλος beside μογιλάλος. But in the case of active compounds like πολυσκόπος, whose final member is common in paroxytones (or oxytones) with active sense, the accent on the final member is probably correct. In such cases the tradition, as here, often favors proparoxytonesis; but that is probably due solely to the influence of Herodian's rule.

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λοπός, Hom.,+
ἄ-λοπος, ον, Ar.,+
† Κάλ-οπος, pap. Oxy. 8. 1133. 5.
κλοπός, h. Hom.,+
-κλοπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
ἄ-, Opp.,+
ἐπί-, Hom.,+
παγεπί-, Opp.
ἀρχί-, ὁ, Suid.
† ἀνδραποδο-, Soph. ap. Phot. R.
γαμο-, Anth. P.
φρενο-, Maecius in Anth. Plan.
κυνο-, Ar.
ὑπό-, Bacchyl. 14. 30 Jebb.
λεκτρο-, Or. Sib.
πολυ-, Opp.
βου- (also βοο-), Porph. A. N. 18, Orph. Arg.,+
ἔλλ-οπος, Emped. 117. 2 Diels. [VII. 424.
ἀελλόπος, ον, Hom.,+ [VII. 434.
-λοπος, ον
γυμνό- (MSS. γυμωλικά), Schol. Nic. Al. 271.
μονό-, Theophr.
ὀρσό-, Anacr. 64 Crusius.
χρυσό-, Hesych. s.v. χρυσόλοφος.
τρίσ-, Theophr.
πολύ-, Theophr.
ἔποπος (MS. ἔποτος) = ἔποψ, Hesych.
ἀρτο-πόπος, ὁ, Phryn. 303 Ruth., Praep. Soph. 38. 12, etc., de Borries.
-οπος, oxytone and proparoxytone
Ἀρ-, P.
† Θάρ-, SGDI. 488. 7, 96.
χαρ-, ή, όν, Hom.,+
Χάρ-, P.
ὑποχαρ-, όν, Xen.,+
εὐχαρ-, όν (Edd. εὐχάροπος), Geop.
δροπός, Soph. fr. 440 Nauck.
χεδροπά, τά (also κεδροπά), Arist.,+
-δροπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
† ἐαρί- (v. l. -δρεπτ-), Pind. fr. 75. 6 Schr.²
ἀρτί-, v. l. in Aesch. Theb. 333.
νεό-, Aesch.
ὠμό-, Aesch.
μονό-, Pind.
χειρο-, Nic.
βατο-, h. Hom.
-οπος
ἀερ-οπός· κοχλίας, Hesych. [VII. 424.
Ἀέρ-, P.
ἠέρ-, Ion. = ἀέροψ, Anton. Lib.
ἀστέρ- (or ἀστεροπή?), Achaeus 2, p. 746 Nauck.
† Ἀστέρ-, Euphorion in Berl. Ep. u. Eleg. Fr. p. 58, Herodian 1. 188. 13, etc.
† Αἰρ- = Ἀέροπος(?), Kern Inschr. von Magn. 5. 12.
μικρόπος, ον, Tzetz. Posth. 372 [VII. 434.
-προπος, paroxytone and proparoxytone
ἄ-, ον, Hesych.
θεο-, ον (θειο-, IG. 12. 5. 6), Hom.,+
θεόπροπον, Call.
Θεό- (also Θεύ-), P.
Εὔ-, P.
-ρροπος, ον
ἄ-, Greg. Naz. 3. 662 A Migne.
† κά- (MS. κάτροπον, corr. Herw.) = κατά-, Hesych.
ἀνά-, Hipp. 2. 365. 14 Kühlew.,+
ἀπαρά-, Cram. An. Ox.
κατά-, Hipp. 2. 224. 2 Kühlew.,+
ἔ-, sign. inc., Schol. Lond. in Artem Dion. Thrac. 465. 5 Hilg.
παλί-, Eur.
ἡμιρρόπως, Ps.-Hipp. 23. 432 Kühn.
† ἐπί-, Simoc. 2. 13. 2,+
πασί-, Jo. Cinnam.
ἀντί-, Soph.,+

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-ρροπος, ον
ἀμφί-, Polyaen.,+
ὁμοιό-, Galen 6. 145 K.
ἑτοιμό-, Nicet. Acom. 191. 8 Bekk.
ἑτερό-, Hipp. 1. 181. 9 Kühlew.,+
ἰσό-, Aesch.,+
ἀνισό-, Pappus Collect. 1032. 3,+
ἀχό-, trag. fr. adesp. 341 Nauck (adv., Aesch.).
ἰθύ-, Hipp. 2. 171. 6 Kühlew.
ὀξύ-, Plat.,+
σύ-, sign. inc., Schol. Lond. in Artem Dion. Thrac. 465. 5 Hilg.
† ταχύ-, Theod. Stud. (Koum.).
ἀνώ-, Philoponus ad Arist. de Gen. et Corr. 229. 20 Vitelli,+
κατώ, Olympiod. (A.B. 1388).
† πρόσ-ροπος, ον (MS. πρόστροπον; corr. Herw.), Hesych. s.v. κάτροπον.
τρόπος, Aesch., Pind.,+
τροπός, Hom.,+
Τρόπος, P.
ἄ-τροπος, ον, Pind.,+
Ἀ-τροπος, P.
† ἀτροπός = ἀτραπός, Epigr. Gr. 475. 1.
-τροπος, ον (proper names, ὁ), paroxytone and proparoxytone
† πεντεκαιδεκά-, Procl. ad Plat. Tim. 170. 11 Diels.
δωδεκά-, Vett. Val. 179. 33 Kroll,+
Λά-, P.
παρά- "averting," Eur.
παρά- "turned aside," Pind.,+
τετρά-, pap. Lond. 1. 119,+
κατά-, Call. h. in Del. 11 (MSS. καὶ ἄτροπος), Hesych.
μετά-, Hes.,+
ἀμετά-, IG. 12. 7. 393. 3, Orph. H.,+
πεντά-, Ps.-Dion. Areop. 1080 D Migne.
δι-, proverb. Zenob. 3. 25 p. 64,+
ὁλοοί-τροπα, τά, Hesych.
ἐπί-, Pind.,+
Ἐπί-, P.
-επίτροπος
ψευδ-, Polyb.
ἀν-, ον, Phryn. Praef. Soph. 12. 11 de Borries.
συν-, Dem.
† προσ-, pap. Amh. 2. 77. 31.
ἀντ-, Ditt. Inscr. Gr. Or. 480. 5, 586. 5,+
θερί-τροπος, ον, Tzetz.
περί-, v. l. in Plut. Lysand. 12, Hesych.
ἀπερί-, Soph.
ἀρτί- (v. l. -δρόποις), Aesch. Theb. 333.
ἔκ-, Cic. (Soph.); adv., Erotian, Greg. Nyss. (Soph.).
βδελύκ-, Aesch.
† ἀδιάν-, Interpol. Nicet. Acom. 380. 24 Bekk., Lambros Romans Grecs 2. 2812.
πάν-, Aesch.
ἔντροπον, τό, Poll. 5. 96.
ἀνέν-, Hesych. s. v. ἀπαντινά.
εὐέν-, CGL. 3. 374. 50.
παλίν-, Heraclit. 51 Diels,+
† σύν-, pap. Lond. 1. 108.
† εὐλαβοτρόπως, Anon. MS. (Koum.).
λογό-, Diog. L.
κακουργό-, Manass. Chron. 6132.
θεό-, Heliodor. de Philosophorum Arte Myst. 250.
† Θεό-, Graeco-Indian coins (Burrows CR. 22. 223).
ἀγαθό-, Manass. Chron. 5608.
λιθό-, MS. (Th. Add.).
βεβαιό-, Damasc. (Th.).
χυδαιό-, Niceph. Blemm. (Th.).
σκαιό-, Athan. (Th.).
παλαιό-, Nicom. Isag. 2. 16. 2,+
ἀρχαιό-, Thuc.,+
ἀνιό-, Act. SS. Sept. 8. 349 A.

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-τροπος, ον
ἰδιό-, Strabo,+
ἡλιό-, Interpol. Diosc. 4. 193.
δολιό-, Tzetz. Hist. 3. 443.
ἀλλοιό-, Hesych. s.v. ἀλλότροπος.
ὁμοιό-, Hipp. 1. 120. 21,+
†ἀνομοιό-, Eustrat. ad Arist. Analyt. Post. 52 Hayd.
τοιοτρόπως, Tzetz. Hist. 1. 536.
παντοιό-, CIG. 9540. 9.
θηριό-, Steph. Mon. Act. SS. Mart. 3. 6* B,+
ἀλλοτριό-, Niceph. Greg. 1. 549. 23 Schopen (adv., Eus. H.E. 5. 16,+).
μυριό-, Greg. Nyss. 1. 741 B Migne.
ὀφιό-, Manass. Chron. 4210, etc.
κακό-, Ar. fr. 575 Bl.,+
ἀδικό-, Crates 2. 249 Mein.
† μυστικοτρόπως, Greg. Naz. (Koum.).
καλό-, Jo. Diac. (Th.), CGL. 2. 337. 49.
ἀλληλό-, Linus ap. Stob. 1. 120. 1 Hense.
ποικιλό-, Suid. s.v. Κωνσταντῖνος.
ἀλλοτρόπως, Arist.,+
ὁλοτρόπως, Cyrill. Al. 1. 164 C Migne,+
δολό-, Epiphan. (Th.).
†αἰολό- (MS. αἰλό-), Hesych.
φαυλό-, Manass. Chron. 2612, 6124.
δουλό-, Aster. 380 D Migne, CGL. 3. 334. 30, etc.
†ἑλληνοθρησκοχριστοβλασφημό-, Const. Rh. (Koum.).
ὁμό-, Hdt.,+
†κοσμό-, Theod. Balsam. 19. 21 Horna.
πλανο-, Anth. P.
ξενό-, Pisid. Hexaem. 1496,+
καινό-, App.,+
ἑλινό-, IG. 12. 5. 739. 18.
οἰνο-, Lyc.,+
σεμνό-, Manass. Chron. 2574,+
μονό-, Eur.,+
ἀπό-, Hom.,+
δυσαπό-, IG. 2. 1660. 18.
ὑπό-, Hom.,+
ἀνυπό-, Hesych. s.v. ἀναρκτῆ.
βαρβαρό-, Manass. Chron. 3999.
ἑτερό-, Ar.,+
θηρό-, Isid. Pelus. 381 D Migne,+
πρό-, Vitruv. 8. 3. 12,+
†Κουροτρόπος mensis Acarnanum, IG. 9. 1. 513. 6.
ἰσό-, Did. Al. 408 A Migne,+
ἀρρητοτρόπως, Theod. Prodr., + (Th.).
†λεοντό-, Georg. Mon. 776 Bekk.
χρηστό-, Manass.
†αὐτοτρόπως, Georg. Phrantza 106. 19, 107. 4 Bekk.
ταὐτό-, Manass.
ἀπαιδευτό-, Diod. 4. 141. 5 Bekk.
†οὐτοτρόπως, Maz. (Koum.).
τοιουτό-, Hdt.,+
μοιχό-, Ar.
†ὑπέρτροπα, τά, Ptol. (Koum.).
μαστροπός, όν, Sophron 69 Kaib., +[VI. 206.
πρόσ-τροπος, ον, Soph.
δύσ-, Eur.,+
ὑποδύσ-, Poll.
πραΰ-, Plut.
εὖ-, Ps.-Hipp. 21. 130 Kühn, Arist.,+
Εὖ-, P.
βαθύ-, Manass.
πολύ-, Hom.,+
Πολύ-, P.
ἀπολύ-, Ps.-Chrys. (Th.).
καλαύροπον, Hesych.
εὔ-ροπος, ον, Philipp. in Anth. P. (adv., Antipho).
†ἔσ-οπος, inscr. Le Bas-Wadd. 3. 1473 [VII. 422.
δύς-οπος, ον, Hesych.

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τόπος, Aesch.,+
Τόποι, οἱ, P.
-τοπος, ον (substantives indicated), paroxytone and proparoxytone
ἀ-, Eur. fr. 184 Nauck,+
ὑπά-, Arist.
παρά-, Acta Thomae 85 Bonnet,+
ὑπερά-, Ps.-Dem.,+
†ἀέτοπον, Ps.-Appul. (Saalfeld).
Μέτ-οπος, P.
ἔκ-τοπος, ον, Soph.,+
παρέκ-, CGL. 2. 397. 41, etc.
ἔν-, Soph.,+
ἐλαιο-, ὁ, Corona Pretiosa (Meurs, Th.).
†ἰδιό-, Ps.-Arr. P. M. E. 47.
†κληρικό- (or -τοπίῳ?), Cerul. 781 C Migne.
φιλό-, Jo. Chrys. (Th.).
ψιλό-, ὁ, pap. Tor. (Mayser), pap. Par. 21 b 11.
†δυσκολότοπον, Lambros Romans Grecs 1. 2523.
†ἐρημό-, ὁ, op. cit. 1. 864.
ὑπό-, Ps.-Polemo Physiogn. 1. 371 Förster.
καχυπό-, Plat.,+
αὐτό-, ὁ, Jo. Cyriotes (Th.).
δύσ-, Clem. Al. 1. 296. 31 Stählin.
†πολύ-, Eust. (Koum.).
πολύ-οπος, ον, Theophr.
Μόψ-οπος, P.[VII. 433.
?βυρσόκαππον· τὸν Κλέωνα, Hesych.
πάππος "grandfather," Hdt.,+
πάππος, a bird, Ar.,+
πάππος "down on seeds," Soph. fr. 784 Nauck,+
Πάππος, P.
-παππος
ἀ-, ον, Aesch.
ἐπί-, Poll.,+
παππεπί-, Nicophon (?) 2. 854 Mein.
τρί-, CGL. 2. 459. 31.
Ἀντί-, P.
†φιλό-, Plut. 2. 48 E.
Φιλό-, P.
ἀπό-, Antec. (Soph.), CGL. 2. 533. 30, etc.
πρό-, Andoc.,+
?Πρό-, P.
†πατρό-, v. l. in Manass. Chron. 5915.
Ἀριστό-, P.
πρωτό-, Manass. Chron. 5927.
δίσ-, Antec. (Soph.).
τρίσ-, Antec. (Soph.).
ἵππος, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+
Ἵππος (also Ἵπποι), P.
-ιππος [VII. 434.
Δά-, P.
Νικάιππος, Lacon. = Νικήσιππος, SGDI. 4509.
Λά-, IG. 4. 1504. 1. 9.
†Γαδαλά-, CIG. 9259.
†Ἀγλά-, SGDI. 3734. 23.
ἐξά-, ον, Schol. Aesch.
†Δρά-, SGDI. 1351. 6.
†Ἡρά-, Ditt. Syll. 88. 1.
τετρά-, ον, Hesych. s.vv. τέθριππον, τέτρωλον,+
Βίππος, P.
Φλέβ-, P.
Ἄγ-, P.
†Ἠγ-, IG. 7. 2288.
Γόργ-, P.
†?Εὐμέδ-, IG. 3. 3. 23. 9.
†Αἴδ-, IG. 12. 2. 646. 9.
Παίδ-, P.
†Βείδ- (i e., Fειδ-), SGDI. 4445. 10.
Ποσείδ-, P.
†φείδ-, ον, Herodian 2. 598. 9.
Φείδ-, P.
†Ἀρίδ-, IG. 2. 4. 21.
†Πλησίδ-, Plaut. Rud.
†Ὀδ-, inscr. Le Bas-Wadd. 3. 111.
Θεόδ- (also Θοιδ-, Θειδ-), P.
Ῥοδ-, P.

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-ιππος
Κύδ- (Boeotian Κούδ-), P.
?Ἀε-, P.
Μελέ- (also Μέλ-), P.
Κλέ-, P.
†Ἐρέ-, SGDI. 2788. 3.
Αἰρήιππος, Lacon. = Αἰρήσιππος, IGA. 85.
Κρατήιππος, Lacon. = Κρατήσιππος, SGDI. 4, p. 692.
Βάθ-, P.
Ἀγάθ-, P.
Ἄνθ-, P.
Ξάνθ-, P.
†Πάνθ- (cf. Πάντ-), SGDI. Nachtr. 490. 8.
Νόθ-, P.
Εὔθ-, P.
†Τρούθ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 12. 121, 13. 6.
†Στρούθ-, ib. 13. 24.
Πύθ-, P.
δί-ιππον, CGL. 2. 277. 11, 3. 11. 7.
?ἡμί-, A. B. 733. 3.
τρί-ϊππον, CGL. 2. 459. 11, 3. 11. 8.
Νίκ-, P.
†Ἀνάγκ-, IG. 9. 2. 517.
†κρίκ-, Ps.-Codin. (Herw.).
†Κόκκ-, IG. 12. 3. 130.
Ἄλκ-, P.
Δέρκ-, P.
†Φύρκ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1887. 88. 3. 73.
Γλαύκ-, P.
†?Εὔκ-, Inscr. of Cos Numm. 144.
λεύκ-, Ibyc. 9 Crusius,+
Λεύκ-, P.
†?Λύκ-, Priene Inschr. 37. 39.
Ἄλ-, IG. 2. 52, 7. 3367.
Θάλ-, P.
?Κάλιπποι, P.
Μενάλ-, P.
Ἀγέλ-, P.
Ἀγγέλ-, P.
†Τήλ-, IG. 12. 3. 168. 33.
φίλ-, ον, Pind.,+
Φίλ- (Macedonian Βίλ-), P.
Παμφίλ-, P.
Ψευδοφίλ-, P.
μισοφίλ-, ον, Aeschin.,+
†Εὔκλ-, IG. 4. 991, etc.
κάλλ-, ον, Genes., + (Th.).
Κάλλ-, P.
†Ὁμόλ-, Apollod. 2. 7. 8.
†Φαύλ-, IG. 12. 1. 925, etc.
†Βύλ-, IG. 9. 2. 694.
Γύλ-, P.
Κύλ-, P.
†Αἰσχύλ-, IG. 2. 2212.
ἄμ-, ον, Soph.,+
Δάμ- = Δημ-, P.
Εὐδάμ-, P.
Σάμ-, P.
†Δήμ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1869. 404. 25, 45, 1911. 12. 115, etc.
†Εὐδήμ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1887. 83. 2. 6.
†Αἶμ-, CIG. 7559 b.
†Τίμ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1887. 79. 2.
†?Νόμ-, IG. 3. 3. 117. 2.
†Δρόμ-, IG. 2. 1710.
Χάρμ-, P.
Ἔρμ-, P.
†Κόσμ-, IG. 7. 2420.
Εὔμ-, P.
αἴχμ-, ον, Hesych.
ἄν-, ον, Pind. Paean 4.27,+
Ἀγάν-, P.
Ἀθάν-, P.
μελάν-, ον, Aesch. fr. 69. 5 Nauck.
Μελάν-, P.
†Μάν-, Hegemonius Acta Archelai 23. 9 Beeson.
Κυάν-, P.
Φάν-, P.
Σθέν-, P.
Μέν-, P.

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-ιππος
Ἰκαρομέν-, P.
Ἑέν-, P.
Εὐξέν-, P.
Ἀθήν-, P.
Εἰρήν-, P.
Αἴν-, P.
Φαίν-, P.
Τισαμενοφαίνιπποι, Ar. Ach. 603.
Δείν-, P.
Κλείν-, P.
Ἀμείν-, P.
†Φοίν-, CIG. 3664. 20.
Κρίν-, P.
δάμν-, ον, Orph. Arg.
Δάμν-, P.
†Γέν-, IG. 9. 2. 206.
Λεόν-, P.
μόν-, ον, Xen., Plat.,+
Ἀρν- (Koehler emends to Ἀρχ-), IG. 2. 944. 49; P.
κρόν-, ον, Ar.
Κύν-, P.
σύν-, ον, Tzetz. Hist. 3. 868.
ἴχν-, Hesych.
Γών- (also Γούν-), P.
Ἀγών-, P.
†Λεών-, Ditt. Syll. 328. 16, IG. 14. 1804.
Ἀνάξ-, P.
παράξ-, ον, Dio Chrys.,+
Πράξ-, P.
ξίππον, trag. fr. adesp. 609 suppl. Nauck,+
Δέξ-, P.
Ἀλέξ-, P.
πλήξ-, ον, Hom.,+
Πλήξ-, P.
†Ἀρήξ-, SGDI. 4445. 5, 29.
†Μείξ-, IG. 2. 1735, CIG. 3. 5164 (?).
Σοΐξ-, P.
Ἄρξ-, P.
†Εὖξ-, IG. 2 Add. 834 b 1. 50, etc.
ζεύξ-, ον, CGL. 2. 46. 20, etc., Ps.-Codin. (Herw.).
Ζεύξ- (also Δεύξ-), P.
διώξ-, ον, Pind.,+
Διώξ-, P.
†Μονό-, ον, MS. (Koum.).
πτερό-, ον, Tzetz. Hist. 3. 164.
†Πρό-, inscr. Mitth. 7. 252. 18.
αὐτο-ίππος, Arist.,+
πάρ-, ον, Polyb.,+
Χάρ-, P.
ἄγριππος = ἄγριφος, proverb. Zenob. 1. 6,+ [VI. 210.
†Φαίδρ-ιππος, IG. 2. 835. 37, etc.
Ἀμύδρ-, P.
†Θήρ- (Laconian Σήρ-), IG. 9. 2. 1321, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 13. 28.
τέθρ-, ον, Pind., Aesch. fr. 346 Nauck,+
αἴθρ-, ον, Anton. Mon. 71,+
Χαίρ- (Boeotian Χήρ-), P.
†Μοίρ-, Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux. 4. 216.
†Ἄκριππος, IG. 4. 1504. 1. 34.
†Πάτρ-, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1887. 83. 2. 10, 1895. 132. 10.
†Ταύρ-, coin (Th.).
Ἀργύρ-, P.
†Μύρ-, Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux. 2. 434.
†Πύρ- (Boeotian also Πούρ-), IG. 7. 3303, 3458.
†Δώρ-, IG. 2. 2527, 2576.
Γλώρ-, P.
†Δάσ- (Ditt. emends to Ἐλάσ-), IG. 7. 3172. 10.
ἐλάσ-, ον, Pind.,+
Ἐλάσ-, P.
δαμάσ-, ον, Bacchyl. 3. 23,+
Δαμάσ-, P.
Ψευδοδαμάσ-, P.
†Φανάσ-, CIG. 2. 1936. 20.
Πάσ-, P.

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-ιππος
Ἐράσ-, P.
Θράσ-, P.
Ἠτάσ-, P.
Στάσ-, P.
†Ἀλκέσ-, SGDI. 2101. 1, 4.
Τελέσ- (also Τελέ-), P.
Μενέσ-, P.
Ἀρέσ-, P.
Ἡγήσ- (also Ἀγήσ-, Ἀγήσ-, Ἀγείσ-, Ἀγάσ-, Ἡγήρ-), P.
Κλεήσ-, P.
Θήσ-, P.
Νικήσ- (also Νικάσ-, Νικάh-), P.
Μελήσ-, P.
Γνήσ-, P.
†Αἰνήσ- (also Αἰνείσ-), IG. 12. 3. 109, etc.
Μνήσ- (also Μνάσ-), P.
Ὀνήσ- (also Ὀνάσ-, Ὀνήρ-), P.
Αἰρήσ- (also Αἰρήh-), P.
Εὐρήσ-, P.
κρατήσ-, ον, Pind.
Κρατήσ- (also Κρατήh-), P.
Κτήσ-, P.
†Στήσ-, IG. 2. 2002, 3. 3599.
†κιχήσ-, sign. inc., Phot. s.v. κελενδρύονα.
†Κιχήσ-, IG. 1. 298, 2. 1455, etc.
†Γίσ-, IG. 7. 2720.
†Δείσ-, IG. 9. 2. 506.
Κλείσ- (also Κλήσ-), P.
Πείσ-, P.
†Τείσ-, IG. 2. 779, etc.
μίσ-, ον, Poll.
†Κρίσ-, pap. Hib. 1. 92. 13, 21.
Ἄρσ- (also Ἄρρ-), P.
Θάρσ- (also Θάρρ-), IG. 14. 421, SGDI. 2228. 1, 7.
μάρσιππος = -ιππος, q.v.
Θέρσ-ιππος, P.
Ὄρσ- (also Ὄρ(ρ)-), P.
†Ναύσ-, IG. 12. 1. 1168, etc.
Παύσ-, P.
δύσ-, ον, Xen.,+
†Κλεύσ-, IG. 7. 2724 e.
†Ἀμεύσ-, IG. 7. 585, 2814, etc.
†Πεύσ-, Anon. in Arist. Artem Rhet. 206. 4, 8 Rabe.
Σπεύσ-, P.
Λύσ- (also Λούσ-, Λύh-), P.
†Ἐρύσ-, SGDI. 4834 a 3.
τρύσ-, Theognost. Can. 24. 23.
Χρύσ- (also Χρούσ-), P.
Στύσ-, P.
Ζώσ-, P.
Γνώσ-, P.
σώσιππον, Porph. Cer. 312. 2 Reiske.
Σώσ- (also Σούσ-), P.
Κράτ-, P.
†Λακράτ-, IG. 9. 2. 1228.
Στράτ-, P.
†Ἀρέτ-, IG. 7. 420, SGDI. 4444. 48.
Ἀλλήτ-, P.
†Χήτ-, IG. 7. 2814.
†Κλείτ-, IG. 2. 5. 1220 b 4.
Ἄντ-, cf. Ἀνθ-, P.
Πάντ-, cf. Πάνθ-, P.
Κάρτ-, P.
†στίππον, pap. Goodsp. 30. 37. 11.
†Ἀστ-ιππος, IG. 9. 2. 66, 517.
Ἀρίστ-, P.
†Πρώτ-, SGDI. 5313. 2. 169, 172.
εὖ-, ον, h. Hom.,+
Εὖ-, P.
Λύhιππος, Lacon. = Λύσιππος, SGDI. 4591. 5.
πολύ-, ον, Hom.,+
††? Βού-, pap. Tebt. 2. 401. 42.
ταχύ-, ον, Schol. Ar. Nub. 727 Dind.
ἄφ-, ον, Xen., Plat.,+
ἔφ-, ον, Soph.,+
Ἐφ-, P.
†χερσέφ-, ον, pap. Tebt. 62. 34, 89. 63, 67, 152.

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-ιππος
ἄμφ-, Diod. 19. 29,+
κάμφ- =ἱππόκαμπος, Lucil. 1126 Marx.
†Τάχ-, SGDI. 3586 a 2, etc.
†ἀνάγχ-, ον, Eupol. ap. Phot. R.
†Ἔχ-, IG. 9. 2. 234. 61.
Ἄρχ-, P.
Εὐάρχ-, P.
Τύχ-, P.
†Θράψ-, CIG. 8459.
Κρύψ-, P.
Ζώ-, P.
καρπός "fruit," Hom.,+
καρπός "wrist," Hom.,+
Κάρπος, P.
καρπος, ον (substantives indicated)
ἀ-, Aesch.,+
κατά-, Aristod.,+
πάγ-, Pind.,+
Πάγ-, ὁ, P.
ἔγ-, Soph.,+
†σύγ-, Libistr. et Rhod. (Koum.).
φερέ-, Plut.,+
δί-, Theophr. H. P. 3. 4. 4,+
ἀεί-, Theophr.
καλλί-, Aesch.,+
Καλλί-, ὁ, P.
Ἐπί-, ὁ, P.
†περίκαρπον, Plin. 25. 131.
τρί-, Dion. H.
τελεσί-, Strabo.
ὠλεσί-, Hom.,+
ἀμφί-, Theophr.
ὀψί-, Theophr.,+
πρωΐ-, Theophr.
ἀγλαό-, Hom.,+
ἐλλοβό- (MS. -ανθής), Theophr.
ὀλιγό-, Theophr.,+
ἐμπεδό-, Emped. 78. 1 Diels.
χρυσεό-, lyr. (?) fr. adesp. 122 Bgk.[4]
ὡραιό-, Tzetz.
πλαγιό-, Theophr.
τελεό-, Manass. Chron. 98.
ἐπετειό-, Theophr.
ὁμοιό-, Th. without ref.
μυριό-, Soph.
ὡριό-, Orph. H.
κακό-, Greg. Thaum. 39. 1 Koetschau.
λευκό-, Theophr.
μεγαλό-, Theophr.
ὀμφαλό-, ὁ, Diosc. 3. 94, Plin. 27. 32.
ἀμπελό-, ὁ, Diosc. 3. 94.
μηλόκαρπον, Interpol. Diosc. 3. 4,+
φυλλό-, ὁ, Steph. B. s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρειαι.
ἐπιφυλλό-, Theophr.
μανό-, Th. without ref.
φθινό-, Pind.
πρινό-, ὁ, Manass.
πυκνό-, Luc.
γυμνό-, Theophr.
†κωνό-, ὁ, CGL. 3. 544. 10, etc.
χλοό-, Orph. H. 39. 5, etc.
ἀβρόκαρπον, Hesych.
δενδρό-, ὁ, Achmet Onir. 151.
ἑτερό-, Hipp. 21. 414. 6 Kühn.
ξηρό-, Theophr.
ἀκρό-, Theophr.
μικρό-, Theophr.
πικρό-, Aesch.,+
†πετρό-, ὁ, Theod. Prisc. (Saalfeld).
ἰσόκαρπον, Schol. Ven. Il.,+
ῥυσσό-, Th. without ref.
χρυσό-, Plin. 16. 147,+
λεπτό-, Diosc. 3. 26.
χρηστό-, Strabo.
†ἀριστό-, Bacchyl. 3. 1.
αὐτό-, A. B.
κλυτό-, Pind.
δρυόκαρπον, Nicet. Acom. 661. 4 Bekk.
στελεχό-, Theophr.
ὑπέρ-, Th. without ref.
βραδύ-, Theophr.
ἡδύ-, Theophr.

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καρπος
εὔ-, h. Hom.,+
Εὔ-, P.
βαθύ-, IG. 3. 170.
γλυκύ-, Theocr.,+
πολύ-, Hom.,+
Πολύ-, P.
δρύκαρπον, Lyc.,+
† Ἀγλώ-, ὁ, IG. 12. 3. 336. 23.
ἐξώ-, Eust. 1572. 39.
σάρπος, Hesych., + [VII. 435.
ταρπός = τάρπη, Poll. [VII. 435.
ἀταρπός, ἡ, = ἀτραπός, Hom.,+
? ἄ-τερπος, ον, Il. 6. 285.
δόρπον (δόρπος, ὁ or ἡ, Nic.), Hom.,+
-δορπος, ον
ἄ-, Pind. Paean 6. 128,+
† ἐπί-, Herond. 4. 13.
σύν-, Lyc.,+
ἀποινό-, Lyc.
κητο-,[1] Lyc.
Σκόρπος, P.
-πορπος
ἀντί-, Hippiatr. (Th.).
σύμ-, ον, Hesych.
ἑτερό-, ον, Call.
λίσπος, η, ον, Ar.,+[VI. 202.
ὑπό-λισπος, ον, Ar.
? γυπός, ή, όν, Hesych.
† Γόργυπος, Eph. Arch. 1911. 22. 7.
ἱππό-γυποι, οἱ, Luc.
ὠκύπος, ον, Anth. P., Herodian 1. 188. 24 L., etc. [VII. 434.
-λυπος, ον (proper names, ὁ).
ἄ-, Soph.,+
Ἄ-, P.
φιλά-, Orph. H.
τρισά-, Theophr.
κατά-, IG. 7. 3177. 17.
† ἀλεξί-, Nicet. Acom. (Koum.).
ἐπί-, Arist.,+
περί-, Hipp. 1. 130. 4 Kühlew,+
παυσί-, Soph. fr. 392 Nauck,+
Παυσί-, P.
† Διψαναπαυσί-, Alciphr. 3. 31.
ἕλ-, Plut.,+
γυναικολύπως, Manass. (Th.).
φιλό-, Plut.,+
πόλυπος = πώλυπος, Arist., + [VII. 434.
μικρό-λυπος, ον, Plut.
† Εὔ-, IG. 3. 3. 21. 4.
πολύ-, Schol. Eur. Hec. 721 Dind.
βαρύ-, Plut. 2. 114 F.
πώλυπος = πῶλυψ, πούλυπος, πόλυπος, πολύπους, Semon. 29 Bgk.[4],+ [VII. 434.
(γ)δοῦπος, Hom.,+
-δουπος, ον (substantives indicated)
ἄ-, Epiphan. 2. 254. 5 Dind.
κατά-, ὁ, Hesych.,+
Κατάδουποι, οἱ (*Catadupa*, Cic.), P.
μετά-, Hes.
διάγ-, Niceph. Blemm. (Th.).
μελίγ-, Pind.
ἀλί(γ)-, Opp.,+
ἐρί(γ)-, Hom.,+
Ἐρίγ-, ὁ, P.
μασίγ-, Hesych.
βαρύ(γ)-, Pind.,+
μενέ-, Orph. Arg.
περί-, Tzetz. Posth. 457.
ἁρμασί-, Pind. fr. 17 Bergk-Schr.
ὠρεσί-, Scaliger's Conj. in Anth. P. 9. 524.
ἀντί-, Aesch., Plat. Com. ap. Phot. R.
ἀσπιδό-, Pind.
γομφιό-, Maecius in Anth. P.
μεγαλό-, Manass. Chron. 273.
φιλό-, Phanias in Anth. P.
ὁπλό-, Orph. H.

[1] 954, *κητοδόρποις συμφοραῖς* "becoming food for sea-monsters." The dictionaries are wrong in making this determinative compound proparoxytone.

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δουπος, ον
  ὁμό-, Nonn.
  τυμπανό-, Orph. H.
  μονό-, Besantinus Rh. in Anth. P.
  † ὑπό-, Hes. fr. 48 Rz.²
  ὀξύ-, Philipp. in Anth. P.
  † Μέτ-ουπος = Μετωπός, IG. 9. 2. 517. 62, 85.
? στοῦπος, Hesych.
ῥύπον "whey," Phot.
ῥύπος (ῥύπα, τά, Hom.), Semon. 7. 63 Crusius,+
γρυπός, ή, όν, Xen.,+
Γρύπος, P.
  ἐπί-γρυπος, ον, Hdt.,+
  ὑπό-γρυπος, ον, Philostr. H. 2. 192. 13 Kayser.
-ρυπος
  χαλαί-, Cratin. 2. 212 Mein.,+
  ἄρ-, ον, Symm. V. T. (Hatch and Redp.), Acta Phillipi 13,+
  ἡμίρ-, ον, Hipp. 22. 871: 5 Kühn.
  κακόρ-, ον, Babr.
  φιλόρ-, ον, Nilus (Th.),+
  δί-τρυποι, CGL. 2. 30. 27.
  εὐθύ-τρυπος, ον, Theophr. De Sensu 521. 2 Diels.
Αἴσυπος, P.
οἴσυπος, Diosc., Plin. 29. 35,+
τύπος, Xenophanes p. 41. 36 Diels,²+
-τυπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
  ἄ-, Caelius Sabinus ap. Gell.,+
  λα-, Soph. fr. 487 Nauck,+
  παρά-, Schol. Ar. Ach. 517 Ruth.
  ἀρχέ-, Ps.-Praxiteles p. 146 Crusius, Cic.,+
  χαμαι-,[1] Arist.,+
  ὀρει- (also ὀρεο-, ὀροι-, ὀρο-), Theophr. C. P. 5. 11. 3,+
  ἀλί-, Aesch.,+
  κολοι-, Hesych.
  σολοι-, Hesych.
  σολοί· . . . χαλκός τις ἐν Κύπρῳ, Hesych.
  ὀροι- = ὀρει-, Nic.,+
  χοροι-, Pind. fr. 156 Schr.²,+
  χοροί-, h. Hom.
  τρί-, Eudoc. Cypr. 2. 123.
  ἀντί- (η, ον, Soph. Ant. 134) "repelling," Theogn.,+
  ἀντί- "repelled," Soph., orac. ap. Hdt.,+
  ? ἀναντί-, Sext. Emp.
  ἀρτί-, Nonn.
  ἀμφί-, Q. Sm.
κτύπος, Hom.,+
-κτυπος, ον, paroxytone and properoxytone
  ἄ-, Eust.
  κατά-, Anton. Mon. s.v. κατάδουπος.
  ἑπτά-, Pind.
  ἑκ-τυπος, ον, Ion 42 Nauck (?), Aristeas ad Philocr. 531. 13 Macauley,+
  μενέ-κτυπος, ον, Bacchyl. 16. 1.
  δί-, Nonn.
  ἀλί-, Soph.,+
  Ἀλί-, ὁ, P.
  ἐρί-, Hes.
  ὁρί-, Nonn.
  δορί-, Pind.
  † τρί-, h. in Lun. Miller Mél. de Liter. Gr. 453. 24, pap. Denkschrift. d. Wien. Akad. 36. 2. 80. ll. 2524, 2820.
  ὀρσί-, Pind.
  ἀντί-, Nonn. Paraphr. 8. 104.
  † ἐγχί-, Herodian 2. 410. 10.
  θεό-, Cosm. 497 B Migne, Gramm. in An. Boiss. (Th.).
  † χαλκεό-, Bacchyl. 17. 59.

[1] Even in the obscene sense the feminine is χαμαιτύπος in Polyb. 8. 11. 11 (possibly masc.), Philo 2. 154. 2 (Cohn's emendation to -τύπαι is unnecessary), and CGL. 2. 505. 38. Cf. the substantive χαμαιτύπη.

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-κτυπος, ον
νεό-, Greg. Naz. (Th.).
? ἠλιό- (Wellauer; MSS. διό-), Aesch. Suppl. 155.
χαλκό-, Diogen. Trag. p. 776 Nauck.
†βαρβιτοναβλοπλινθοκυμβαλο-, Const. Rh. (Koum.).
μεγαλό-, Hesych.
πεδιοπλό- (or πεδί' ὁπλό-, or πεδί' ὁπλῶν κτύπος), Aesch. Sept. 83.
διδυμό-, Nonn.
κυμό-, Eur. Hypsipyle fr. 1. 2. 28 in pap. Oxy. 6,+
† τυμπανο-, Const. Rh. Apost. 296.
χιονό-, Soph.
† στερνο-, Timoth. Pers. 112.
† ? στερνό-, Bacchyl. 13. 16.
ὀμβρό-, Aesch.
μυδρο-, Eur.
ἑτερό-, Nonn. D. 39. 347.
χειρό- (or χορο-), Telest. 1. 5 Crusius.
λυρο-, IG. 14. 2134. 7, Nonn.
λυρό-, Lyc.[1]
σφυρό-, Theod. Prodr. (Th.).
ἰσό-, Nonn.
ἁρματό-, Aesch.
† κοπετό-, Orphic hymn in Miller Mél. de Liter. Gr. 455.
νιφό-, Castorion p. 152 Crusius.
βαρύ-, h. Hom.,+
ἄντυπος, ἴσος, ὅμοιος, ἢ ἐναντίος, Hesych.

-τυπος, ον
ἓν-, Poll.,+
λαο-, Alcaeus in Anth. P.,+
φαβο-, Arist.,+
θεό-, Cosmas ad Greg. Naz. Carm. 454 Migne.
ὀρεο- = ὀρει-, Theophr.
ἀγαθό-, Ps.-Dion. Areop. 724 B Migne.
ἀρχαιό-, Suid.
ἰδιό-, Hermes ap. Stob. 1. 389. 19 Hense.
† ὁμοιό-, Ptol. (Soph.).
χαλκο-, Pherecrates 2. 315. Mein., +
χαλκό-, Hom.,+
καλο-, Hesych.
ὑαλό-, Lex. MS. (Th.).
ἠλό-, Nonn.
ζηλό-, Ar.,+
ἀζηλό-, Plut.
ἀλλό-, Hesych., Phot. s.v. ἤλεκτρον.
καλαμοτύπορ (MS. -τύπον), Λάκωνες, Hesych.
ὁμό-, pap. Greco-Egizii 1. 50. 116, +
γνωμο-, Ar.,+
† εἰκονο-, Georg. Mon. 775. 17 Bekk.
μονοτύπως, Epiphan. 2. 534. 24 Dind.
σπλαγχνό-, Manass. Chron. 4774.
χειμωνο-, Aesch.
ἀπό-, Joseph., Ditt. Syll. 588. 31, 183.
χονδρό-, Arist.
ἱερό-, Ps.-Dion. Areop. 328 A Migne,+
θηρό-, Orph. H.
ὀρο- = ὀρει-, Aesch.
† πρό-, Adam. 182. 23 Bakh. (adv., Hesych.).
? πρότυπα, τά (or πρόσ-?), Diosc. 1. 27.
προτύπως (for πρωτοτύπως?), Hesych.
κεντρο-, Schol. Ar. Nub. 450 Ruth.
κεντρό-, Hesych.
† ἀστροτύπως, Jo. Damasc. 3. 1293 B Migne.
σταυρό-, Greg. Naz. 3. 969 A, 1258 A Migne.

[1] 918, λυροκτύπῳ "twanging like a lyre." L. and S. assume that the word is paroxytone.

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-τυπος, ον
ἰσό-, Athan. 2.720 Migne,+
χρυσό-, Eur.
†ἀρρητο-, Psellus 573 B Migne.
βαιστό-, Ps.-Manetho.
αὐτό-, Opp.
πρωτό-, Dion. Thrac. 25. 3 Uhlig,+
ζῳο-, Nonn.,+
στύπος, Galen Lex. Hipp. s.v. ὅπλα, Hesych. s.v. στύπη.
πρόσ-τυπος, ον, Plin. 35. 152, Diosc. 4. 10,+
βου-, Ap. Rh.,+
-ωπος, ον, and η, ον, the latter indicated (proper names, ὁ), oxytone and proparoxytone
ἀλα-, Nonn.,+ [VII. 429.
αἰγ-, Arist.,+
φλογ-, Aesch.,+
ἀργ-, Nic. fr. 74. 19 Sch.
γοργ-, Aesch.,+
αὐγ-, Welcher Syll. Ep. (L. and S.).
†? Αἰδ-, SGDI. 5102.
ῥοδ-, Diosc.
νε-, Hesych.
†νέωπον (or νίωπον), Diodotos ap. Erotian. 98 Klein, Plin. 15. 26.
†στερε-ωπός, Emped. 21. 6 Diels [VII. 428.
Ἀγάθ-, P.
ξανθ-, Opp.
†πελι-, Herodian 1. 188. 5 L.
†ἠλι-, Soph. or Eur. p. 531 Nauck.
σκολι-, Max. Epirota 1 c Ludw.,+
†ἀλλοι-, Emped. 21. 14 Diels.
†Καρί- (= Κάρ-?), SGDI. 1339. 6 [VII. 427.
ἀγρι-, Eur.,+[VII. 428.
?περί-, Hesych. s.v. ἀμφίσωπον.
†κρι-, Phot. R. 151. 6.
μυρι-, Aesch.
κῶπος, VV. LL. (Th.).
-κωπος, ον (substantives indicated)
ἀ-, Philipp. in Anth. P.
εἰκοσά-, Hesych. s.v. εἰκοσόροιο.
πεντά-, CGL. 2. 401. 25.
τριακοντά-, Polyb. 22. 26. 13.
μελάγ-, Schol. vet. Eur. Or. 821.
ἔγκωπον, Ath.
δί-, Eur.,+
ἑλικ-ωπός, ον, Orph. H.
ἐπί-κωπος, ον "furnished with oars," Cic.,+
ἐπί- "up to the hilt," Ar.
ἐπί-, ὁ "rower, captain," Menander Eph., inscr. Rev. d. Études Gr. 17. 210. 2.
τρί-, v.l. in Clem. Al. 2. 64. 20 Dind.
ὀρθιό-, Hesych.
†ἱστιό-, Gell. 10. 25.
φιλό-, Hesych. s.v. φιλήρετμοι.
μονό-, Eur.
λιπό- (MS.; Lob. λιθό-), Phan. in Anth. P.
†σιδαρό-, Timoth. Pers. 155.
κερό-, Basil. Gramm.,+(Th.).
μακρό-, E.M. 282. 16.
πρό-, Aesch.,+
ἐλεφαντό-, Theopomp. Com. 2. 800 Mein.
αὐτό-, Aesch.
πρόσ-, Thuc.,+
γλαυκ-ωπός, ον, Cornut. Compend. 20.
Γλαύκ-, Steph. B. s.v. Ἀλαλκομένιον.
εὖ-κωπος, ον, Opp.
Λύκ-ωπος, P.
καλυκ-ωπός, ον (Ruhnken; MS. καλοπός), Hesych.
πολύ-κωπος, ον, Soph.,+
ἀλωπός, Soph. fr. 271 Nauck,+
-ωπος, ον, oxytone and proparoxytone
μεγαλ-, Opp.
καλ- (or καλυκ-, q.v.), Hesych.
ἀμβλ-, Aesch.,+[VII. 429.
νή-λωπος, ον, Th. without ref.

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-ωπος, ον
τηλ-, Soph.,+
κοιλ-, Eur. [VII. 428.
†Κοιλωποί, SGDI. 1354. 8. [VII. 432.
†σκλῶπος, Jo. Canan. 469 Bekk.
μονό-λωπος, ον, Anton. Mon. 1367.
αὐλ-ωπός, όν, Opp.
γογγυλ-, Hesych.
αἰμ-, Leonidas in Anth. P.,+
μελαν-, Marcell. Sidet. (Th.),+
Μελάν-, P.
κυαν-, trag. fr. adesp. 541. 3 Nauck, +
παρθεν-, Eur.,+[VII. 428.
ἀρρεν- (ή, όν, Luc.), Plat.,+[VII. 428.
Ἰν-, P.
κελαιν-, Herodian 1. 188. 4 L.
δειν-, ή, όν, Hes. [VII. 431.
στε(ι)ν-(ή, όν, Tzetz. Prolog. Lyc. 2. 32 Scheer), Hom.,+[VII. 422.
οἰν- (ή, όν, Hipp.(?) Nat. Mul. 22. 529 Kühn,+), Eur.,+
†Σίνωπος, Eust. Od. 1721. 9.
Κν-ῶπος, P.
χιον-ωπός, όν, Nonn.
μον-, Call.
?ἀ-κώνωπος, ον, Jo. Malal. 265 Dind.
ῥῶπος, Aesch. fr. 263. 2 Nauck,+
†Κάρ-ωπος (=Καρί-?), SGDI. 1350. 2.
μαρμαρ-, όν, Eur.
Πάρ-ωπος, Polyb. 1. 24. 4.
μυσαρ-, όν, Ps.-Manetho.
χαρ-, όν, Herodian 1. 188. 4 L., Ps.-Manetho,+
Δρ-ῶπος, IG. 7. 299.
φαιδρ-ωπός, όν-, Aesch. Ag. 725(?), Eur.,+[VII. 428.
†ὑδρ-, ᾱ, όν, IG. 4. 952. 1 [VII. 425.
φοβερ-, Orph. fr. (Th.), Or. Sib. 13. 78.
στυγερ-, Agath. in Anth. P.
γαλερ-, A.B.
ἀπέρ-, Phryn. Praep. Soph. 10. 18 de Borries,+[VII. 422.
νυκτερ-, Eur.,+[VII. 429.
ἀστερ-, Aesch. fr. 170. 2 Nauck,+ [VII. 423.
Ἀστέρ-, P.
αἰθρ- (v.l. αἰθ-), Ps.-Manetho.
ἄνθρωπος, Hom.,+
Ἄνθρωπος, P.
-άνθρωπος, ον (substantives indicated)
φαγ-, Hesych.,+
ὀλιγ-, Xen.,+
ψευδ-, ὁ, Eust. (Th.).
θε-, ὁ, Jo. Chrys. (Th.),+
†ὀρθάνθρωπον, CGL. 3. 570. 58.
ἡμι-, Luc.,+
†ἀγρι-, ὁ, Corona Pretiosa (Du Cange).
θηρι-, ὁ, Ps.-Herodian (Th.).
μυρι-, Greg. Nyss (Th.), Anna Comn. 8. 5,+
μυρμηκ-, ὁ, Pherecrates 2. 310 Mein.,+
χαλκ-, ὁ, Zosimus Panop. 110. 3 Berthelot.
λυκ-, Marcell. Sidet. ap. Aetius Iatr. in Förster Physiogn. 2. 282,+
φιλ-, Aesch.,+
ἀφιλ-, Plut. 2. 1098 D,+
ψιλ-, Anast. Sin. (Th.).
†ἐρημάνθρωπον, Lambros Romans Grecs 1. 1268.
παν-, Caesarius 1164 Migne.
†κυαν-, Tzetz. in Cram. An. Ox. 3. 303.
κυν-, Marcell. Sidet. ap. Aetius Iatr. in Förster Physiogn. 2. 282,+
συν-, ὁ, Eust. (Th.).
ἐξ-, Aretae.,+
μιξ-, Themist. (Th.), Liban.

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-ἄνθρωπος, ον
βο-, ὁ, Tzetz.
αὐτο-, ὁ, Arist.,+
ἀπ-, Aesch.,+
ἱππ-, ὁ, Eust.
ὑπερ-, Dion. H.,+
βουτραγοταυρ-, Tzetz. Hist. 7. 485.
ἀργυρ-, ὁ, Zosimus Panop. 112. 1 Berthelot.
ἰσ-, Severian (Th.).
μισ-, Phryn. Com. 2. 580 Mein.,+
τρισ-, ὁ, Diog. Cyn. ap. Diog. L. 6. 47.
χρυσ-, ὁ, Zosimus Panop. 112. 2 Berthelot.
πολυ-, Thuc.,+
†ἀρχ-, ὁ, Iren.,+(Soph.).
σκυθρ-ωπός, όν (ή, όν Hipp. 1. 243. 17 Kühlew.,+), Aesch.,+[VII. 429.
κρῶπος, Theognost., Anton. Mon. 1252.
-ωπος, ον, oxytone and proparoxytone
μορμορ-, Ar. [VII. 431.
ἀστρ- = ἀστερ-, Eur.
ταυρ-, Ion 6. 2 Crusius,+
εὐρ-, Eur.,+[VII. 428.
Εὔρ-, P. [VII. 432.
†Εὔρ- (or Εὐρώτας?), IG. 3. 1131.
†βδελυρ-, Eudoc. Cypr. 1. 94.
πυρ-, Aesch.,+
βλοσυρ-, Dion. P.,+
Ὡρ-, ὁ and ἡ, P. [VII. 432.
Ἀσ-, Ἀσωπά, τά, P.
μελεσ- (or μελανωπός?), Theognost. Can. 69. 6.
Αἴσ-, P. [VII. 433.
εἰσ-, Hom.,+
ἀμφίσ-, Aesch. fr. 41 Nauck. [VII. 422.
†Ἀμφίσ-, IG. 1. 439.
πρόσωπον (πρόσωπος, ὁ, Plat. Com. 2. 691 Mein.), Hom.,+[VII. 422.
Πρόσωπον, P.

-πρόσωπος, ον (substantives indicated)
ἀ-, Plat.,+
τετρα-, Plut.,+
†κατα-, Porph. Cer. 672. 8 Reiske.
δι-, Dion. Thrac. 68 Uhlig,+
καλλι-, Philox. 6 Crusius.
φιλοκαλλι-, Jo. Climac. 832 B Migne.
†περι-, Cosm. Carm. Greg. 489 Migne.
τρι-, Chariclid. 4. 556 Mein.,+
ἀντι-, Xen.,+
†ἀρτι-, Philes (Koum.).
ἀμφι-, Emped. 61. 1 Diels,+
†ἐκ-, pap. Grenf. 2. 100. 5 (adv., Ignat. Vit. Niceph. 181. 17 de Boor).
παμ-, Plotin.
?ἐμ-, Ps.-Phalar. Ep. 147.
καραβο-, Luc.
τραγο-, Suid. s.v. μένδην.
αἰγο-, Hdt.
Λιθοπρόσωπον, P.
ὀρνιθο-, Porph.
ὀρθο-, Caesarius (Th.).
ὀπισθο-, Schol. Tzetz. (Th.).
†ἰβιο-, pap. mag. Leid. V 5. 60.
ἰδιο-, Ptol. (Th.).
†ἀνοικειο-, Tzetz. in Nauck Lex. Vind. 252.
†γελοιο-, MS. (Koum.).
†ἀλλοιο-, MS. (Koum.).
?ὁμοιο-, E.M. (Th.).
κριο-, Hdt.,+
μυριο-, Jo. Mon. (Th.).
ὀφιο-, pap. mag. Leid. V 5. 19 (ὀφεο-),+
κακο-, Xenocr. ap. Stob. 3. 351. 20 Gaisf.
ἱερακο-, Eus. P. E. 1. 140 Dind., pap. (Herw.).
γυναικο-, pap. Oxy. 3. 465. 203,+
χαλκο-, Jo. Chrys. 1. 890 Migne.

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-πρόσωπος, ον
καλο-, Manass. Chron. 6071,+
σκυλλο-, Th. without ref.
στρογγυλο-, Arist.,+
σιμο-, Plat.,+
† ὁμο-, Anast. Sin. 144 C Migne.
στυγνο-, Greg. Naz.,+ (Th.).
ξενο-, Jo. Antioch.,+ (Th.).
στενο-, Ps.-Arist. Physiogn.
† πτηνο-, Solom. 1342 A Migne.
† ῥοδινο-, Theoph. cont. 472. 22 Bekk.
σεμνο-, Eust. (Th.).
ὀνο-, Solom. 1341 A Migne, Schol. Luc. 150. 7 Rabe.
μονο-, Draco Stratonic. ap. Apoll. Dysc. de Pron. 17. 2 Schn.,+
δαιμονο-, Germ. Cpol. (Th.).
κυνο-, Luc.,+
Κυνοπρόσωποι, οἱ, P.
τετραγωνο-, Hdt.
† ἱππο-, pap. Denkschrift. d. Wien. Akad. 36. 2. 80. l. 2549.
† ἀνθρωπο-, Euth. Zugab. 1292 D Migne.
σοβαρο-, Manass. Chron. 1048, etc.
† χαζαρο-, Imperat. Mich. ap. Symeon Magister 673 Bekk.
† ἱλαρο-, Acta Io. 88 Bonnet,+
φαιδρο-, Manass.
ἀνδρο-, Hesych. s.v. ἀνδροπρῶρον.
ἑτερο-, Phoebamm.,+
† ἀστερο-, Hesych. Hier. 1557 C Migne.
δευτεροπροσώπως, Theodos. (Th.).
τρυφερο-, Manass. Chron. 3859.
ἀνθηρο-, Jo. Malal. 257. 7 Dind.
σκληρο-, LXX Ez. 2. 4 (v. l.), Aq. V. T., Theodotian V. T. (Hatch and Redp.).
ἐρυθρο-, Malch. 273 Bekk.
ἀπειρο-, Ps.-Dion. Areop. 481 A Migne,+
μακρο-, pap. Petr. 1. 12. 3,+
μικρο-, Ps.-Arist. Physiogn.,+
προπροσώπως, Mich. Glyc. Ann. 558 Bekk.
ταυρο-, Schol. Ap. Rh. (Th.), pap. (Herw.).
αἰσχρο-, Suid. s.v. φιλοκλῆς II.
† ἰσο-, Eccl. (Koum.).
μουσο-, Philodem. in Anth. P.
τερατο-, Ps.-Herodian (Th).
χαριτο-, Manass.
τριτο-, Theodos. (Th.).
λεοντο-, pap. Oxy. 3. 465. 162, Procl. ad Plat. Tim. 202. 25 Diehl,+
λεπτο-, Is. Porph. 87. 3 Hinck.
αὐτο-, pap. Oxy. 8. 1086. 64, Luc.,+
† αὐτοπρόσωπον, Porph. Cer. 45 Reiske.
πρωτο-, Moschop. (Th.).
ἀλφο-, Hippiatr. (Th.).
† τριμορφο-, Lybistr. et Rhod. (Koum.).
δυσ-, Plut.,+
ἡδυ-, Matro,+
εὐ-, Simon. 23 Bgk.[4],+
Εὐπρόσωπον, P.
φιλευ-, Basil. 2. 825 B Migne,+
θηλυ-, Suid. s.v. Σειρῆνες.
πολυ-, Lyc. Orator ap. Arist.,+
βου- (βουο-, Solom. 1342 Migne), Porph.,+
πλατυ-, Arist. Mirab.,+
πυρσ-ωπός, όν, Marcell. Sidet. (Th.), Opp.
Κασσ-ωπός, P. [VII. 427.
? ὔσσωπος, ἡ (ὔσσωπον, τό, Cels. 4. 15 (8),+), LXX Ex. 12. 22, etc.,+
-ωπος, ον, oxytone and proparoxytone
Δύσ-, P.[VII. 422.
χρυσ-, Eur.,+
κατ-, Hippiatr. (Th.) [VII. 429.
αἱματ-, Eur.
τερατ-, h. Hom.[VII. 423, 431.

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μέτ-ωπον, τό, Hom.,+[VII. 422.
† μετ-ωπός, ἡ, Plin. 12. 107,+
Μέτ- (Thessalian, Μέτουπος), P.
Μέτωπον, τό, P. [VII. 432.
-μέτωπος, ον
† ? ἀργι-, Phryn. Trag. 16 Nauck.
δι-, App.
ἀντι-, Xen.,+
καμψι-, Leo in Purgold. Observatt. p. 278.
θηροζυγοκαμψι-, Anth. P.
κρυψι-, Luc.
ἀργο-, Philo Belop. (Th.).
λευκο-, pap. Grenf. 2. 14(b)3,+
μεγαλο-, E.M. 396. 50.
† κτηνο-, Philes (Koum.).
ὑγρο-, Rufinus in Anth. P. 5. 35.
προ-, Erotian (Th.).
ταυρο-, Orph. H.
ἰσο-, Xen.
εὐρυ-, Hom.,+
δασυ-, Geop.
πλατυ-, Ael. N. A. 12. 19,+
? νέτωπον, τό, Hipp. 21. 477 Kühn,+
νυκτ-ωπός, όν, Eur.
ἀντ-, Eur. I.A. 584,+[VII. 429.
Κρότ-, P.[VII. 433.
† ? Χρήστ-, SGDI. 3597. 10.
εὐ-, Eur.,+
† Εὔ-, IG. 14. 1809.
ἀμβλυ-, Hipp. Morb. Sacr. 21. 608 Kühn,+
ἐγχελυ-, Luc.
πολυ- "with many eyes," Hesych., +[VII. 430.
πολυ-"with many holes," Hom.,+
μυ-, Xen.,+ [VII. 422.
ὀξυ-, Arist.,+
Ὀξύωπον, P.
δολιχ-, Hesych.

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# NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

## AJAX AND THE VULTURES (SOPH. *Ai.* 167–71)

In the *Classical Review* (XXVI, 4) I attempted to show that ἐπιβάντ' in 144 is merely a resumption of ἐπιβῇ in the first sentence of the parodos, and, further, that we had totally misconceived the poet's meaning in vss. 143–45.[1] I am disposed to think that we have also completely misunderstood vss. 167–71 at the very end of the parodos, in which, in the (supposed) famous simile of the αἰγυπιός, scholars have universally identified Ajax with the vulture; for, in my opinion, it is not the Salaminian hero himself, but his foes, that Sophocles intended to represent as γῦπες.

In Liddell and Scott on αἰγυπιός we find these words: "and often in the poets from Homer downwards." But certainly this should read "and *not* often"; for the word is found only four times in the *Iliad* (Π 428 repeated in P 460), and twice in the *Odyssey* (π 217, χ 302), while in the post-Homeric poets it does not occur at all, with the solitary exception of Aesch. *Ag.* 49 (τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν). In prose αἰγυπιός barely emerges. The word is glossed in Hdt. 3.76 by γυπῶν—and here αἰγυπιός is not the pursuer, but the *pursued!*

If my conception of the poet's meaning is correct, the point of the passage is lost in all the explanations hitherto offered. Sophocles is contrasting the clamors of the Danai with the absolute silence which would ensue, if Ajax should appear. The emphasis is on παταγοῦσιν and ἄφωνοι. The verb has nothing to do with "the chatter of flocking birds," but refers to the loud uproar made by the Danai, to their outcries against Ajax, in contradistinction to the motionless cowering and perfect silence, of the awe-struck Greeks, which would inevitably prevail, if the Salaminian hero should make his appearance. Old Strepsiades learns from Socrates that ὥσπερ βροντὴ τὸ ζωμίδιον παταγεῖ, and when clouds strike together, ῥήγνυνται καὶ παταγοῦσιν (*Nub.* 378). The clashing of shields is a πάταγος (*Ach.* 539); and the chorus of women in the *Lysistrata* speak of a θορύβου καὶ πατάγου χυτρείου (329). The noun πάταγος signifies "strepitus," such as the beating of wings, a great noise οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός (Aesch. *Sept.* 104), an ἦχος, a κτύπος, the battle din, πάταγος ἀσπίδων (Eur. *Heracl.* 832). The substantive occurs twice in Sophocles (*Ant.* 125; *Tr.* 519), the verb only in this passage. Cf. N 283, Π 769, Φ 9: ἐν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ; Hdt. 7.211: βοῇ τε καὶ

[1] My interpretation and emendations seem to receive additional support from the following passages: Eur. *Phoen.* 153 ff.: ἀλάστωρ . . . . βρίθων . . . . ἐπὶ παῖδας ἔβα; *Med.* 1333: ἀλάστορ' εἰς ἐμ' ἔσκηψαν: *Hipp.* 1382: ἐμολέ τ' ἐπ' ἐμέ; Aesch. *Ag.* 1175: δαίμων ὑπερθεν βαρὺς ἐμπίτνων; cf. Lucian *Char.* 3 χειμὼν . . . . ἐμπεσών.



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πατάγῳ ἐπήισαν. The πάταγος in our passage is the ζαμενὴς λόγος ἐκ Δαναῶν (138) and the μεγάλοι θόρυβοι (142). Cf. 164: ὑπὸ τοιούτων θορυβῇ. These the sailors cannot repel unaided. "Clangorem fundit uastum uultur." But if Ajax should come forth, the Greeks in abject terror would cower mute and still.

Now γῦπες are, according to Hesychius, ὄρνεα σαρκοφάγα καὶ νεκροφάγα; cf. Δ 237 χρόα γῦπες ἔδονται, λ 578 γῦπε . . . . ἦπαρ ἔκειρον. The word occurs in the *Rhesus* qualified by the same adjective with which it is associated (as I believe) in the *Ajax*: πετεινοῖς γυψὶ θοινατήριον (*Rhes.* 515); cf. *Androm.* 74; *Tro.* 598. In Aeschylus we find γυπιὰς πέτρα (*Suppl.* 796), but not γύψ; nor does it occur in Sophocles.

What has happened, then, in these verses? Simply a breaking-up of the sentence, incorrect punctuation, as in 144. A colon was placed after ἀγέλαι and a fresh start taken at μεγάλαι γυπῶν, which was mistaken for μέγαν αἰγυπιόν—words which Sophocles certainly did not write. To secure the desired long syllable before the diaeresis, editors have resorted to all sorts of devices: Dawes adds δ', Toup. σ', Heath γ'. The participle ὑποδείσαντες has even been transferred to another part of the sentence (Seyffert), or excised as a gloss (Dobree, Bergk, Nauck, Wecklein). To secure a "but" Jebb adopts the device of Dawes. But we already have an adversative at the beginning of the sentence:

ἀλλ'—ὅτε γὰρ δὴ τὸ σὸν ὄμμ' ἀπέδραν,
παταγοῦσιν ἅτε πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι
μεγάλαι γυπῶν—ὑποδείσαντες
τάχ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης, εἰ σὺ φανείης,
σιγῇ πτήξειαν ἄφωνοι.

We have only to place one reading over the other to see how close the resemblance is:

μεγαλαιγυπων
μεγαναιγυπιον

In uncials Λ needs but a stroke to make Ν, while in minuscules the two letters might easily be confused in such a sentence; and ω was sometimes mistaken for ου, οι, or ιο. Moreover, the clause seemed to stop at ἀγέλαι, and as ὑποδείσαντες required an object, the metamorphosis of μεγάλαι γυπῶν into a μέγαν αἰγυπιόν was but natural. Furthermore, the adjective seems to require a substantive, for πτηνῶν of itself does not indicate that the flocks are birds; they might be griffins, bats, sphinxes, serpents, horses, arrows, or even words.

The fact is, the whole passage has been misunderstood chiefly because Ajax was thought to be the αἰγυπιός. But he is not—he is the *eagle*: ἔπταζον ὥστ' ὄρνιθες ὦκυν | αἰετον ἐξαπίνας φάνεντα (Alcae. *Fr.* 27). The simile ends at γυπῶν—the rest is purely metaphor, (Cf. Pind. *P.* 4.57: ἔπταξαν δ' ἀκίνητοι σιωπᾷ | ἥρωες); there is no reference (directly) to birds

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of any kind. If Ajax should appear, the Greeks would cower. He is an *αἰετός*, they *ὄρνιθες*; but it is an implied, not an expressed comparison. There is no allusion to the Homeric *αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι*; and there is no ellipsis in the beginning of the sentence, as many scholars have thought.

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## EMENDATION OF OLYMPIODORUS *Scholia in Platonis Phaedonem* (Finckh, p. 39, l. 9)

*"οὐ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη ἀνδρία τοῖς οὕτω." ὀνομαζομένη, ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν. ὀνόματος γὰρ μόνου κοινοῦ μετέχουσιν, ἢ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα διαφερόμενοι*: So the MSS. Finckh suggests "fortasse ἢ delendum." A better remedy is to read *οἱ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα διαφερόμενοι*. It is another case of iotacism. See *Classical Philology*, I, 81. Olympiodorus is perhaps thinking of such Platonic passages as *Sophist* 218 C: *νῦν γὰρ δὴ σύ τε κἀγὼ τούτου πέρι τοὔνομα μόνον ἔχομεν κοινῇ· τὸ δὲ ἔργον*, etc.

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## NOTE ON ARISTOTLE *Metaphysics* 1086*b*, 32–37

*ἔτι δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιστητὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα· οὐ γὰρ καθόλου, ἡ δ' ἐπιστήμη τῶν καθόλου. δῆλον δ' ἔκ τε τῶν ἀποδείξεων καὶ τῶν ὁρισμῶν· οὐ γὰρ γίγνεται συλλογισμὸς ὅτι τόδε τὸ τρίγωνον δύο ὀρθαῖς, εἰ μὴ πᾶν τρίγωνον δύο ὀρθαῖς, οὐδ' ὅτι ὁδὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷον εἰ μὴ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ζῷον.*

The most recent translator, Ross, renders this [italics mine]: "Again, the elements will not be even knowable; for they are not universal and knowledge is of universals. This is clear both from demonstrations and from definitions; for we do not conclude that this triangle has its angles equal to two right angles *unless* every triangle has its angles equal to two right angles, nor that this man is an animal *unless* every man is an animal."

The German translator Lasson (p. 266) and all modern interpreters known to me take the passage in the same way. It is the natural interpretation, so long as we think in terms of modern logic and idiom. From the point of view of Aristotelian logic and Greek idiom it is improbable and, I believe, almost demonstrably wrong.

Note first that Aristotle does not merely say that knowledge is *derived from* universal (propositions). He says it is *of* universals, as is proved by definitions and demonstrations. Now definitions and syllogistic demonstrations are elsewhere associated in the same way: *Met.* 1039*b*, 27 ff.; *Analyt. Post.* 75*b*, 31. Their common feature is not merely that they depend upon, but that they are concerned with *τὸ καθόλου*, are *of* it. This is obviously so in the case of the definition. We do not define the particular or the

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individual. Analogy then leads us to expect in the present passage the statement that the (apodeictic) syllogism does not *conclude* to a particular and individual but a universal. That is elsewhere Aristotle's doctrine. The "scientific" or apodeictic syllogism is of the καθόλου. *Analyt. Post.* 1, 75*b*, 21 ff.

The syllogism with a particular conclusion is an inferior type (*Analyt. Post.* 79*a*, 25 ff.): ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μέσῳ σχήματι οὐ γίνεται κατηγορικὸς συλλογισμός, ἡ δὲ τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη καταφάσεως. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ γίνεται μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ καθόλου, τὸ δὲ τί ἐστι τῶν καθόλου ἐστίν.

Aristotle does not recognize singular propositions in his classification (*Analyt. Priora.* A1; Grote, *Aristotle*, I, 205), and the conclusion to an individual case interests him very little and is practically ignored.

In the passage before us the assumption of a particular and individual conclusion makes the illustration singularly inept. Outside of a primer of logic nobody would use the syllogism to infer that the angles of this particular triangle equal two right angles, or that this individual man is an animal. But we may rationally syllogize that a triangle as such has its angles equal to two right angles, or that man, since he feeds or breathes or feels, belongs to the class animals. This is not only the Aristotelian, but the Platonic doctrine also: Rep. 510 D: τοῖς ὁρωμένοις εἴδεσι προσχρῶνται καὶ τοὺς λόγους περὶ αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται, οὐ περὶ τούτων διανοούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων πέρι οἷς ταῦτα ἔοικε, τοῦ τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι καὶ διαμέτρου αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτης ἣν γράφουσιν.

Can we get this meaning from the Greek text? I think so. We have only to assume that εἰ μή does not here mean "unless," but is to be taken in its idiomatic sense as a virtual equivalent of ἀλλά. We may then translate: "For we do not syllogize that this triangle has its angles equal to two right angles *but that* every triangle has its angles equal to two right angles, nor that this man is an animal *but that* every man is an animal." And that is almost precisely what Aristotle tells us elsewhere as we have seen.

For this use of εἰ μή, with the force of "only," "merely," or "but" cf. Aristophanes *Eq.* 186; *Av.* 1680; *Thesm.* 897, with the notes of Blaydes and Merry. Also Stephanus, s.v., and Kühner-Gerth, II, 487.

I hesitated for a time both because of the absence of γε and from doubt whether we may properly attribute this solitary instance of the idiom to Aristotle. But the γε is not really necessary except to emphasize colloquial or defiant insistence. And Aristotle's sense of style is not such as to preclude the accidental use of any convenient word or turn of phrase that happened to occur to him. My doubts were finally removed by the observation that Alexander, whose feeling for Greek idiom can generally be trusted when he is not straining the proof of a thesis, unquestioningly takes the passage in the way here proposed. He writes: Hayduck 789, 32: ὅτι δὲ αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι τῶν καθόλου δῆλον, φησίν, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀποδείξεων καὶ τῶν ὁρισμῶν, καὶ οἱ ὁρισμοὶ

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γὰρ τῶν καθόλου, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ζ τῆς παρούσης δείκνυται πραγματείας καὶ αἱ ἀποδείξεις ὁμοίως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ὑστέροις ἐμάθομεν ἀναλυτικοῖς. οὐ γὰρ γίνεται ὁ ὁρισμὸς ἢ ὁ συλλογισμὸς καὶ ἡ ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μερικοῦ τριγώνου, ὅτι τόδε τὰς τρεῖς γωνίας δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς ἴσας ἔχει, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τριγώνου, οὐδ' ὅτι ὅδε ὁ μερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ζῷόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος.

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## NOTE ON THE LATIN ACCENT

Articles in recent numbers of two classical periodicals tempt me to say a word more upon a subject discussed by me some five years ago in this journal (Vol. II, pp. 444–60). One of the articles is a paper by Turner in the *Classical Review* for 1912 (pp. 147–53), and the other is by Skutsch in *Glotta* (Bd. IV, pp. 187–200).

Turner aims to deal "with each sound-change that has been attributed to the action of the penultimate (=three-syllable) stress-accent either during or immediately preceding the classical period" (p. 147). With this object in mind he makes a careful examination of the cases in question and comes to the conclusion that "there is . . . . no phonetic evidence in the classical and pre-classical periods for the existence of a penultimate [=three-syllable] stress in classical Latin" (p. 153). In his discussion of sound-changes he confines his attention to those forms which were in good literary use, and with a list thus drawn up the case against the stress-theory of the Latin accent is very strong. In fact it is doubtful if any evidence can be found in formal Latin from 250 B.C. to the close of the fourth century of our era to support the theory that the Latin accent was primarily a stress. But an adequate presentation of the material bearing on the nature which the Latin accent had after the appearance of literature should include sound-changes in Vulgar Latin, changes vouched for by forms which found no acceptance in the writings of trained literary men, by such popular forms, for instance, as *adias*, *habias*, *vinia*, and *sinatus*. The weakening of the vowel in these words can hardly be explained otherwise than through the influence of a stress-accent. In other words Vulgar Latin seems to furnish clear proof of the predominance of the stress-element in the accent. Now the dilemma with which we are here brought face to face appears to find its only solution in the hypothesis that in popular Latin the accent always continued to be one of stress, while in literary Latin the stress-element became subordinate to the pitch.

This theory was set forth in *Classical Philology* in the article referred to above, and in that paper it was maintained that the development of pitch in the Latin accent, until it became the predominant factor, was largely due to Greek influence. At this point Skutsch's article in *Glotta* is of interest, because it deals with the influence which one language may exert upon another, especially in the matter of accent. Skutsch remarks

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(p. 190) "Alles was zur Sprechmelodie gehört, d.h., also in erster Reihe der Akzent, wird besonders leicht nachgeahmt," and in application of this principle he attributes to Etruscan influence the fixing of the accent in pre-literary Latin on the initial syllable, and maintains that the three-syllable law of incidence was adopted from Greek. Now it is easy to believe that Rome's literary men in their efforts to make literary Latin as much like literary Greek as possible cultivated the pitch-element at the expense of the stress in the accent used in formal Latin, if it appears, as Skutsch's article makes highly probable, that the entire Roman people in their every-day speech, without conscious effort, changed twice the principles governing the incidence of their accent, first under the influence of the Etruscans, and later, of the Greeks.

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## PLATO *Timaeus* 37 C

*ὡς δὲ . . . . ἐνόησε τῶν ἀιδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.*

And when the father who begat it perceived the created image of the immortal gods.—JOWETT.

On this passage Dr. Archer-Hind comments: "This is a very singular phrase . . . . the *ἀίδιοι θεοί* can be nothing else than the ideas. But nowhere else does Plato call the ideas gods, and the significance of so calling them is very hard to see. If however Plato wrote *θεῶν*—which I cannot help regarding as doubtful—I am convinced that he used this strange phrase with some deliberate purpose."

Others take *ἄγαλμα* as "delight" or "glory," rather than in the derived sense; but this still leaves the difficulty that, at this stage of the *Timaeus*, no "gods" exist beyond the one Artifex of the universe—*ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.*

Is the following a possible hypothesis? Plato wrote *τῶν ἀιδίων γ. αγ.*, "an image of the things eternal." An early copyist added the gloss *ἰδεῶν*, which in process of time became incorporated in the text. From *ἀιδίων ἰδεῶν* the change to *ἀιδίων θεῶν* would be easy to a tired or hurried copyist, especially as the latter phrase would be familiar to him in other contexts.

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## ISIDORE'S *INSTITUTIONUM DISCIPLINAE* AND PLINY THE YOUNGER

The editor of the works of Isidore of Seville faces difficulties that perhaps surpass those offered by any other Latin author. In the case of the *Etymologiae*, the examination of the manuscripts alone involves an enormous amount of labor, and the attempt to bring order out of the chaos of variants, interpolations, etc., might well frighten the most conscientious scholar. It

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is not this difficulty, however, that has discouraged the various editors who have begun the work and has forced us to be content so long with Arevalo's text. The main textual problems have probably been solved by Lindsay (*Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, Oxford, 1910), who is an ideal editor for a work of this sort, being a rare combination of a Latinist of the highest order, a paleographer of the first rank, and an experienced and skilful editor of classical texts.

The great problem connected with the editing of the text of Isidore is the discovery of his sources; we cannot be sure about the text until we know its source, and in the case of Isidore we must assume a source for almost everything that he wrote, for he is the least original of Latin writers. Very little has been done in the way of preliminary investigation to make the task of the editor easier, partly because the sources cannot be satisfactorily studied until we have a critical edition; the logical escape from this dilemma is to have the two problems worked out by the same scholar *pari passu*, if his time and strength permit; and we undoubtedly shall have much light thrown on this difficult problem when Anspach has finished his work.

The difficulty of breaking up a literary mosaic such as Isidore often constructed is best shown by the model investigation by Traube on the sources of *Etymologiae* I, 22 ("Die Geschichte der tironischen Noten bei Suetonius und Isidorus," *Archiv für Stenographie*, LIII [1901], 198 ff.); the historical and geographical sources of the *Etymologiae* have been carefully investigated by Philipp (*Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Heft 25, Berlin, 1912).

Perhaps no one of Isidore's works contains, within an equal space, so much classical lore as the tract on "Education" published by Anspach in *Rheinisches Museum*, LXVII (1912), 556 ff. from the Paris MS Lat. 2994 A, the latter half of which is written in the Spanish script of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.[1] I made a copy of the text in Paris in the spring of 1910 with the intention of publishing it in my *Isidorstudien* now in the press, and of indicating the sources where it was possible to do so. Inasmuch as I have been forestalled by Anspach I content myself with this brief note.

This document is remarkable in many respects; the contents point to a late author and a Christian. The important question, however, is not when it was written or who wrote it; what we want to know most is, where did the writer get his material? The subject-matter plainly belongs for the most part to the old Roman civilization, and it is clear at the first glance that no writer belonging to the Middle Ages or to the period immediately

[1] Anspach puts the MS at the end of the eighth century; Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie et de Bibliographie*, p. 54, and Loew, whose studies of the Spanish script entitle his opinion to considerable respect, assign it to the ninth century. A facsimile of the superscription of the tract on "Education" may be found in *Nouveau Traité*, III, 108.

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preceding possessed such a mastery of phrase as we find here, however much the sentences may limp in their sequence.

In the first place, there can be no reasonable doubt that the work is by Isidore. It is attributed to him in the MS, the MS itself is Spanish, and, as Anspach points out, the omission of the verb of saying, thinking, etc., is in Isidore's manner; as will appear below, the method of compilation is that adopted by Isidore elsewhere. The parallelism between ll. 51 ff. of this tract (I cite according to Anspach's numbering) and *Etymologiae* II, 16. 2 is in itself almost convincing proof of Isidore's authorship. Other instances might be added; e.g., ll. 60, 61 of our tract read: "amorem pecuniae velut omnium materiam scelerum evitantem"; cf. *De officiis* ii. 2. 1: "amorem pecuniae quasi materiam cunctorum criminum fugiant"; other reminiscences occur in this same chapter.

Whether the tract is an early work of Isidore we cannot tell; the parallel passages from other works cannot be cited as evidence because Isidore apparently rarely repeats a passage from his own writings, but cites direct from his original source. Neither can we feel sure as to Isidore's purpose in writing the tract. It may have been intended as a part of a larger work. That it was intended as an actual guide for the instruction of the children of Spanish nobles, or, as Anspach suggests, "für einen Königssohn als Erziehungsbrevier bestimmt" is not likely; as a programme for actual use it leaves too much unsaid, and I venture the assertion that Isidore would have been hard put to it to interpret his own text intelligently throughout. His interest is purely academic. The stress on athletics is not Christian; the climax athlete, perfect orator, philosopher-king is heathen; we have here a collection of material bearing on education made by a man with a taste for antiquarian learning. He had no practical end in view and was not troubled by the fact that his scheme was an anachronism. This is not the only case in Isidore where gems gathered from classical authors find themselves in a strange setting.

There is a certain resemblance to the "Fürstenspiegel," as Anspach points out, but the inspiration for our tract came from a classical prototype of the "Fürstenspiegel," the panegyric, and in particular from Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan. The praise of the hero inevitably takes the form of praising, among other things, the education that produced the hero and so furnishes an ideal for imitation.

Pliny was an author not much read in the Middle Ages. We find no traces of an acquaintance with his writings from the fifth century to the time of Einhard. For the Panegyric we have no MSS older than the fifteenth century except the Milan palimpsest-fragments which belong to the seventh or eighth century. It is of interest, therefore, to find that a MS was in existence in Spain as late as the seventh century. It is possible that Spain has in this case as in many others been the land of the tradition. The late date of the existing MSS makes a proof on paleographical evidence impossible.

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The Spanish symptoms *quur*, *quum*, etc., are lacking, but these spellings could hardly be expected to survive the numerous transcriptions of the text down into the fifteenth century. Much stress cannot perhaps be laid on the fact that the prepositions *per* and *pro* are confused in a number of cases.

I give the parallel passages from Isidore and Pliny. The text is continuous in both columns unless otherwise indicated. Parts not included in the parallel are italicized.

| ISIDORE | PLINY |
|---|---|
| Nulla in audiendo difficultas, in respondendo nulla mora . . . . | 79. 6 Nulla in audiendo difficultas, nulla in respondendo mora. |
| *Si quando adulescere coeperit annis atque vernantis vestiri floribus iuventutis, adsit in eo apta et virilis figura membrorum*, duritia corporis, robur lacertorum et quod his validior ipso corpore animus fortior inperitet, non illum desidia et voluptas otii vel opulentiae, non rerum indulgentia molliat neque copiae parentum ad segnitiem luxum⟨que⟩ perducant *sed continuo labore ingenioque magistra virtus edoceat*. Tum plene seu montibus sese seu mari exerceat et laetum opere corpus et crescentia laboribus membra miraberis. *Hinc iam non iaculo tantum debet aut equo uidere (=ludere?), sed et cursu atque saltu spatia transmittere, equitare, iaculare, dimicare, palaestra cum aequalibus concertare*, lustrare saltus, excutere cubilibus feras, *primus quoque ferire*, superare inmensa montium iuga et horrentibus scopulis gradum inferre; certare cum fugacibus feris cursu, cum audacibus robore, cum callidis astu. Et enimvero, si quando placet id idem pedem in maria proferre, non ille fluitantia vel⟨a⟩ oculis tantum sequatur, sed nunc gubernaculis insidere, nunc cum valentissimo quoque sodalium certans discat frangere fluctus, domare ventos reluctantesque remis transferre obstantia freta. | 82. 6 *Nec vero per se magno opere laudaverim* duritiam corporis ac lacertorum; sed si his validior ipso corpore animus imperitet, quem non fortunae indulgentia emolliat, non copiae principales ad segnitiem luxumque detorqueant, tunc ego seu montibus seu mari exerceatur, et laetum opere corpus et crescentia laboribus membra mirabor. 81. 1 *Quae enim remissio tibi nisi* lustrare saltus, excutere cubilibus feras, superare immensa montium iuga et horrentibus scopulis gradum inferre . . ? (2) *Olim . . his artibus futuri duces imbuebantur*, certare cum fugacibus feris cursu, cum audacibus robore, cum callidis astu. . (4) Enimvero, si quando placuit idem corporis robur in maria proferre, non ille fluitantia vela aut oculis sequitur aut manibus, sed nunc gubernaculis adsidet, nunc cum valentissimo quoque sodalium certat frangere fluctus, domitare ventos reluctantes remisque transferre obstantia freta. |

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The words *illum desidia et voluptas otii vel opulentiae* are apparently taken from the Panegyric 79. 5, "si non continuo se desidiae ac voluptati dedisset, otio tamen et quiete recreasset."

Pliny is not, however, the only author who has been plundered by Isidore in the above passage. Anspach has bracketed the words "equitare, iaculare, dimicare" as a gloss on "palaestra cum aequalibus concertare," and the fact that they are not found in Pliny would seem at first sight to confirm his view. The assumption of a gloss or interpolation in a text of Isidore has more inherent probability in it than in the case of most Latin writers, for no other text has been so subject to change at the hands of the scribe. On the other hand, in scrutinizing his text we cannot hold Isidore to such strict account as other authors because his method of compilation often results in a loose construction or actual inconsistencies. In point of fact, the words which Anspach rejects form part of a passage taken from Sallust's *Jugurtha* vi. 1; "qui (Jugurtha) ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed uti mos gentis illius est, *equitare, iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare* et, cum omnibus gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras *primus* aut in primis *ferire*." The only change made by Isidore is the substitution of *palaestra* for *cursu;* he has just mentioned running in the previous clause, and does so again a few lines below. That he had Sallust before him when he wrote is shown by the insertion of the words *primus quoque ferire* in the midst of the excerpt from Pliny 82. 2.[1]

In a number of places my report as to the reading of the MS differs from Anspach's: l. 5, I read *erudiant;* Anspach gives the MS reading as *erudiunt*, but he reads *erudiant* in the text; l. 7, Anspach reads "indicium ipsa infantia crescat" in the text, but gives *crescant* as the MS reading; he suggests that the archetype may have had *indicia*. My copy reads "indicia cum ipsa infantia crescant," and I suspect that Anspach has committed the paleographical error of haplography, *indici⟨ac⟩um;* l. 15 where Anspach reads *colorum* I read *color et* which certainly makes a better sentence, "inter haec erit purus et liquidus in verbis color et venusta subtilitas"; l. 16, the reading is certainly *omnis*, corrected from *homnis* by erasure, not *nominis* as Anspach gives it; l. 20 I read *precursantium imitare* instead of *precurrantium imitari;* l. 43 the reading is surely *tenenda ratio*, not *tener* (=*tenor*) *duratio;* the passage runs: "post haec erit gravitas maturae aetatis tenenda, ratio, constantia, consilium," etc.

In l. 9 I should prefer to keep the reading of the MS, "oportet eum primum conmunes litteras scire ac (=*hac* of the MS) demum honestis et liberalibus studiis enitere"; Anspach emends *hac* to *harum;* l. 32 (the passage

[1] As an interesting parallel to the passage from Pliny might be cited the statement about Pompey quoted by Vegetius *Ep. rei mil.* I. 9 from Sallust: "cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabat."

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is printed above) Anspach emends *videre* to *utere*, assuming that Isidore has used a late Latin form of the infinitive; *ludere* seems to me an easier emendation; l. 42 *transferre* confirms the reading of the best MSS of the Panegyric; the editions offer various substitutes, but Bährens is undoubtedly right in restoring the MS reading in his text; Kukula still retains *transilire* in the new edition of Pliny's letters (1912).

The citation from Plato is new in this form: "tunc bene regi rempublicam quando imperant philosophi et philosophantur imperatores." This sententia is found in Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Apuleius, Capitolinus, Lactantius and Boethius, attributed to Plato; it is quoted or referred to by Rutilius Lupus, Aurelius Victor, and Prudentius without the mention of Plato's name. In none of these authors does the wording agree with that of Isidore; this fact may furnish a clue to the discovery of another source for our tract.

CHARLES H. BEESON

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# BOOK REVIEWS

*The Verse of Greek Comedy.* By JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE. London: Macmillan, 1912. $4 net.

Πάντα ἄρρυθμα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα ἡ ῥυθμικὴ συνείδησις ἐλθοῦσα αὐτὰ—διεχωρίσθη. Such is the cosmogony of the "new metric" as expounded by Professor White who, some thirty-four years ago, gave us in his translation of Schmidt what is still the most serviceable introduction to the old. Professor White protests against the convenient designation "new metric," and it is true that, like most radical innovations, it is a reversion to an older type. It is neither Aeolic or Ionic, but, if I may say so, Hephaestionic. Its corner-stone, or in the opinion of the present reviewer, its πρῶτον ψεῦδος, is its acceptance of the testimony of scholastics who lived many generations later than the writers of Greek lyrics, against the evidence of our own ears and our own rhythmical sense.

But there will be more fitting opportunity than this to discuss with Professor White the ultimate, not to say the metaphysical, principles of rhythmical theory. The non-existence of stress accent, the precedence of compound feet or cola over simple feet, the lengthening of the following, not the preceding syllable by iambic catalexis, the historico-genetic classification of meters as "Ionic" and "Aeolic," the originally syllable-counting and quantitatively indeterminate character of Aeolic measures, the progressive choriambization of the primordial Aeolic chaos by the rhythmical instinct, the final intermingling and contamination of the two traditions—each and every one of these assumptions or conclusions is debatable both on a-priori and on historic grounds. But that way madness lies. It is an easier and a pleasanter task to congratulate Professor White on the completion of one of the most serious pieces of work yet put to the credit of American scholarship, and to add in all sincerity that its value to the worker in this field is quite independent of the degree of his adhesion to the disputable first principles which it assumes, illustrates, or seeks to establish. And that for two reasons. He has in the first place given a perfectly lucid and intelligible account of a matter which perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that not more than two or three men in America or ten in Europe have hitherto understood. To adapt the words of Anaxagoras again, his is the *Nous* which has made order in this chaos. And, secondly, Professor White's immense collections of closely analyzed and consistently interpreted metrical facts will be almost as available for those who reject as for those who accept his rhythmical doctrines and the terminology in which they are expressed.



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It is hardly possible in our space to summarize the book. A lively introduction reviews the literature and present status of the controversy, and more particularly that great chapter in "the history of human error," the prevalence for nearly a century of what I must still unrepentingly style the Apel-Rossbach-Christ interpretation of Aeolic verse. In view of Rossbach's scathing denunciation of Apel's ignorance, which everybody admits, Professor White is amused that I should have proclaimed myself the defender of the principles of Apel as developed by Rossbach, Schmidt, and Christ. But his not quite exact quotation of my words omits the qualification, "broadly speaking," which I inserted expressly to guard against such misapprehensions. He himself says that Rossbach states the fact of logaœdic scansion from precisely Apel's point of view and in precisely his way. And he quotes Rossbach to the effect that in the matter of the cyclic dactyl Apel by the grace of God hit the mark just once. But logaœdic scansion and the cyclic dactyl are for me, "broadly speaking," the very essence of the matter.

The first chapter on fundamental principles gives a clear and much-needed preliminary explanation of the theory as a whole, and of the terminology and metrical signs employed. Chaps. ii to xii apply the theory to the extant verse of Greek comedy—iambic, trochaic, anapaestic, dactylic, logaœdic, paeonic, dochmiac, prosodiac-enoplic, Aeolic. After a chapter on composite lyrics (xiii) and one on monodies (xiv) which includes Aristophanes' great parodies of Euripides, we return to theory in chap. xv on the origin of the forms of Greek poetry. Professor White had already dealt with this subject in his "Origin and Form of Aeolic Verse" (*Classical Quarterly*, III, 139 ff.). I shall not attempt to state the precise relation of Professor White's views to those of Wilamowitz, Schroeder, and others with whom he is in general agreement. The whole theory is merely the conjectural reconstruction of a process of prehistoric evolution for which there is very little positive historic evidence and which Homer and Archilochus make extremely improbable. (Cf. my "Choriambic Dimeter," *Trans. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVIII, 60, and *Classical Philology* III, 360).

I must also pass over the next chapters on the structure of comedy and the composition of a comedy, which take careful account of the recent literature of the subject and are illustrated in the appendix by elaborate tables of structure and rhythm. Chap. xviii on the analysis of systematic periods develops a theory which is perhaps not wholly original with Professor White, but for which he has first systematically utilized the testimony of Hephaestion and his master, Heliodorus. This is the idea that the structural law of strophe, antistrophe, and epode is repeated and echoed by similar correspondences within the strophe: this, assumed, I think, in many of Schroeder's analyses, is involved in Herkenrath's conclusions, and perhaps even in the *Eurythmie* of Schmidt. Professor White finds explicit recognition of this law in Heliodorus and the metrical scholia of Aristophanes, which he therefore edits in an

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appendix, and he is the first, he believes, to apply the principle systematically to the analysis of Greek odes. The existence of such partial or minor correspondences within the strophe is a matter of fact. Whether they are consciously intended structural units running through the entire composition is a question of fact. I still think that, since we have lost the music, the only available test here as well as in the bisection of glyconics is that supplied by word-endings and phrase-groups and the natural rhetorical pauses. I am not aware of any attempt either to refute or to carry farther the slight beginning in this direction that I made in "Choriambic Dimeter."

With the nineteenth chapter, "Various Matters," Professor White returns to the dialectical debate between the old and the new metric. If I understand him, he believes that a distinction between a pause and a hold can be and is clearly marked in practice. English, he seems to say, must rhythmize by holds. The precise quantities of the Greeks were rhythmical in themselves and were demarkated by true pauses. This is perhaps another deadlock on the issue of the likeness or unlikeness of our faculties to those of the ancients. But however that may be, it is not easy to reconcile this view with the importance attributed to the question whether iambic catalexis lengthens the preceding syllable, as Rossbach and Westphal held, or the following syllable, as Professor White maintains, on the newly recovered authority of Aristoxenus. He seems to argue elsewhere (Introd., xxii, xxv, xxvii) that all holds were pauses in Greek verse, or that its true quantities needed neither, or used them in a "purely artistic" way. My own view would be that the distinction, observable perhaps with music, has little significance for a reading or recitation. A good reader will blend and confuse pauses and holds in indistinguishable proportions. But there is always a natural tendency to treat the pause as if it were a hold. The scant fragments of post-classical music prove nothing. Of course the verse could be set to music either way. As for the authority of Aristoxenus, his "diiambics" quoted from Grenfell and Hunt on p. 357 are plainly and prevailingly cretic-trochaic in movement. The extra initial syllable in (βα)θύσκιον no more converts them into iambics than "(But) let them rave" makes iambs of Tennyson's trochaic "Dirge." Other topics discussed in the chapter are the special rules of quantity in the verse of comedy, and the probable methods of rendering of the different parts of a comedy. The chapter concludes with the theory of prosodiac-enoplic verse. This brings Professor White to what he recognizes as the final argument that has induced many scholars, however reluctantly, to accept the Ionic theory of this verse—the irregular correspondences in Bacchylides and Pindar of e.g. – ⏑ – – with – ⏑ ⏑ –. I have discussed the topic in "Choriambic Dimeter" (p. 74), and I am pleased to note Professor White's agreement with me in his admission that the mere fact of substitution does not prove rhythmic equivalence, though I would go farther and maintain that it does not disprove it either. Professor White collects practically all of these variations. I heartily concur

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with his interesting statement that these changes arose under poetic impulse to secure a special rhythmic effect, and I accept his somewhat vague conclusion: "occurring but rarely in any single ode its [their] general effect may have been as distinct and satisfactory as that of the regulated discords of modern music." But I cannot find anywhere, what I also missed in Schroeder, the proof that these few, perhaps calculated, perhaps accidental, irregularities either necessitate or justify the substitution of a tetrasyllabic for a dissyllabic and trisyllabic scansion. Professor White's proof would, I fancy, in the last resort differ widely from that of his nominal ally. He postulates, or admits, that to understand the true Greek metric, metricians must rid themselves of the "obsession of an ictus." Here he is in seeming agreement with my colleague Professor Hale against whom I argued that question in the *Classical Journal*, II, 219–24. But here again, as we shall shortly see, appearances are deceptive. I do not propose to reopen the whole question, but merely to glance at a side issue in which Professor White has challenged my interpretation of passages of Hephaestion and Aristides which I introduced into the discussion. As I would accept no authority, and least of all that of Hephaestion, against a physiological and psychological necessity, the inquiry whether the ancients do or do not explicitly affirm a rhythmical stress has for me only an interest of curiosity. What I said on the subject was in respect of the main argument *obiter dictum*. The word "explicitly" was perhaps badly chosen. No affirmation of a stress would be strictly speaking explicit that did not name it as such, and as the ancients lacked our opportunity for comparing the relative predominance of stress and quantity in different languages, they were less likely to bring the necessary interdependence of the two things to explicit consciousness. But the entire context of my argument clearly showed that by "explicitly" I meant "by necessary implication"; and that I still maintain. I had not overlooked the context of Hephaestion whom I had read throughout with care. Hephaestion undoubtedly tells us that the plasma of verse-reading shapes and regulates the quantities in a rhythm differing from that of prose: the question is, How? Can it be done in any other way than by the demarkation of measures by time-beats? Professor White admits that the ancients did beat time and stamp the foot. But he quotes with approval the "genial protest" of M. Kawczynski: "Or il me paraît inadmissible de faire exécuter aux anciens par la bouche ce qu'ils faisaient avec le pied." I am not concerned to appreciate the witticism. I merely ask, Is it a physiological and psychological possibility to recite verse and feel it rhythmically, beating time vigorously with hand or foot, and yet with no intensive utterance on the down beat, no rhythmic stress of the voice? Professor White, I am pleased to see, has the courage of his logic, and now seems to admit that it is not possible—for us. This at least clarifies matters, though it brings us to the deadlock of the assumption that the faculties of the Greeks differed in kind from ours. But his interpretation

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of the Hephaestion passage commits Professor White to more than this. That the natural lengths of syllables are not exactly measurable in morae is a fact recognized by the ancients (cf. my "Choriambic Dimeter," p. 63) and used by moderns in justification of holds, trisemes, cyclic dactyls, etc. Professor White exactly reverses this application of the fact. He tells us that if a verse escaped detection when pronounced in prose it was solely because the natural quantities, uncorrected by the plasma of musical recitation, were not true enough even to produce a recognizable, let alone a perfect, rhythm. And this must apply, not only to lyrical verse, but to ordinary hexameters and iambic trimeters. For Choeroboscus in his comment on Hephaestion (p. 178, Cohn), adds an iambic trimeter to Hephaestion's example of a hexameter in Demosthenes. Now I do not deny that rhythmic recitation regularized to some extent the natural quantities of prose utterance, even as in other cases it extended the range of their variations. I say (1) that it did this with the aid of the rhythmic stresses, and (2) that without the assumption of such stresses differing from prose, the latency of a hexameter or an iambic trimeter in prose is simply unintelligible. The difference in stress explains it at once. The variations of quantity might conceivably serve to explain it in some lyric meters, involving many trisemes and irrational quantities. But it is not a reasonable supposition that Demosthenes' pronunciation of long and short syllables was so inexact that the mere metrical rectification of them without any change of stress made the difference between the recognition and the non-recognition of hexameters and trimeters (cf. *Classical Journal*, II, 221). In short, the distinction between rhythm and metric necessarily involves stress. This appears, I think, in Choeroboscus' expansion of Hephaestion's statement of the distinction. He says in effect, "Rhythm is the author and source of meters, and is more universal, being found not only in meters but produced by the clapping of hands, the stroke of the hammer on the anvil and the hoof-beats of a horse." If Professor White will try to clap and recite "Bean porridge hot" a few times without any rhythmic stress of the voice, he will learn what I conceive to be the meaning of this testimony of Choeroboscus.

The case of the Aristides passage is still simpler. Aristides says in effect (p. 57) that a spondee between a dactyl and an anapaestic "dimeter" makes the scansion ambiguous. It is quite true, as Professor White explains, that Aristides admitted the combination in one line of a dactylic dipody and an anapaestic dimeter, – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –, and that this combination may also be taken as an anapaestic tetrameter, as he would call it. But all this is only describing the problem in technical terms. In what did the ambiguity of that spondee and of the whole line consist to Aristides ear? Or did he too read Greek verse only on paper? To us the distinction is easy. In the one case we stress the spondee on the first long ´ – and in the other on the second – ´. How did Aristides distinguish them? There can be no question here of the inexactness of prose quantities, for on either reading

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of the line we are supposed to be reciting verse, and the quantities if unstressed are absolutely identical. What is the difference, then, between the two readings? The old metric says the stress; what does the "new-old metric" say?

Extremes meet, and the relentless consistency of Professor White's uncompromising logic brings him nearer to me in many ways than to his supposed allies, some of whom, as Professor Murray certainly (cf. the *Atlantic* for November), and probably Professors Wilamowitz and Schroeder, read Greek poetry with a rhythmic stress, while others in America claim to be able to read it with a prose stress, or none at all. This divergence is more significant than any concurrence in paper schemes of tetrasyllabic scansion or in the weight attributed to the authority of Hephaestion and his kind. Professor White admits (p. xxii) that we cannot read Aeolic verse in any other manner than what for brevity I will call the logaœdic and dactylo-epitrite way. He adds, "The resolution to read them, even at the cost of reading them in the wrong fashion, is prompted no doubt by a generous impulse." I infer that he is superior to that generous weakness and would not read them at all. My own "unscientific" interest in the question ends there. If neither I nor my classes are to hear Greek poetic rhythms, there are many other subjects, organic chemistry, for example, which I should prefer to study and teach. $HO_2C.CCl:CH.CCl_2.CO.CHCl_2$: is quite as interesting as, and I am told vastly more practical than, cr+en+3tr+glBb+x+c.

But even so, I am curious to know the precise force of the complaint that the "assimilation of Greek meters to English and the neglect of the differences obscure the individual charm of each language." Just how would Professor White and his students enjoy the distinctive individual charm of Greek meters if they neither hear nor recite them? Have they refined their aesthetic perceptions to the point where "heard melodies are *wrong*, but those unheard are sweeter"? Professor White says that "only a highly imaginative mind can grasp the idea of reading dochmiac verse." But the enjoyment of its "individual charm" without hearing it seems to me a still higher flight of the auditory imagination.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, unter Mitwirkung von J. BELOCH, E. BETHE, E. BICKEL, J. L. HEIBERG, B. KEIL, E. KORNEMANN, P. KRETSCHMER, C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, K. J. NEUMANN, E. PERNICE, P. WENDLAND, S. WIDE, F. WINTER; herausgegeben von ALFRED GERCKE und EDUARD NORDEN. Erste und Zweite Auflagen 1910–12. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.

To Gercke has perhaps fallen the most thankless task—that of writing the chapter on *Methodik* that was to have been done by the master hand of Usener. Of the difficulty of his task he is well aware, but although his

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presentation lacks somewhat in clearness and conciseness, he has on the whole furnished the beginner with a very good introduction to the study of philology.

The first chapter (pp. 3–26), "Das antike Buch," begins with a short but very satisfactory sketch of the history of philology. One is glad to observe that the Banquo's ghost of paleography, "cotton paper," that reappeared in the first edition (p. 10), has been banished from the second. In the discussion of the "national scripts" (p. 16) a reference to the important part played by the Insular script on the continent might well have been added. The situation in regard to the bibliography of catalogues of manuscripts is not so desperate as Gercke represents (p. 17). For Latin manuscripts we have Weinberger's excellent *Catalogus catalogorum* (Wien, 1902) and his Erstes Supplement, covering the literature down to 1907. Weinberger might also have been mentioned *honoris causa* for his *Jahresberichte* and *Abhandlungen*.

The second chapter (pp. 27–32), "Die wissenschaftliche Methodik," will be of little immediate use to the beginner; it has therefore very properly been reduced to fine print in the revised edition.

In a brief chapter on "Die Einheit der philologisch-historischen Methode" (pp. 33–36) Gercke maintains the parity of philology with history, against the claims of many historians who would make her the handmaid of historical investigation.

Chap. iv (pp. 36–80), "Formale Philologie," is the most important and the most helpful for the beginner. In this and the following chapter the whole range of problems likely to occur in a proseminar is thoroughly covered, with an abundance of illustrative material. The topics covered are: (1) the search for manuscripts, their collation, the establishment of relationships, the construction of a stemma with its attendant difficulties and dangers, contaminated and interpolated manuscripts, the use of scholia, commentaries, citations, translations, paraphrases, etc.; (2) the recensio; (3) interpretation of the text; (4) discovery and correction of corrupt passages; (5) higher criticism; and finally (6) esthetic interpretation, with a warning as to its dangers and the abuse of it. Instead of citing examples from a wide range of literature to illustrate the various possibilities that may arise—and as far as covering the ground is concerned Gercke has done his work well—would it not have been more profitable to make use, in part at least, of model investigations of such masters as Haupt or Mommsen, in order to illustrate their method of handling the various phases of a philological problem, showing how the proof progresses from stage to stage? Further illustrative material might have been cited without going into particulars. But even here it would seem advisable to use texts with which the beginner is more familiar than he is likely to be with Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* or Diogenes Laertius. In any case the bibliographical reference should always be given; this is not done for Strobel's study of the manuscripts of Cicero's *De oratore* (p. 40).

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Chap. v (pp. 80–94), "Sachliche Philologie und Geschichte," is written along lines parallel as far as possible with the treatment of chap. iv. The illustrative material is well chosen, though almost entirely from the Greek.

Chap. vi (pp. 94–112), dealing with "Sprachwissenschaft," and chap. vii (pp. 112–124), dealing with "Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte," will serve as excellent introductions to these subjects. Gercke closes his work by repeating a much-needed warning that one cannot learn palaeography and archaeology by reading about these subjects, nor the language and literature from reading handbooks.

An "Anhang," "Das Studium der Philologie und Geschichte in seiner propädeutischen Bedeutung für den zukünftigen Lehrer" (pp. 124–27), has special reference to conditions in Germany, but it can be read with profit by every young philologist.

CHARLES H. BEESON

The problem offered by the two classical literatures in this series must have been difficult to solve. The student already has the stimulating general treatment by Wilamowitz and Leo in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, and the dry statement of essential facts in the volumes of Müller's *Handbuch*. The three editors have properly endeavored to effect a compromise, with varying degrees of success. Greek poetry of the ante-classical and the classical periods is divided under rubrics describing the types; the poetry of the Hellenistic and the Roman periods is not similarly treated, obviously because later developments led to greater versatility on the part of individual poets; but, whatever the rubric, the treatment of the subject is essentially chronological in order and, apart from brief introductory paragraphs in which are resumed the characteristics of the type, the individual poets are in the foreground. Similarly in Norden's account of Latin literature, although the author finds his problem in the development and adaptation of Greek types by the Romans, the treatment is by periods and individuals with a subdivision into prose and verse in each period. This method, conventional and serviceable as it doubtless is, robs these two sketches of any special distinction unless the treatment itself rises above the commonplace. Any brief sketch of Greek poetry must repeat much that has been as well or better said by others; in this case I feel that the student may perhaps better derive the facts of biography, authenticity, and the like from his Christ-Schmid and then soar with Wilamowitz. The sketch of Latin literature has a stronger claim, in so far as the author's special interests have led to needed emphasis upon style, but on the other hand Norden has not succeeded so well as his colaborers in the difficult art of elimination: an introductory conspectus does not call for constant reference to chapter and verse, to dates, and to details of meter and rhythm, but rather for safe generalizations that will orient the student and broaden his horizon; as it is, the reading is difficult because of close condensation, and

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assimilation is even more difficult because of the author's failure to discriminate what is essential for the student in need of orientation from what is of absorbing interest to the author and other scholars. Let me hasten to add that from a scholarly standpoint Norden's sketch represents much greater special effort, to all appearances, than any other portion, and it should be said that those who have got far beyond the doctorate cannot afford to miss the mass of stylistic comment that is gathered here by the author of *Die antike Kunstprosa*.

Wendland's account of Greek prose (but not his account of Christian literature in Latin, which perhaps necessarily deals with individual authors in chronological order) in my opinion best satisfies the needs of the student for whom the work is intended. On the surface it shows little indication of effort, but without becoming fully eidographic in method, the author succeeds in giving the individual due prominence in the midst of broad generalizations about the γένος, or illuminating suggestions of cultural values. Such rubrics as "Philosophie und Diatribe," "Skepsis und Romantik," "Neuplatonismus," "Der Roman," represent to me the groupings that the student needs in a work of this character. Of course it may be said that Wendland's field, especially in the later centuries, leads naturally to treatment by types and to the neglect of relatively insignificant individuals, but it is not merely this mechanical feature that I have in mind; rather, it is the author's inevitable breadth of vision, his sense of perspective, his appreciation of large historical relations. Needless to say, there are defects arising from the method; if Theophrastus is treated under the rubric "Hellenistic Rhetoric," his *Characters* must be either omitted or intruded; in this case there is a rather unfortunate omission.

The most admirable feature of the two sketches is the appendix on "Gesichtspunkte und Probleme" added to the history of each of the literatures. This in itself makes the work absolutely indispensable. I doubt if there could be a better statement of the sources and materials, and, more particularly, a more intelligent estimate of available problems for the prospective worker in the history of literature. It is gratifying to note, both in these appendices and in the body of the work, the constant emphasis upon the form of literary types and upon style in the narrower sense, and in the appendix to the section on Greek literature it is especially welcome to find a recognition of the value to classical students of the work, in technique and in literary history, of Behagel, Bédier, Thimme, and others who have already helped to solve corresponding problems in modern literature. The constant criticism of the uninitiated that the classical field offers no opportunities because it has been worked for so many centuries may well be met by a reference to these inspiring accounts of what remains to be done, especially in technique; Heinze's program in the *Neue Jahrbücher* of 1907 may be realized if the student is persuaded by the practical suggestions of Bethe, Wendland, and Norden.

H. W. P.

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The section on Language is from the competent hand of Professor Kretschmer of Vienna, who has succeeded in giving, in scarcely more than a hundred pages, an astonishingly comprehensive survey of the subject, packed with pertinent and trustworthy information. He does not attempt to furnish a comparative grammar of Greek and Latin, of which only the barest skeleton would be possible in the allotted space. But, believing that the first need of classical students is an acquaintance with the principles and methods of modern linguistic science, he devotes over fifty pages to the treatment of certain general principles of linguistic development, with application to and illustration from the classical languages. Thus under the head of "Lautlehre" is given, not a systematic phonology of Greek and Latin, but a discussion with illustrations, of such topics as the physiology of sounds, pronunciation, relation of spelling to speech, the question of the invariability of phonetic laws, various classes of phonetic change, etc. Special attention may be directed to a new and important point of view, which the author had already developed incidentally in an article in the first volume of *Glotta* and presents here under the head of "Wertabstufung der einzelnen Konsonanten nach ihrer Stellung im Wort" (pp. 490 ff.). It is based on the observation of certain well-known facts, such as the frequent preservation of sounds initially when the same sounds are lost or changed in other positions (e.g., *ϝ* in many Greek dialects, or *f* in Latin), and the particular weakness of sounds when final (e.g., Latin *m*, or loss of most final mutes in Greek), from all of which is deduced a sort of sliding scale, measured by a given sound's resistance to change or its positive effect on a preceding sound, as follows: (1) initial of the word, (2) initial of the syllable, (3) final of the syllable, (4) final of the word. Thus the author explains the much-discussed contrast between *κὰρ ῥόον* from *κὰτ ῥόον*, with assimilation of *τ* to *ρ*, and *μέτρον*, etc., without such, as due to the stronger assimilating force of the initial *ρ*. Whether the predominance of regressive over progressive assimilation in most consonant groups is to be viewed in the same light, that is, attributed to the fact that the sound beginning the syllable is stronger than that which ends the preceding (see the above scale), may appear more doubtful. For it may reflect the relative dominance of the anticipatory tendency, regardless of the "strength" of the second element. Certainly the regressive distant assimilation as in Sanskrit *çvaçura-* from **svaçura-* points to this factor and not to the "scale of strength," which in such cases would lead to the opposite result, namely progressive assimilation as in Sanskrit *çaçin-* from **çasin-*.

The same method—discussion of general principles with illustration—is employed in the chapters on inflection, word-formation, semantic change, and syntax. The author's thorough acquaintance with Modern Greek enables him to introduce many significant illustrations from this field.

Under the head of "Sprachgeschichtliche Gesichtspunkte und Probleme" is given an excellent survey of the languages and dialects of Greece and

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Italy; the classification of the Greek dialects, their rôle in literature, the source of the κοινή, and similarly, though more briefly, the linguistic conditions in Italy. The paragraphs on the Macedonian and Etruscan questions will be read with especial interest, since the author is one who has studied most intensively the problems of the minor languages of the ancient world.

C. D. BUCK

Regarded as a compendium of the facts of prosody, meter, and metrical terminology, Dr. Ernst Bickel's Antike Metrik is an admirable piece of condensation. For what readers is it intended? The American student, I am sure, could not understand it. Is it possible that the German can? If so, he has made rapid progress in the last few years. In the second edition, the chapter on "Liedbildung" has been greatly enlarged by the consideration of the theories of Wilamowitz, Blass, Schroeder, Leo, and others with regard to glyconics, dactylo-epitrites, enoplics, etc. The standpoint of the new *Metrik* is taken for granted, and there is hardly a hint of the serious objections that have been raised against it. It is presumed that "science" has decided; the "cyclic dactyl" is treated as something on which no more words need be wasted. Quadrisyllabic scansion is assumed, and the historic evolution of Greek meters from some indeterminate, prehistoric form is regarded as proved. This fashion may prevail for a few years. But as these things are not, and cannot be proved, the time will come when the case will have to be reopened, and a hearing granted to the counter-arguments. Scholars will not always accept as proof the fact that we may, if we please, rearrange groups of one, two, or three syllables in groups of four, three, and five, on the authority of late Greek scholiasts. Dr. Bickel finds confirmation of quadrisyllabic scansion in a comparison of the ending of the scazon with the three or four cases of initial choriamb in iambic trimeter that occur in Greek drama. That may pass on paper. But to the ear there is not the remotest connection between the two things. The scazon, as the name choliambus implies, is plainly a comic variation of the iambic trimeter. It is an auditory joke παρὰ προσδοκίαν.

Der Hinkiambus ist ein Vers für Kunstrichter,
Die immerfort voll Naseweisheit mitsprechen,
Und eins nur wissen sollten dass sie nichts wissen.

Dr. Bickel chooses to affirm that it is a survival of the original quadrisyllabic structure, but he does not offer the slightest proof. The initial choriamb in such lines as Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος is a rare exception in Greek tragedy. It is familiar enough to English readers in Shelley's "Fills the faint eyes | with falling tears which dim," or in Tennyson's "Ask me no more, | the moon may draw the sea." It does not sound in the least like the conclusion of a scazon. The only resemblance is

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that both have four syllables. This virtual identification of – ⏑ ⏑ – with ⏑ – – ⏑ is possible for Professor John Williams White, who has the courage of his logic, and affirms that Greek poetry has no rhythmical stress, and that since we cannot read it so, we should not read it at all; cf. *supra*, p. 104. But Dr. Bickel, like most European advocates of the new *Metrik*, believes in an expiratory rhythmic accent, and the antispast, therefore, for him is and must be something more than the mere quantities of its four syllables, rearrangeable at pleasure. It is idle to deprecate this appeal to the ear, or to the modern rhythmical sense. The modern rhythmical sense is the only one we know. In the loss of the music we have no test but this, and the indications of word-endings, and the natural phrase groups. This last is the proper field for investigation, but the new metricians decline the challenge. How many of them have read Pindar aloud, *both* by Schroeder's and Schmidt's schemes? This is the first step in any fruitful comparison. And the second is to determine, not in arbitrarily selected passages but throughout, which way of reading imposes least or most violence on the natural flow of the Greek phrase. Even this is partly subjective. For opinions may differ as to normal and natural Greek phrasing, nor do we know how far the habit of setting poetry to music may have reconciled the Greek ear to the distortion of normal utterance in recitation. But unsatisfactory as it is, it is the only test that we have. We cannot accept mere affirmation that Hephaestion must have known, or unverifiable deductions from the original Indo-European meters. Homer and Archilochus stand between us and that.

PAUL SHOREY

The treatment of Private Life, by Pernice, is brief but good. After a chapter devoted to a general consideration of the character of the subject-matter and the nature of the sources, the discussion is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with: I, "The House," II, "Dress," and III, "Marriage, Birth, and Death." Each of these parts is subdivided into a Greek and Roman section. Those who are familiar with Marquardt's work will be struck at once by Pernice's strict interpretation of the term *Privatleben*. He protests against the practice of making books on this subject a catch-all for miscellaneous antiquities that cannot easily be classified elsewhere, referring especially to material bearing on trade, agriculture, cattle-breeding, etc. He also makes some apt suggestions on the necessity of distinguishing with greater accuracy between different periods in describing any institution, evidently having in mind the many misleading articles in handbooks, whose content is a complex of statements made by classical authors between whose lives centuries sometimes intervene. But not only distinction of time but also of place should be observed: the customs of Sparta are not always those of Athens, and the ways of the Pompeians frequently differ from those of the Romans. Pernice fully recognizes the

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difficulties that confront anyone who attempts to carry these distinctions into details, but he has consistently adhered to this plan in his book, and has used his sources with wariness and discretion. In speaking of the mass of material now available through the excavations at Crete, he criticizes the tendency to use too recklessly the discoveries there in explaining the customs of the Homeric age. For the later Greek period he lays special emphasis on the importance of the excavations at Priene, of which he gives an interesting description. There is a good general account of Pompeii also; for although brief, the book is never sketchy. In regard to the early Roman period he comments on the difficulty of getting material; and a glance at the treatment of *Privatleben* in Müller's *Handbuch* (II, 2) by Voigt, who divides his account into periods, will show how true this is. In this early period, scanty as the data are, Pernice is strongly inclined to believe that the influences both from Etruria and Greece were stronger than is generally assumed. He contends that it is a mistake to suppose that the old Roman life, even the private life, was free from foreign influence.

In reconstructing the Homeric palace he is of the opinion that more assistance can be obtained from a study of the Mycenaean remains on the mainland than from those in Crete. In his discussion of the Greek house of the classical period he dissents strongly from the account given by Iv. Müller (*Handbuch*, IV, 23 f.), maintaining that the archaeological and literary evidence points to the probability that the radical differences between the Homeric and the later house, which Müller insists upon, did not exist, and that the early type of house showed in its main lines a singular persistence for centuries. In regard to the Italic house he differs also from Michaelis (*Röm. Mitt.*, XIV [1899], 210 ff.). According to the latter's view, the house, originally built in the open country, had no *compluvium*, but was lighted from windows in the *alae;* the *compluvium* was a development of the later town house, whose *alae*, on account of the congestion of buildings, could no longer give enough light. Pernice, on the other hand, thinks that the house with the *compluvium* was introduced from Etruria, the Etruscans having brought this system of building from their home in the Orient. He draws attention to the fact that the oldest atrium of this style was called the *atrium Tuscanicum*. Passing to the furniture of the Greek house, he dissents again from Müller's views (*Handbuch*, IV, 62); in regard to the couches he accepts Miss Ransome's results (*Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans.*)

In the section on Homeric dress, he lays stress again on the necessity of using the Cretan monuments with the greatest caution. Cretan dress bears the same relation to that of the mainland as Cretan architecture does to that of Tiryns. In his treatment of the Roman toga he follows Amelung (*Die Gewandung der Griechen und Römer*). On account of the scarcity of early Roman sculpture he regards any reconstruction of the primitive styles of the toga and other garments as largely speculative.

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In his account of marriage, birth, and death, he draws heavily on Samter (*Familienfeste*), Dieterich (*Mutter Erde*), and Marquardt (*Privatleben*), always with due acknowledgment of indebtedness. He disparages the evidence furnished by sarcophagi reliefs on marriage, not simply because none of them is earlier than the second century after Christ, but also on the ground that they are for the most part imitations of Greek works. Yet these reliefs do contain Roman elements that make them worthy of consideration.

On the whole the work is well done, showing a thorough familiarity with the literature and offering some new points of view.

G. J. LAING

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Professor Franz Winter's review of Greek Art (Vol. II, pp. 75–166) is not, and is not intended to be, an elementary treatise. Destitute as it is of illustrations, it presupposes on the part of the reader a considerable stock of knowledge, as well as access to a well-equipped archaeological library, if not also to a museum. A reader so circumstanced will find it a stimulating guide to the main interests and problems of the subject.

After an introduction on the history of archaeological research in the Greek field (pp. 75–86), the three chief branches of Greek art—architecture, sculpture, and painting—are successively taken up. The author's skill in selecting and presenting the most significant aspects of his theme deserves the highest praise. The references also to recent literature are evidently chosen with care and judgment. Some omissions are hard to account for. Thus it is strange to find no mention under "Sculpture" of the illuminating essays of Julius Lange and Professor Löwy. Still stranger is it that Lysippus and the *apoxyomenos* should be discussed as if Professor Percy Gardner's able revolutionary article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1905 on "The Apoxyomenos of Lysippus" were non-existent. But if these are blemishes, they count for little in a work remarkable for mastery and sobriety.

In the second edition of this volume Professor Winter has made numerous small changes, substractions and additions, especially in the final pages of the chapter on "Sculpture." The suggestive essay which appeared in the first edition, setting forth resemblances between Greek art, plastic and pictorial, and Greek poetry, is now altogether omitted.

Except that the chapter on "Painting" deals with Roman wall-frescoes, there is no account in these volumes of Roman art.

F. B. TARBELL

While Wide's sketch of Roman Religion is based for the most part on Wissowa's work, it shows independence in the arrangement of the material and in the explanation of some of the cults. Wissowa traces the development of Roman religion under four heads: (1) the religion of the earliest period to the building of the Capitoline temple, (2) to the Second Punic War, (3) to

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the fall of the Republic, and (4) the religion of the Empire. Wide, however, gives only two periods: (1) the pre-republican period, and (2) the republican. He restricts his sketch within these limits for the reason that, with the exception of the cult of the genius of the emperor and the worship of the emperors themselves, Roman religion showed no independent development under the Empire; it became merged in the general religious syncretism of the age, which the author has treated in his discussion of Greek religion in the preceding section of this volume.

In his general characterization of Roman religion, Wide, like most other writers on the subject, comments on the relative unimportance of its nature-cults as compared with those of Greece. That this element is less definite, less clear-cut in Roman religion than in Greek is true. But too much emphasis is laid upon the point. Among the swarms of spirits with which the early Romans peopled their world, many were identified with processes of nature, e.g., the spirits connected with the growth of the seed.

In his discussion of the Sondergötter the author points out that the occurrence of feminine names (*Runcina* beside *Subruncinator*, *Messia* beside *Messor*) is probably to be referred to the fact that women also worked in the fields. In the case of *Seia*, *Proserpina*, and *Flora*, however, the sex of the divinity is in all likelihood due to the idea of productivity. That the worship of some of the Sondergötter persisted among the common people later than the literary records would seem to indicate, is shown by survivals in the Christian worship of the saints.

Wide disagrees with Wissowa's theory of the *Lares*, reverting to the old view that the *Lar familiaris* was the ancestral spirit of the family. He explains the *Lares compitales* as a later development of the cult. He doubts also the soundness of the view held by some writers that there was a reaction in favor of the old Roman gods after the Second Punic War, drawing attention to the fact that even when new temples were built to Roman gods in that period, the cults of these gods had been hellenized. In his account of the festivals he exposes the futility of always seeking some one god as the original divinity, in whose honor the festival was held; in some cases the festival is older than the god, e.g., the *Lupercalia*. He dwells with some emphasis on the importance of Augustus' reforms. For although this reformation, from the fact that Roman religion was a state institution, was in a sense only part of the Emperor's plan of setting his political house in order, yet it did make a strong appeal to those in whose lives religion still had a place, and these included large numbers, not only among the common people, but also in the educated classes.

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Professor Gercke's hundred-page outline of the history of ancient philosophy answers very well its presumable purpose of orienting the beginner in

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the recent German literature and philology of the subject. As a literary exposition of ancient thought it cannot compare with the brilliant sketch of von Arnim in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, which, it is true, is nearly twice as long. Only a commanding philosophical talent could give a helpful, critical interpretation of the pre-Socratics, Plato, Aristotle and the post-Aristotelian schools in the space at Gercke's disposal. We may then take his remarks on philosophy proper as *obiter dicta*, and I will not delay to controvert his assertion that the *Gorgias* recalls a concession made in the *Phaedrus*, that in *Republic* 331A and 386 ff., Plato had "not yet" discovered the immortality of the soul, that the Republic is a congeries of studies dating from different periods, and that while in *Republic* 437A and *Protagoras* 332A Plato is "not yet" aware of the distinction between contrary and contradictory opposition, he has come to recognize it in *Republic* 491D and in the *Symposium* and *Sophist* (cf. my review of Apelt's *Aufsaetze*, *supra*, VII, p. 489. Gercke accepts without question the tradition that Polyxenos first "discovered" the argument of the "third man," which is clearly stated in the tenth book of the *Republic*. The condemnation of Homer in the *Republic* and the paradoxical defense of lying in the *Hippias* are for him illustrations of Platonic "sophistry." The last he associates with the designation of rhetoric as a kind of deception in the *Phaedrus*. We could as well pronounce Tolstoi a sophist for condemning Shakespeare, Ruskin a sophist for emphasizing the historical opposition between Puritanic morality and the most highly developed art, or Schopenhauer and Renan sophists for telling us, what is the plain truth, that nearly all rhetoric and literary art is the creation of an illusion.

Gercke dismisses the method of *Sprach-statistik* in an ironical paragraph. He also, I am pleased to see, rejects the Platonic *Epistles*, which he says have misled even distinguished historians. The problems which he chiefly recommends to the young investigator are *Quellenuntersuchung* and "restoration" of lost works. He has no misgivings as to the enormous amount of things which are not so or not proved with which this type of inquiry is encumbering the literature of the subject. He shares the professional philologist's naïve confidence in the power of "method" to extract the truth from insufficient evidence. For example, he recommends the young investigator to determine by close analysis the imperfect transitions and obtrusions of alien matter in the Platonic dialogues that will enable him to detect the way in which heterogeneous compositions of different dates were pieced together. In other words, the actual logic of composition and the association of ideas in great writers is to be superseded by the ideal of the logic of literary composition of those who have never composed anything. A sentence from the introduction of Jowett's *Republic* is the best antidote to this excess of method. "Nor need anything be excluded from the plan of a great work to which the mind is naturally led by the association of ideas and which does not interfere with the general purpose."

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Gercke illustrates in the concrete the problems and methods of investigation in this field by a useful appendix on the history and present status of the Platonic question. To this he adds in the second edition a similar history of the Cicero-question, with a convenient summary of the conclusions thus far supposed to have been proved as to the sources of each of Cicero's philosophical works.

Professor Johann Ludwig Heiberg presents in sixteen pages an excellent sketch of the development of mathematics and the exact sciences from the Ionians to Galen. Especially helpful is the second section on literature and bibliography, which, however, strangely omits to mention Dreyer's *Planetary Systems*, Adam's *Platonic Number*, and Beare's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*. Under the third heading, "Problems," Heiberg treats indistinguishably both of the problems out of which Greek mathematics actually arose, and the problems which still await investigation by the student of Greek science. Among the latter he singles out the date of Heron, the predecessors of Copernicus, the history of oppositions in geography, the identification of plants and animals mentioned by classical writers, and the critical sifting and study of the Hippocratic Corpus. The number in *Republic* 586BC, and the problem of *Meno* 86E–87A he thinks still await a satisfactory solution.

PAUL SHOREY

Vol. III contains "Griechische und römische Geschichte" and "Griechische und römische Staatsaltertümer." Greek history to the battle of Chaeronea is done by Lehmann-Haupt. On the whole the work is well done. Particularly praiseworthy are the sections on colonies, and on the development of Athens. The least successful sections are those on the Vorzeit. The relation between the Trojan culture, and the Cretan and Mycenaean is far from clear.

In general the emphasis is upon external politics, commercial development, and military activities. The author avoids the mistake of overemphasizing the importance of commercial factors in determining policies. Athenian jealousy of Corinth's commercial control in the West is assigned as the cause of the Peloponnesian War; but no comment is made on the reason for Athenian interference in Sicily. The author's view on some disputed points may be noted. The mutilation of the Hermae is ascribed to Corinthian instigation. He accepts Nicole's reading of the Geneva papyrus ascribed to Apollodorus, according to which the Eleans paid 40 talents to Athens for the release of Phidias from custody in order that he might make the statue of Zeus. In the main Aristotle's account of the revolution of the Four Hundred is accepted. The unfinished state of Thucydides' work explains discrepancies. He ascribes the authorship of

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the *Oxyrhynchus Hellenica* to Cratippus; and accepts the view that the Boeotian federal senate was quadripartite.

The selection of Beloch to treat Greek history from Alexander to Augustus, and Roman history to the end of the republic is to be commended. No man is better fitted for the task. Not the least important of his qualifications is his vigorous and lucid style. The separate treatment of this period of Greek history is amply justified. In no other way can the history of the Roman conquest of the East be satisfactorily presented. Strangely enough Beloch fails to mention Alexander's conquest of Egypt. Neither does he mention the political importance of the declaration of the oracle that Alexander was the son of Ammon (cf. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 302).

The important rôle of federal unions in Greece is duly emphasized. The history of the western Greeks and the expedition of Pyrrhus are passed over in silence. The explanation doubtless lies in the fact that these matters are fully dealt with in connection with the history of Rome. Similarly the reader is referred to the previous account of Greek history for details of the Roman conquest of the East. One feels however that succinct summaries might profitably have been introduced. Only a few matters of detail can be mentioned. The theory of an Etruscan conquest of Rome is rejected. The change from monarchy to republic is regarded as an evolution. The influence of Greece upon Rome is constantly emphasized. He points out that if Hannibal had been victorious the result would have been the independence of Magna Graecia rather than Phoenician domination in the West. The common view that the Italian confederacy of 90 B.C. was a counterpart of the Roman system is not accepted. He likens the new confederacy to a Greek κοινόν, and remarks that it was "der gerade Gegensatz zu der verrotteten Verfassung Roms." Leading statesmen are seldom characterized. Sulla's services in conquering Greece and in establishing Italian unity by overthrowing the confederacy are recognized, but he is described as "eine der unheilvollsten Erscheinungen der Weltgeschichte." Of Caesar he remarks, "Ihm war jedes Mittel recht, das ihn zur Macht führen konnte; und so trug er kein Bedenken, sich mit der Anarchistenpartei zu verbinden." This is doubtless true, though there is no evidence to connect Caesar with Catiline. Of Cicero he has nothing to say beyond giving him full credit for suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline.

Kornemann writes the history of imperial Rome to the middle of the seventh century. He presents in relatively few pages a broad synoptic view of the history of the empire, pausing at important periods to go into details, e.g., the reign of Hadrian. Attention is constantly called to manifestations of the influence of "Germantum."

Keil's *Griechische Alterthümer* is very largely concerned with origins and developments. Evidence from various communities and different periods is assembled in the effort to present a composite picture. The classification of the senate of 500 as an ἀρχή brings out very clearly its relation

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to the *ecclesia* which is treated as a development of the aristocratic ἔκκλητοι. The persistently reactionary character of the Areopagus, recruited as it was from ex-magistrates of a democracy, is not explained. The discussion of *Rechtspflege* is in general good except in the case of the monarchy. The relation between a royal or a noble arbitrator and a magistrate with judicial functions is not obvious enough to be passed over in silence. The trial scene pictured on the shield of Achilles is not a *Mordprocess*. Omissions were inevitable, and are not to be criticized, but one may wonder why ostracism and the significance of election by lot are ignored.

To each section are appended excellent chapters on sources, chronology, and problems. This plan frees the text from elaborate and distracting notes and offers much that is of interest to the specialist.

R. J. B.

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*Terence.* By J. SARGEAUNT. Text and translation on opposite pages. The Loeb Classical Library. New York: MacMillan. Two vols. Pp. xiii+351 and vii+323.

In Professor Kelsey's symposium on *Latin and Greek in American Education* one of the most pleasing and significant contributions was made by a former member of one of New York's greater banking-houses. At the close of an active business career he had turned with eagerness to the enjoyment of *res dulciores et humaniores*, the elements that mean richness and fulness of life. After declaring that his experience in the workaday world of finance had only heightened his appreciation of classical influences, he announced his unquestioning belief that the study of Latin and Greek in school and college was the natural bulwark against materialistic tendencies, as well as an indispensable preparation for the higher pleasures of literature and art. His letter was enjoyed and gratefully appreciated by every lover of the humanities; and it must have had no little weight even with the profane.

But Mr. Loeb was not content to limit his services to words, although the words were welcome and helpful, and began to cast about for "some attractive and practical way" of promoting an interest in ancient literature, some "means of placing its treasure within the reach of all who care for the finer things of life." In this mood he found himself weighing a suggestion made by the well-known French savant Mr. Salomon Reinach; and after making an exhaustive investigation he decided to issue a text-and-translation series that should contain "all that is of value in Greek and Latin literature from the time of Homer to the fall of Constantinople." However, the purpose and plan of the Library is so well known to readers of this journal that I need not enlarge upon the comprehensiveness of the project or upon the laudable munificence of its founder. Whether it will achieve its lofty aim quite so directly and promptly as was hoped by Mr. Loeb and his distinguished

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advisers may be called in question; but there can be no doubt that it will help, and help materially.

With characteristic energy Mr. Loeb moved rapidly toward his goal. He was able to select promptly an international "advisory board" consisting of eminent scholars; and he congratulates himself on securing as "editors" Mr. T. E. Page, M.A., and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse. "Their critical judgment, their thorough scholarship, and wide acquaintance with ancient and modern literature, are the best guarantee that the translations will combine accuracy with sound English idiom." This pleasant confidence will be shared by classical workers in England and America, and the tribute is doubtless well deserved; but it must be just a little embarrassing to be the responsible editors of hundreds of volumes, all prefaced with such an unfaltering encomium. Furthermore, not a few of us will feel just a suspicion of regret that one of the two editors could not have been an American. This is not written with the least touch of narrowness—in fact, the writer is a Canadian—but such an arrangement, had it not been precluded by practical difficulties, would have given a fillip to the spirit of internationalism in the series.

The editors, after deciding to use any available modern translations of marked excellence and to include "several of those stately and inimitable translations made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries," found that most of the renderings would have to be new. Accordingly, they proceeded to enlist the services of English, American, and Canadian scholars; and their method was very natural and sensible. In America, for instance, the Latin or Greek representative on the advisory board would submit a recommendation. If the English representatives, or the editors, had no better name in mind, the prospective translator was asked to submit about twenty-five hundred words as an example of his work. This was to be reviewed by the two editors and, if they were satisfied, a contract was to be definitely concluded at rates which were substantial, but not so extravagant as to deprive each worker of the pleasant feeling that he too was doing something for love of the cause. It is also understood that the editors issued printed circulars containing sane and pointed suggestions, looking toward liveliness, clarity, and vigor.

Now classical students are almost pugnaciously unanimous on the question of what a translation should do and be. But when they come to the details of actuality the unanimity flies into a thousand bits; and any reviewer who has written books, or magazine articles, or translations, or anything else, will speak very softly and carry a very tiny stick in dealing with another, if he remembers his own efforts to satisfy his editors and his prospective readers, as well as his own taste and conscience. Nor will he be less inclined to diffidence when he reviews the history of English translating since the sixteenth century. In fact, he may begin to wonder whether even editors can always feel quite sure of their ground.

Turning to the work before us, one of the first fruits of the enterprise,

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I think both the translator and the editors are to be congratulated. Any reviewer might quarrel about many particular points and record a few undeniable slips; but on the whole, the rendering is distinctly good. One of the first tests to be applied to a translation of a play is, Would it act? And, as I could not have the comedies acted, I had them read aloud to me, with the result that my ear was thoroughly convinced. Mr. Sargeaunt has certainly attained the results prescribed in the circular letter of the editors. At the same time, he has occasionally paid for his success by a culpable lapse from accuracy, and a not infrequent sacrifice of the delicate shading of the original.

Proceeding to consider a few details, we may note that our translator never shrinks from slang, which he generally uses with success from the English point of view. Now science is international and universal, but slang is national or even local, so there will always be a little dissatisfaction on one side of the Atlantic or the other when a translation requires breezy colloquialisms. Accordingly, a reviewer may be pardoned for a feeling that Mr. Sargeaunt's slang occasionally falls short of the picturesque vigor of the corresponding American patter. In the United States there is such a persistent effort on the part of our young people, and even of their elders, to "express themselves illimitably," as Walt Whitman words the tendency, that a certain journalist was probably right in his proud contention that "American slang, from being constantly on the job, has the rest of the world beaten to a frazzle." The always difficult question of rendering awkward passages involving sex relations meets a characteristic English solution, and they are made to roar never so gently. Equally English is the treatment of "swear words," which are rendered into the downright profanity of a Christian age and country. Pagan deities disappear altogether: *Aesculapius* and *Salus* become "the powers of health," and *Diana's temple* is transformed into "the church." Any verbal or overclose resemblance to the Latin is shunned as the serpent's tooth, occasionally with a loss, as in "a word's enough for a wise man," instead of "a word to the wise is sufficient," for *dictum sapienti satis est* (*Phorm.* 541). But proverb is generally rendered by proverb, and specific by specific, although there seems to be a weakness in "labour lost" for the much-quoted *laterem lavem* of *Phorm.* 186, and in "of the worst" for *capitalia* (*flagitia*) in *Ad.* 721.

However, I can probably save space and time by giving one passage that illustrates most fairly Mr. Sargeaunt's style, and then adducing a few special points from various plays on which his readers may be inclined to differ from him. For the former, one might quote *Heaut.* 521–59:

*Syrus:* Hark at that now! The eagle, they say, has eternal youth.
*Chr.:* Ah ha!
*Syrus:* An agreeable lady this young person, Sir, genteel too.
*Chr.:* I must admit I thought so and on my word a handsome figure. Quite good.

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*Syrus:* Not like the ladies of your day, Sir, but quite good for nowadays. I'm not at all surprised at the young gentleman's being desperately in love with her; but he's got a horrid miser of a father, a thin bit of soil, Sir, our neighbor here: do you know him? He rolls in riches, but he might have none from the way his son ran off for want of a shilling. Do you know, Sir, that that's the fact?

For the latter, one might instance the following: *Fidicina* is rendered commonly by "fiddle-girl," but by "cithern-player" in *Phorm.* 109. *Lacrumae* is omitted from the translation, *ibid.* 107. *Jocularem audaciam,* "a sporting venture," *ibid.* 139. *Spes,* "dependence," *ibid.* 139. *Domum ire pergam,* "I'll draw the home covert," *ibid.* 194. *Praesentem deum,* "A god in avatar," *ibid.* 345. (Hardly fair in the mouth of the *parasitus,* despite the vogue of Kipling.) *Orat confitetur purgat,* "Throws himself on your mercy with confession and apology," *ibid.* 1035. *Inhumanum,* "irrational," *Hec.* 499. *Nil tam difficile est quin quaerendo investigari possiet,* "Nothing's too hard for a detective's industry," *Heaut.* 675. *Iubet . . . . abit,* "Sends . . . . went," *Eun., Perioch.* 4, 5. I have foregone the debatable land of the exact rendering of subjunctives, but students will find not a few opportunities to break a lance about "volitives" or the ever-bristling "potential," e.g., *And.* 258, 259.

On account of the special purpose of this library I have left textual questions absolutely untouched. On the whole, however, the readings are sound and do not neglect recent emendations.

In accordance with the general plan of the series, Mr. Sargeaunt gives a concise introduction, a very brief bibliography, and a minimum of notes. The stage directions, based largely on the acting of the plays at Westminster, are suggestive and helpful.

Typographical errors are creditably rare, but in *Phorm.* 594, "see" should apparently be "seen"; in *Eu.* 683 "hadn't" should be "hasn't"; and in *Phorm.* 204 a misplaced comma causes temporary confusion.

The material volumes are instantly attractive with their simple restful binding of dark red, and their convenient size. The type may prove a bit smallish for eyes that are growing old, but it is sharply defined and legible. The presswork is admirable throughout.

When one bears in mind the generous intentions of the founder of the series, the question of price is important, and I cannot escape a feeling of regret that it was not found possible to set a lower figure than one dollar and a half per volume. Of course, this would be very little, if the books represented a publisher's venture; but the price is certainly a little high, considering the amount of money that is being gratuitously bestowed upon the Library. *Virgini dotatae avarae esse non licet.*

F. B. R. HELLEMS

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

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*Philostratus. In Honour of Apollonius of Tyana.* Translated by J. S. PHILLIMORE, Professor of Latin in the University of Glasgow. Two vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. 7*s*.

*Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Eusebius.* With an English Translation by F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A. Late Fellow and Prelector of University College, Oxford. ["Loeb Classical Library."] Two vols. New York: Macmillan, 1912. $1.50.

The appearance at the same date of two translations of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* is a singular coincidence, if it is one. The only complete earlier English translation, Professor Phillimore tells us, is that by Berwick, London, 1809. The new *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has heard of one published in New York in 1903 (s.v. "Philostratus") or in 1905 (s.v. "Apollonius").

Professor Phillimore gives us in addition to the translation a lively and scholarly introduction on Apollonius, the Philostrati, "the author and his times," "Apollonius after Philostratus," and similar topics. He is apparently not acquainted with Professor Gildersleeve's brilliant handling of the theme in his *Essays and Studies*. But with the keen *flair* of our English cousins for "Americanisms," he has discovered the masterpiece of Tredwell, to which I did justice in the *Dial* long ago, at the time of its publication, and pillories it through two pages of his preface. I have long since lost my sensitiveness in this matter of Americanisms, whether in English or Greek, having fortified myself by a manuscript collection of European "howlers" which our less venturesome scholars will not soon rival. Tredwell is, of course, a joke; and Professor Phillimore is a scholar every page of whose translation shows a genuine feeling for Greek idiom. But in spite of Professor Postgate's austere censorship (cf. *Classical Philology* V, 225), accidents will happen, and there is nothing funnier even in Tredwell than the rendering which our two scholars have given of the words (1. 13): ἀλλ' ὅμως συκοφαντοῦσί τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις αὐτόν, ὡς διαμαρτίᾳ ἐρωτικῇ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεναντίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυθῶν ἔθνος. This Conybeare renders: "And yet there are those who accuse him falsely of an addiction to venery alleging *that he fell a victim of such sins, and spent a whole year in their indulgence among the Scythians*" (italics mine). Professor Phillimore is less outspoken: "alleging some sentimental vagary, which they say kept him a whole year in Scythia." In the case of Professor Phillimore, this is a rare slip. His translation is not only readable, racy, and idiomatic, but, with allowance for a few minor inadvertencies, is, so far as I have tested it, true both to meaning and idiom. The appendix contains an interesting table of variations from Kayser's text and a selection of brief but pertinent and helpful explanatory notes.

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I regret that it is impossible to speak with like commendation of Mr. Conybeare's version. His English is fair, though much less vivid than that of Professor Phillimore. The substance of the meaning is given correctly enough sometimes for several pages together. But both positive mistakes and slight inaccuracies that betray a defective feeling for the Greek are altogether too numerous to be passed over in silence, or to be excused as accidents. There must be at least one or two hundred of the former and many hundreds of the latter. The following may serve merely as typical illustrations:

I, 19: *τὸ δ' οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκον*, "I have at least been to Babylon"; I, 21: *προπίνει δ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς δέκα ἡμῖν σατράπαις*, "in which the king pledges us his ten satraps"—cf. III, 28: *προπίνω σοι . . . . ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα*, "I pledge you to drink the health . . . . of a Hellene"; I, 24: *καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀλλ' οὔπω ταῦτα ἰδεῖν φασι*, "They said that they never yet had made them out," where, however, the fault is partly with the text, and we should read with Phillimore, *ταὐτὰ ἰδεῖν*; I, 25: *καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς ἔφυδρον ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται*, "and all the materials which men have found set under water." Technical or philosophical passages are frequently misunderstood, as e.g., II, 20 and III, 24. I, 34: *καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαίῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, "held in respect by Hellas"; II, 7: *οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκ πότου νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύοντες*, "who indulge in drink of a night and not in season"; II, 13: *παραθήγεσθαι μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ*, "they need no sharpening of any kind"; II, 15: *καὶ τοῦτο τακτικώτατον ἡγοῦ των θηρίων*, "so that you may regard the elephant as the best tactician to be found among animals"; II, 25: *ὀλίγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς*, "a few servants; and only three or four of them, who required to converse with the king"; II, 28: *καὶ τὸ διὰ σφενδόνης δὲ τοξεῦσαι καὶ τὸ ἐς τρίχα ἰέναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ σκιαγραφῆσαι βέλεσιν*, "take a sling and aiming within a hair's-breadth would shoot at his own son"; II, 29: *ξυνεσίτει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοδιαίτῳ ὄντι*, "who was eating beside the king, cheek by jowl"—the meaning is of course that he ate with the king because they were both vegetarians; III, 13: *ὡς πρὸς τὸν σεισμὸν ἱκανούς*, "thought that they would be strong enough to take it by assault"; III, 25: *παρήλλαττε δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα ὥσπερ οἱ Θετταλοί*, "though he parted his cloak in the way the Thessalians do"; IV, 2: *καί τοι μεταθεμένων τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς αὐτόν*, "at the risk of estranging the Ephesians"; IV, 7: *ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι*, "and everywhere talked about"; IV, 9: *ἐπιστρέφων οὖν τοὺς παρόντας*, "by way of reforming his audience"; IV, 11: *καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχαιολογίας ἐμφορηθείς*, "as his mind was stored with all the traditions of their past"; IV, 20: *τὸ δὲ μειράκιον . . . . αἰδῶ τε ἐπεσπάσατο πάντων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστραμμένων*, "won the consideration of all those who had now turned their attention to him"; IV, 23: *μονονοὺ περιέβαλεν*, "almost surrounded it with a shrine"; IV, 24: *ἦν μετὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ Νέρων διενοήθη*, "when Nero in the seventh year of his reign projected it"; IV, 25: "*τοῦτ*," *ἔφη*, "*καὶ τουτονὶ*

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τὸν κόσμον (i.e., the dress and ornaments of Lamia) ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ γὰρ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὕλης δόξα," "as such . . . . you must regard this world of ours, for it is not reality, but the semblance of reality."

This will suffice, and the last example illustrates what might befall a student of philosophy or literature who pinned his faith to this version. I have no desire to persecute Mr. Conybeare, who may have been merely careless in taking his task too lightly. But the "Loeb Library" is a matter of more than personal interest. It will be of great service if it only gives the general sense of the classics for the curious and cursory reader. But there is no good reason why it should not go farther and provide translations which workers in other fields may quote with confidence and use for their historical investigations and literary comparisons. The combined scholarship of England and America ought surely to be equal to the task of construing correctly. My excuse for thus explicitly calling attention to the errors of this volume is that there is still time to avert such accidents in subsequent volumes of the series. Post-classical Greek is very tricky and demands in its translator something more than an elementary knowledge of normal classical syntax and vocabulary. All versions of these later writers ought to be submitted for revision to experts acquainted with the history of post-classical philosophy, rhetoric, and idiom.

PAUL SHOREY

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*The Loeb Classical Library.* Edited by T. E. PAGE, M.A., and W. H. D. ROUSE, Litt. D. *Euripides, with an English Translation.* By ARTHUR S. WAY, D.Litt., Vols. I and II. New York: Macmillan, 1912.

The management of the Loeb library is fortunate in securing Way's excellent translation of Euripides, the price of which in the original edition put it out of the reach of many scholars and which has, I believe, been out of print for some time. In point of literary charm and grace it is quite sufficient, holding in this regard a middle place between the uninspired eighteenth-century version of Potter and the romantic beauty of Professor Murray's brilliant variations on Euripidean themes. Its faithfulness makes it much the most suitable rendering for confrontation with the original text. The line-for-line translation of the dialogue will almost serve the construing undergraduate as a "pony," and is as likely as any of the work of this series to fulfil Mr. Loeb's hope that "some readers may be enticed by the texts printed opposite the translations to gather an elementary knowledge of Greek and Latin." Even the Choruses are rendered with as much precision as is compatible with the lyric necessity of always rhyming maiden with laden and maidens with cadence. The two volumes now issued include *Iphigeneia in Aulis, Rhesus, Hecuba, Daughters of Troy, Electra, Orestes, Iphigeneia in Taurica, Andromache, Cyclops.*

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The translator has revised the work, first published in 1894–98, and made many hundreds of corrections "with two special aims—closer fidelity to the original and greater lucidity of expression." The end seems to be attained, so far as I can judge by a few tests made at random.

The translation of the *Cyclops* is new and prepared especially for this edition. Here Dr. Way has substituted rhymed couplets for blank verse, and, as was to be expected, has allowed himself greater license. In some cases he has, perhaps, forced the note of comedy so delicately suggested in the Greek. He has certainly gone much farther than Shelley ventured in colloquialism and suggestiveness, and interpreted the whole rather in the spirit of Aristophanes than of Theocritus. Where Euripides and Shelley simply speak of the Cyclops or Polyphemus he substitutes "Old Saucer-eye," "Godless Goggle-eye," "Giant What's-his-name," "One-eyed Giant-Despair," and similar felicities. γάλακτι καὶ τυροῖσι καὶ μήλων βορᾷ he renders "milk, cheese, and the eternal mutton-chop," which is not bad, but not Euripides. And the Greekless reader of Shelley's

Farewell foul pavilion,
Farewell rites of dread,
The Cyclops vermilion
With slaughter uncloying
Now feasts on the dead,
In the flesh of strangers joying,

will be sorely puzzled if he is enticed to "gather an elementary knowledge of Greek" from Mr. Way's rendering of the same passage:

Ay, paddle your ain canoe, One-eye,
Wi' bluidy oars, an' a' that;
Your impious hall, I pass it by!
I cry "avaunt!" for a' that.
For a' that, an' a' that
Your "Etna Halls" an' a' that,
You joy in gorgin' strangers' flesh!
Awa' wi' ye, for a' that.

The reviewer can only ejaculate after Quince, "Bless thee, Euripides, thou art translated," or after Falstaff,

Heaven defend me from that—Scotch satyr,
Lest he transform me to a piece of—Burns.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Centaurs in Ancient Art: The Archaic Period.* By PAUL V. C. BAUR. With 38 illustrations in the text and 15 plates. Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1912. Pp. 140. $10.

In this painstaking and handsomely published monograph Assistant Professor Baur of Yale University provides us with far more copious materials for studying the early art history of the centaur than have ever been brought

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together before. Taking as his lower limit the year 480 B.C. and rarely overstepping that limit, he catalogues upward of three hundred objects representing centaurs and discusses the points of interest regarding each one. This catalogue is followed by four pages and a half, in which the principal results are summed up.

In my judgment the proportion between catalogue and summary is not an altogether fortunate one. I should have preferred to see a more extended treatment of the subject in connected form, a treatment in which facts and opinions, now scattered here and there, should have been brought into a continuous narrative and argument. This would have helped the reader, who now, in the absence of an index, is obliged to hunt for the author's views. It would also, I think, have tended to unify and clarify the views themselves.

The evidence as to the early history of the centaur is extremely scanty. In Professor Baur's opinion it points to Babylonia as the place of origin. By the eighth century B.C. we find the creature established in Greece. Contrary to common belief, the author makes it clear that the type with human forelegs is not earlier than that with equine forelegs; that in fact the two types exist side by side. He suggests (pp. 5, 135) that in this early Greek period centaurs had some connection with the lower world, and again (pp. 8, 135) that they "had power to ward off evil." These conjectures, as well as the similar interpretations of Etruscan monuments (pp. 113, 130), appear to me to rest upon the slenderest of evidence and not to fit in well with the mythological rôle which the centaurs came to play. It is in the seventh century that stories about centaurs begin to be developed in art. Thus the rescue of Deianeira by Heracles from the centaur Nessus and the pursuit of the centaurs by Heracles on Mt. Pholoe are popular early subjects, and so also is the Thessalian centauromachy, which was destined to play so important a part in the art of the fifth century. These and other less frequent legends are named and classified in the "Conclusion," with references to particular examples.

The book touches upon a wide range of subjects, evidently with extensive knowledge and independent judgment. To single out a point for challenge, I cannot believe that the cup of Oecopheles, now in Oxford, "will probably turn out to be Boeotian" (p. 25). The ν-movable of the inscriptions tells against that view, and the shapes of the letters, to say the least, are not especially in favor of it. The Boeotian inscribed cylix which Professor Baur brings into comparison is later by a century or more.

The style of the book, as regards sentence-structure, leaves something to be desired. The following is an extreme specimen (pp. 5–6): "Now in Italy the centaurs are occasionally connected with the lower world, they guard the tombs, see no. 317, like Charon they lead the spirits to the lower world, see no. 282 and in course of time were considered guardians of the gates of Hades, see especially Milchhoefer, *Anfänge*, p. 229."

F. B. TARBELL

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*Luciani quae fertur Demosthenis Laudatio*; Recensuit et illustravit FERDINANDUS ALBERS. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCMX (pp. 76).

This dissertation begins with an examination of the codices in the effort to establish the text on a more authoritative basis. Anticipating his conclusion that the *Encomium* was not written by Lucian, Albers examines as criteria the evidences of the rhetorician's art; the persons, scene, and time of the dialogue; the peculiarities of the Greek; stylistic questions such as the avoidance of hiatus; and the sources for the subject-matter. He then deals with the question of the authorship. Then follows the Greek text with critical notes and a commentary.

Albers assumes that this dialogue is now universally ("nunc inter omnes constat," p. 38) considered spurious. This is hardly a correct statement. It is accepted as genuine in the Teubner text (1887) and by those who follow it. Thus the Fowlers in their translation (1905) include it by virtue of its apparent Lucianic qualities, and dissent expressly from the high authority of Croiset whom they generally follow. On grounds of the rhetorical coloring and sophistic method and the peculiarities of diction common to the second Christian century—whether in the way of successful, though overcareful, Atticizing or of actual slips in Attic usage—Albers makes out a case for the possibility of authorship by some rhetorician of the period other than Lucian.

If the dialogue was composed at Alexandria, as Albers plausibly argues, this might be a contributory reason for rejecting Lucian's authorship, as we have no specific grounds for believing that Lucian was settled in Egypt in his earlier years and certain peculiarities seem inconsistent with his authorship unless the dialogue be referred, as has been suggested by others, to his *juvenilia*.

As the unknown author himself lays stress on the novelty, not of the subject-matter, but of the use of dialogue as a vehicle for an encomium, Albers, assuming that it was not by Lucian, concludes that it could not have been written until after 162 A.D., when Lucian had furnished, in his *Imagines*, a model for this new departure in literature. He therefore contents himself with assigning as time limits for the composition the years between 162 and 272 A.D.. that is, before the destruction by Aurelian of the Bruchion in Alexandria, to which building, as he argues, reference is made in *Encom.* 2.

While admitting the full value of all the criteria discussed in this and similar dissertations, it may not be captious to urge that after these important data are established there is still demanded of the critic an attempt to estimate the more elusive but real Lucianic flavor. Albers, for example, cites among other instances of sophistic reminiscence of the great Greek authors two passages recalling Plato's *Republic* (*Rep.* 344, *d*, and 476, *b*) but although he has just said: "non solum singula verba sed etiam totas sententias deprompsit," he confines his attention to the mere citing of one or

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two Platonic words. Yet the context is redolent of that larger Platonic reminiscence in which Lucian was so apt to indulge. In this second passage (*Encom.* 18), indeed, there is still a third and obvious allusion to the *Republic* (354 *b*) where Socrates humorously complains that he has been distracted, like gourmands at a feast, from one intellectual dish to another. The "classics" were not, to be sure, unknown to other *littérateurs* of this second century, but this whole passage is so characteristic of the versatile Syrian, "drawing his honey from here and yon in the Platonic meadow"—not contenting himself with a bald, long-winded citation such as he delights to criticize in others—that it might seem desirable to pass in review the remainder of the dialogue before deciding that this *Encomium* is less Lucianic than some other pieces included among his less famous but acknowledged writings.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

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*Thesaurus linguae Latinae epigraphicae: A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions.* By GEORGE N. OLCOTT. Rome: Loescher & Co.; New York: Lemcke & Buechner. Vol. I, fasc. 16 (*Apis–Apul*), 1910; fascc. 17–20 (*Apul–Arne*), 1911; fasc. 21 (*Arne–Aser*), 1912. Each fasc., $0.50.

These are the last completed fascicules which Dr. Olcott was permitted to see published before his untimely and sudden death from pneumonia on March 2, 1912, in Rome, where he was spending the year at work upon his Dictionary. The first foglio (8 pages) of fascicule 22 was in print and proofs of the second foglio were in his hands before his illness; during the year he planned to complete the letter A and to finish collecting material for the letters B–F.

The standard of excellence, which is set in the earlier fascicules, is maintained throughout these last ones. The small part of the Dictionary already completed is itself a monument to Dr. Olcott's patient accuracy and an honor to American scholarship. As the present writer has testified in earlier reviews of the work in this journal, the Dictionary is much more than a mere lexicon or list of words arranged alphabetically. Meanings of words are distinguished and usages classified and one has at hand all the inscriptional evidence, for example, under *ara, arcus, area* for the student of topography, under *Apollo, Apollinaris* for the student of religion, under *argentarius* for the student of private life, and so on.

It would be most unfortunate, if the work of compiling this Dictionary, so well inaugurated by Dr. Olcott, should now be indefinitely suspended. Some way should be found by which the task of completing it may be immediately undertaken by a collaborating editorial board of American scholars. There is urgent need of such a Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions and the work should proceed at least as fast as the Munich *Latin Thesaurus.*

WALTER DENNISON

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*Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution.* Translated with introduction and notes by F. G. KENYON, M.A., D.Litt. 2d ed. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1912.

Although the book was issued in 1912, the preface to this edition is dated 1895. The translation has been revised so as to "bring it into accordance with the Greek text as it is now generally read." The text used is that of the author's third edition. Many will regret his decision not to translate the last few pages of the treatise dealing with the jury system. The labors of Blass and the recent work of Thalheim have made "continuous decipherment" possible. Sandys, in his notes, suggested a number of corrections. These have for the most part been accepted. Some inaccuracies still remain: *οἱ ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν* means rather "powerful citizens" than "those in high office" (22. 3). "So that nothing may pass without the cognizance of any person" does not bring out the force of *ἔρημον* in *ὅπως μηδένα λάθῃ μηδὲν ἔρημον γενόμενον* (43. 4). The epithet is constantly used in the *Orators* of an estate left without an owner through failure of heirs or claimants for the hand of an heiress. In 52. 2, *δίκαι αἰκείας* is rendered "cases of slander." In 53. 4, "the Eponymus who had been in the course in the preceding year," is unintelligible without the Greek text. The notes which were intended for the general reader have not been revised.

The text is free from misprints; the notes are concise and appropriate. It is the best English version, both for the general reader and for the student of Athenian constitutional history.

ROBERT J. BONNER

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*Aristotelis* ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. Post Friderichum Blass edidit Th. Thalheim. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCMIX.

Excellent work has been done on the last six pages of the papyrus which describe the method of jury drawing. Practically all the lacunae have been filled except those on p. xxxiv. The improvement of the text in this portion of the book is ample justification for the publication of the new edition. Elsewhere the changes are comparatively few. Thalheim has adhered more closely to the papyrus than Blass in the fourth edition. For example *ἐκμαρτύρων* (7.4) emended by Blass to *ἐπὶ μαρτύριον* is retained and satisfactorily explained.

One of the emendations introduced by the editor deserves special mention. In the description of the amnesty of 403 B.C., Blass and other editors printed *τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φόνου εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, εἴ τίς τινα αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔκτεινεν ἢ ἔτρωσε* (39.5). This amounts to an exception to the prohibition in the next sentence, *τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδένα*

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μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι. If deeds of violence under the Thirty were to be excepted, the text should have been τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν παρεληλυθότων κ.τ.λ. Instead of ἔκτεινεν ἢ ἔτρωσε, Thalheim reads ἐκτείσαιτο τρώσας. This makes excellent sense. Redress for wrongs suffered under the Thirty is not to be sought either by self-help or in the courts. A commendable feature of the critical apparatus is the citation of the source of each emendation and correction that is recorded.

ROBERT J. BONNER

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*Donarem Pateras.* Von ANTON ELTER. Bonn: Carl Georgi.

As some time has elapsed since the appearance of this work, it is possible to review not only the monograph itself, but also the reviews and discussions which it has called forth. Of these the most important are by Beltrami (*Rivista di Filologia*, XXXVI, 524 ff.), Heinze (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXVIII, 1332 ff.), Corssen (*Neue Jahrb.*, XXI, 401 ff.); Knögel (*Zeitsch. f. Gym.*, LXII, 182 ff.), and Röhl (*Zeitsch. f. Gym.*, LXIII, 68 ff.).

The difficulties which have made this ode the subject of endless debate for many generations are: (1) the victory over Hannibal and the destruction of Carthage are apparently attributed to one and the same Scipio Africanus (vss. 15–19); (2) the verse *non incendia Carthaginis impiae* lacks the caesura; (3) the ode has thirty-four lines and so does not conform to Meineke's law. In addition to these three points, various other difficulties have been found by the critics. For example, Elter lays great emphasis upon the flaws of logic which, under the usual interpretation of the ode, are inherent in the combination of marble monuments and heroic deeds in vss. 13 ff. (*non incisa notis marmora publicis . . . . non celeres fugae reiectaeque minae . . . . non incendia Carthaginis*) as compared with a poet's praise. Moreover in his opinion, the current interpretation has failed entirely to explain the mythological list at the end of the poem (vss. 22–34). He points also, as many have done before him, to the fact that the second last verse, *ornatus viridi tempora pampino*, is practically a repetition of *Carm.* III. 25. 20, *cingentem viridi tempora pampino*.

Elter's treatment is unique, not only among the discussions of this ode but among all the monographs that make up the literature of Horace. The argument is spun out to the length of eighty quarto pages, in the course of which the author makes frequent raids into various fields of Roman literature and antiquities. These digressions, which form one of the most conspicuous features of the book, are sometimes interesting and suggestive, but they are not always relevant.

His interpretation may be summarized as follows: (1) the poem was written by Horace to accompany a copy of the volume containing the first three books of the Odes which he was sending as a present to his friend Censorinus; and the *carmina* referred to in the words *carmina possumus donare* (vs. 11) are these first three books; (2) in the *marmora* of vs. 13 we

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have a reference to a monument recently erected to Scipio Africanus by one of his descendants, and the words *non celeres fugae . . . . rediit* were not composed by Horace, but were quoted by him from the metrical inscription on the monument—quoted exactly, with all their historical and rhythmical defects, in order to expose the ineffectiveness of monuments as compared with poets' verses; (3) the work referred to in *Calabrae Pierides* (vs. 20) is the "Scipio" of Ennius, a poem which, according to Elter's reconstruction, contained a "Nekyia" in which Scipio Africanus visiting the lower world saw, in a vision of apotheosis, his admission to the ranks of those demigods whose names are enumerated in the last part of the ode; (4) the ode does not conform to Meineke's law because, like i.1 and iii.30, it is recitative, not melic.

The verdict of the reviewers is distinctly against Elter's interpretation. They vary, however, both in the range and in the vehemence of their criticism. Knögel, for example, seems to be strongly impressed by the plausibility of many of Elter's arguments. He accepts his interpretation of *carmina* (vs. 11) and his explanation of the variation from the *Lex Meinekiana*, and thinks that the other points for which he contends deserve careful consideration. Beltrami also accepts the explanation of *carmina* and of the metrical structure, but is not convinced by Elter's arguments on the subjects of the inscription and Scipio's apotheosis. But while these reviewers partially approve the author's contentions, the others are distinctly opposed to them. Corssen points out that Elter's explanation of vss. 15–19 as a quotation from an inscription is open to two objections: (1) that so serious a historical error is not conceivable on a monument that is spoken of by Horace as a national work (*notis publicis*), and (2) that insomuch as Elter supposes the original inscription to be metrical he is setting up a somewhat lame contrast between verses inscribed on monuments and poets' verses of the usual type. Röhl rejects the author's views in regard to the inscription and considers his reconstruction of Ennius' "Scipio" as highly problematical. Heinze is the most emphatic of all the critics: "ich bedauere Elters Interpretation der Ode iv.8 vom Anfang bis zum Ende ablehnen zu müssen." In a word it seems certain that the monograph, on account of the highly speculative character of its main contentions and the absence of definite evidence, has failed to contribute anything of permanent value to the solution of the problems connected with the ode.

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*Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes.* By A. MEILLET. Third edition. Paris, 1912.

Meillet's *Introduction* and Brugmann's *Kurzgefasste Grammatik* are the two books best adapted to give the student a brief but comprehensive

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survey of the present state of Indo-European comparative philology and they differ so much in matter and arrangement that each happily supplements the other. In the actual comparison of forms, Meillet's work is more elementary and sketchy. One would not be able to abstract from it a respectable outline of the comparative grammar of any one of the languages treated, for the author intentionally emphasizes the features in which the languages agree, and only occasionally mentions the important innovations which characterize the individual languages. But it contains a vast deal of general information upon linguistic matters, which Brugmann's work does not furnish, and which it is of great value to the beginner, and a pleasure to the initiated, to find so clearly and competently stated. We refer especially to the chapters upon method, vocabulary, "développement des dialectes" (added in this edition), the appendix on the development of the science of comparative grammar, and many interesting generalizations scattered through the book.

The third edition is completely revised, and, as already noted, one chapter is entirely new. For the first time in any general work on Indo-European we find "Tocharian," the newly discovered Indo-European language from Chinese Turkestan, beginning to take its place. It is fortunate that its first introduction into the fold is at the hands of one who has been personally engaged in the study of its documents.

CARL D. BUCK

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*Studia palaeographica.* A contribution to the history of early Latin minuscule and to the dating of Visigothic MSS, with seven facsimiles. By E. A. LOEW. Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1910, 12. Abhandlung.

Loew's work belongs to a new era in the study of palaeography. Collections of facsimiles of one or another kind of script, with descriptions and transliterations, are valuable in themselves. What is wanted, however, for each script, is a collection made by a scholar whose familiarity with the MSS written in that script is great enough to insure that nothing important has been omitted in the way of typical specimens representing the entire range of chronological and local development. In addition we want a history of the script based on a study of the mass of its MSS, dealing with its various palaeographical characteristics. Such a work we may confidently expect in Loew's *Scriptura Beneventana* and its accompanying manual, if the present work, which is a by-product of his investigations, may be regarded as a criterion.

His study of Beneventan MSS involved the examination of the use of *i*-longa and of the double form of the *ti*-ligature in this script. But since

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other scripts also used these forms (especially the Visigothic, where a relationship to Beneventan has been assumed) Loew has included them all in his study and has given us in this valuable monograph a history of these symbols from the earliest period to the end of the so-called national scripts.

Beginning with the *i*-longa of inscriptions, Loew finds a point of contact with the later palaeographical use in the old cursive, e.g., in Pompeian mural inscriptions. He discusses the usage in the cursive of MSS of various dates and localities and in the different types of pre-Carolingian minuscule, where its frequency has a relation to the amount of cursive influence retained in the minuscule. It is only in Beneventan and Visigothic MSS, however, that the usage has been reduced to a system—*i* has the long form regularly at the beginning of a word (with certain exceptions which Loew discusses and explains) and when it is a semivowel. Neither script borrowed from the other but both derive the usage from the parent cursive. At the close of the chapter Loew shows the bearing of his conclusions on the textual criticism of authors that have a Beneventan or Visigothic manuscript tradition.

The history of the two *ti*-ligatures, one representing the hard, the other the soft sound, is traced in the same way and their importance for textual criticism is made clear. In the chapter on the evidence Loew gives in detail the results of his examination of a large list of MSS, most of which he has seen himself; 90 MSS furnished the material for early French and Italian minuscule, and his summary of the practice of the Beneventan scribes is based on a study of over 300 MSS. Especially important are the results obtained by an examination of the use of the *ti*-ligature in the Spanish script. Loew has studied 104 MSS, half of which are found in libraries outside of Spain; and the publication of the list is in itself a valuable addition to our knowledge. He finds that the distinction between the assibilated and the unassibilated forms of the ligature is not made before the middle of the tenth century, and so supplies us with a new criterion for dating Spanish MSS that will force a revision of the date in many cases. He supports the evidence of the ligatures by other palaeographical proofs and in a series of facsimiles he furnishes the reader with the means of verifying his conclusions. The monograph is provided with an index of the MSS cited (nearly 300 in all). It is to be hoped that Dr. Loew will be given abundant opportunity to continue his important investigations in the field of palaeography.

CHARLES H. BEESON

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# Classical Philology

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## THE INTERSTATE USE OF THE GREEK DIALECTS

BY CARL DARLING BUCK

Not only in earlier times, but also, in most parts of Greece, long after Attic had become the norm of literary prose, each state employed its own dialect, both in private and public monuments of internal concern, and in those of a more external or interstate character, such as decrees in honor of foreigners, decisions of interstate arbitration, and, in general, communications between different states.

This brief statement of the general situation, which I have given elsewhere and illustrated with some examples,[1] I repeat here by way of introduction to a more detailed consideration, with special reference to peculiar and exceptional cases, of the question of dialect in "interstate" inscriptions. This term is retained, in default of a better, but is to be understood here in the broadest sense, to include, for example, dedications set up away from the home of the dedicator.

There is no doubt as to what is the general practice, namely the use of the native dialect[2] of the authors of inscriptions, regardless of the parties to whom they are addressed, the subject-matter, or the place of publication. But there are some real or apparent exceptions, and such have now and then misled competent epigraphists

[1] *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, pp. 154 ff.

[2] Likewise the native type of alphabet. But it is to be remembered that the native alphabets were given up in favor of the Ionic long before most of the dialects were given up in favor of the Attic κοινή.



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into unnecessarily vague statements or even directly false assertions as to what is usual.[1]

It is obvious that certain forms of dialect mixture which occur have no bearing on the question before us. The influence of the literary epic, which shows itself in varying degrees in the metrical dedications and epitaphs, is no more common in the inscriptions set up abroad than in those set up at home. Nor is the admixture of Attic forms in the later Doric or other dialects generally any different in the interstate inscriptions from that which the same dialect shows in the inscriptions found within its own territory. It is only the substitution of the Attic κοινή for the local dialect with Attic coloring that would concern us. In the period of fluctuation between Attic and the local dialect the choice of the former may in some given instances be due to the interstate character of a document. But this should not be assumed without weighing the question in each case whether the difference is really between interstate and other documents, or between those of a formal public character, whether interstate or local, and others, as for example in the Nicareta inscription (*IG* VII, 3172), where the formally drawn financial contrast is in Attic, the other portions in Boeotian.

Certain aberrations from the native dialect, in the nature of elimination of some specific local peculiarity, have often been pointed out as due to the interstate character of the inscriptions in which they occur, and no doubt correctly in some instances. Thus Solmsen *KZ* XXXII, 539, speaking of the inscription on the serpent column from Delphi, which is in the Laconian alphabet, but nevertheless has ἐπολέμεον without the regular Laconian change of antevocalic ε to ι, remarks:

Es sollte das nationale geschenk aller Hellenen darstellen, soweit sie sich an den freiheitskämpfen beteiligt hatten, und so ist es nur natürlich, dass die Lakedaemonier, wenn sie die weihinschrift auch in ihrem alphabet eingraben liessen, doch in der sprache die speciellen eigenheiten ihrer mundart ver-

[1] Thus Hoffmann *Griech. Dial.* I, p. 17, regards the use of Attic in an Arcadian decree in honor of an Athenian as natural, "weil Ehrendekrete für Angehörige eines fremden Staates schon seit ältester Zeit nicht im einheimischen Dialekte, sondern im Dialekte des Geehrten gehalten zu werden pflegten." This statement can only be understood as a momentary lapse on the part of a scholar who must on reflection be well aware that, whatever the explanation of this particular case, the general practice is precisely the opposite. See below, pp. 145 ff.

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mieden und das den meisten dorischen stämmen gemeinsame zu grunde legten; man kann darin einen ansatz zu einer dor. gemeinsprache sehen. Auch Pindar, der für den ganzen hellenischen adel dorischen stämmes dichtete, hat die in rede stehenden besonderheiten des lakonischen und seinen heimatlichen dialekts durchaus vermieden.

Similarly Meister *Dorer und Achäer* I, 9 ff.:

Bei Verwendung dieser von Spartanen verfassten Inschriften für die Erkenntniss des spartanischen Dialekts sind die bekannten Tatsachen in Rechnung zu ziehen, dass in den Texten, die ausserhalb der heimischen Landschaften aufgestellt für andere Greichen und für den internationalen Verkehr bestimmt waren, besonders exzentrische Eigentümlichkeiten des Dialekts wie des Alphabets gewöhnlich unterdrückt zu werden pflegten.

The "gewöhnlich" he qualifies in a footnote by "nicht immer." I have no doubt that such elimination of certain specific peculiarities is to be recognized, but I believe that "occasionally, but not usually," instead of "usually, but not always," would be nearer the mark, and further that this is not entirely confined to interstate inscriptions.[1]

### DEDICATIONS

The matter of the dialect employed in dedications has recently been recalled to notice by the Cleobis and Biton dedication at Delphi, apropos of which Premerstein *Oest. Jhrh.* XIII, 48 remarks: "In aller Regel sind die Inschriften archäischer Weihungen im Alphabet und Dialekt der Dedikanten gehalten; doch gibt es Ausnahmen, indem auswärtige Stifter mitunter der ortsüblichen Schrift und Sprache sich bedienen, so z. B. die Söhne des Pariers Charopinos auf ihren delphischen Anathemen."

Examples in plenty of the normal practice, the use of the alphabet and dialect of the dedicators, regardless of where the objects are set up, are furnished by the dedications from all parts of the Greek world found at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Delos, Delphi, and Dodona, as well as at other sites, e.g., a Naxian dedication at Boeotian Orchomenus (*SGDI* 5422; Roberts I, No. 28).

The artist's signatures are likewise normally in the dialect and alphabet of the artist. Yet now and then the artist working abroad may adapt himself to the local practice.

[1] See *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, § 275, and the remarks on *ναός*, below, p. 137, and on *Πυθαγόρας*, below, p. 138.

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In those cases where both dedication and artist's signature belonging to the same work are preserved, and dedicator and artist are not compatriots, we expect and find, as a general rule, the appropriate differentiation. But there are also some instances in which the dedication shows the form appropriate to the artist, indicating that the matter was intrusted to his hands; and others in which, conversely, the artist's signature is adapted to the dedication; and still others in which the local influence of the place of dedication is a third element. Some illustrations of the normal differentiation are given first, followed by examples of adaptation or local influence.

*Inschriften von Olympia* 271; Loewy *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* 33:

*a*) [Γλαυκί]αι με Κάλων γενε[αῖ Ϝ]αλεῖορ ἐποίε.

*b*) [Γλ]αυκίης ὁ Λυκκίδεω [τω̄]ι Ἑρμῆι Ῥ[η]γῖνος.

The signature of the Elean artist is in the Elean dialect and alphabet; the dedication in the Ionic dialect and in the alphabet then current at Rhegium.

*Inschriften von Olympia* 143; Loewy 28:

*a*) Γέλων Δεινομένεος Γελῶ̂ι]ος ἀνέθεκε.

*b*) Γλαυκίας Αἰγινάτας ἐ[π]οίεσε.

There is nothing here significant for the dialect. But the contrast between ξ in the dedication and ⋋ in the artist's signature is not accidental. For that the use of ξ was established at both Gela and Syracuse considerably earlier than in many parts of Greece, for example at Athens where it is rare before the middle of the fifth century, we know from other sources, e.g., the coin legends of Gela and Syracuse, the Delphian dedication of Gelon, quoted below, the Olympian dedication of Hieron (*Inschr. von Olympia* 249), and the early inscriptions on the steps of the temple of Apollo at Syracuse (Roberts I, No. 110).

*Inschriften von Olympia* 162: Loewy 91:

Of the original inscription, the later restoration of which reads Πυθοκλῆς Ἀλεῖος. [Πολύ]κλειτος ἐποίει Ἀργεῖος, enough is preserved to show clearly the difference in alphabet, the signature of

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the artist showing the characteristic Argive form of lambda, while the dedication shows the usual form current in Elis.

Dedication of Gelon of Syracuse at Delphi: Homolle *BCH* XXI, 589; *Mélanges Weil* 212 ff.; Hicks[2] 16; Ditt. *Syll.*[3] 910:

*a*) Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[εος] | ἀνέθεκε τοπάλλωνι | Συραϙόσιος.

*b*) Τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὲν νίκεν ἐργάσατο | Βίων Διοδόρω υἱὸς Μιλέσιος.

The dedication is Syracusan in alphabet and dialect. The article without spiritus asper has already been attested for Syracuse, among other places (cf. my *Greek Dialects*, p. 50), by the Olympian dedication of Hieron, beginning Ηιάρων ὁ. The artist's signature is in the Ionic dialect (*τὲν νίκεν*) as is natural, but the alphabet is not the Milesian Ionic (note E = η, O = ω). It cannot be a case of continuation of the alphabet used in the dedication, for it has ⊦, ≤ in contrast to C, ξ = γ, σ. There seems to be left only one possibility, namely, that the alphabet is Delphian. Yet Delphian inscriptions of about the same date show Γ = γ and ξ = σ.

*Inschriften von Olympia* 259; Loewy 49:

*a*) Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ | Ὀλυμπίωι δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

*b*) Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος | καὶ τἀκρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.

The alphabet of both *a* and *b* is Ionic. This may be thought of as the use of the artist's alphabet in the dedication as well. But the date of the monument is not long before the Ionic alphabet came into general use. In dialect the dedication and artist's inscription are still distinct, the former in Doric, the latter in Ionic, except for *ναόν*. This use of *ναός* is not due merely to the fact that the particular temple referred to was so called (Dittenberger-Purgold, *loc. cit.*), but is an early example of the tendency to replace the Attic-Ionic *νεώς* by the more cosmopolitan form, which is also observed in dedications from Ionic soil and which results in the establishment of *ναός* in the *κοινή*.[1]

[1] Cf. Michel 1209: *βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηναίηι Πολιάδι* (Priene, 334 B.C.); and Michel 1134: *Ξενοκλείδης Πόσιος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέραι κτλ.* (Panagoria, second half of the fourth century.) *ναός* prevails in Attic inscriptions after about 250 B.C. (Meisterhans-Schwyzer 128), and is the Modern Greek form (similarly always λαός).

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*Inschriften von Olympia* 144; Loewy 22:

Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀστυκλέος τρὶς Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.
Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε.
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

Alphabet and dialect are uniform, the Ionic of the artist, who, however, in his own name prefers the form common to all dialects except his own to the strictly Ionic Πυθαγόρης.

*Works of the Parian Artist Euphron*

Loewy 48; Roberts I, 143; from near the Peiraeus:

Πύθων Ἑρμῆι ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοστρά|τῳ Ἀβδηρίτης
ἔστησεμ πολλὰς | θησάμενος πόληας
Εὔφρων ἐ|ξεποίησ' οὐκ ἀδαὴς Πάριος.

The dedication and artist's signature are uniform in dialect (Ionic, appropriate to both parties, with epic influence), and also in alphabet. Kirchhoff *Studien*[4], p. 17, argued that, since the alphabet does not show the characteristic Parian type, it must be that of Abdera, the home of the dedicator. Similarly Roberts, p. 171: "The sculptor then, the Parian Euphron, possibly adapted himself to the local alphabet of the dedicator, Python of Abdera." But this view is to be given up, in view of the fact that the same alphabet is employed in the case of another work by the same artist (cf. the following). It is evident that Euphron was accustomed to use the ordinary Ionic alphabet, and we now know also that in Paros itself this displaced the distinctive Parian type during the fifth century. Cf. *IG* XII, v, 108; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 569.

*IG* I, Suppl. 373[269] (p. 205); E. Hoffmann *Syll. Epigr. Graec.* 258; from Athens:

[Σμ]ικύθη μ' ἀνέ[θηκ|εν Ἀθ]ηναίηι τό[δ' ἄγαλ|μα
εὐξαμέ]νη [δι' ⏑ – ⏑] ὑπὲρ πα[ίδων κ]αὶ ἑαυτ[ῆς].
Εὔφρω[ν Πάριος ἐπο|ί]ησεν.

The dedicator was in all probability an Athenian woman. The use of the Ionic alphabet and the Ionic form Ἀθηναίηι is to be laid to the account of the artist.[1]

[1] Otherwise Mess *Quaestiones de epigrammate Attico et tragoedia antiquiore dialecticae* 7 ff., who discusses this inscription at length. He makes no account of the fact

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*IG* I, Suppl. 373[270] (p. 205); from Athens:

Φαῖδρο[ς Π]ροθυ - - - | Κεφαλῆθεν
ἀνέθ[ε̄κ]εν. Εὔφρον̄ ἐποίε̄[σ]εν.

This time the alphabet is Attic throughout, and no doubt the dialect, too, would show itself Attic, not Ionic, if anything distinctive occurred.

The three following signatures of the Cretan artist Cresilas of Cydonia are adapted, in alphabet and dialect, to the dedications.

*IG* IV, 683; Loewy 46; Michel 1066; Roberts I, 287; from Hermione:

Ἀλεξίας Λύονος ἀνεθε̄[κε] | τᾶι Δάματρι τᾶι χθονία[ι] | Ἑρμιονεύς. |
Κρε̄σίλας ἐποίε̄σε Κυδω̄νιάτ[ας].

Alphabet and dialect of Hermione.

*IG* I, 402; Loewy 45; Michel 1055; from Athens:

Ἑρμόλυκος | Διειτρέφο̄ς | ἀπαρχέν. |
Κρε̄σίλας | ἐπόεσεν.

Attic alphabet and dialect.

*IG* I, 403; Loewy 46; Hoffmann *Syll. Epigr. Graec.* 269; from Athens:

Τόνδε Πύρης] ἀνέθε̄κε Πολυμνέστο̄ φίλο[ς υἱός]
εὐξάμενος δεκάτε̄ν Παλλάδι Τριτογενεῖ.
Κυδω̄νιέτας Κρε̄σίλας ἐργάσσατο.

Attic alphabet (except Ξ) and Ionic epic dialect throughout. Here we must agree with Mess, in the dissertation cited above (p. 138), that this is one of the clear cases of the use of the epic dialect in

that the artist was an Ionian, pointing out that the Ionic alphabet was sometimes used by Attic writers in the fifth century, and arguing that Ἀθηναίηι is due merely to epic influence. The author of this important dissertation has shown successfully that Kirchhoff's tenet (*Hermes* V, 56), according to which inscriptional epigrams of Attic authorship show the Attic forms without the slightest admixture of any other dialect, cannot be maintained in all its rigor. There are some instances of Ionic forms due to epic influence or even of Doric forms due to lyric influence, where there is no reason to question the Attic authorship. But it remains true that such cases are exceptional, and that, particularly in the matter of ā, η, Attic metrical inscriptions, until the Alexandrian period, maintain the Attic forms with a high degree of consistency (for examples, cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, p. 17). Specifically, Ἀθηναίη occurs only here and in the dedication of Hegelochus, who was clearly an Ionian resident of Athens (see below, p. 143), as against nearly a dozen examples of Ἀθηναία in early Attic metrical inscriptions; and where a special explanation of this, and also of the use of the Ionic alphabet throughout, is available, it is not proper to ignore it.

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an Attic metrical inscription, and that there is no occasion to assume with Kirchhoff and others, that Κυδονιέτας is an error. For the alternation of Ion. η with Dor. ᾱ retained in the final syllable, Mess compares Ἀδριηνᾶς in Eur. *Hipp.* 736. One may also recall the similar alternation of Att.-Ion. η and Dor. ᾱ in κυβερνήτας Bacchylides 5. 47 and other like cases.

Roberts II, 197; from Athens:

Ἄρχερμος ἐποίεσεν ὁ Χῖος.
Ἰφιδίκε μ' ἀνέθεκεν Ἀθεναίαι πολιόχοι.

The dedication, as well as the signature, is from the hand of the Chian artist. He intended to follow the Attic style of writing, and, after correcting ἐποίΗσεν to ἐποίΕσεν, avoids the use of η or ω. But his native habit shows through in the omission of the spiritus asper (ὁ not ho), and in the forms of certain letters which are at variance with the Attic usage.

Passing now from such special cases, where dedication and artist's signature by citizens of different states are juxtaposed or combined, we may consider other dedications or artists' signatures with reference to the question of local influence.

A stock example for the substitution of the local alphabet is the one cited by Premerstein, the Delphian dedication, or as we now know two identical dedications, by the sons of the Parian Charopinus:

ΤΟΙΥΑΡΟΓΙΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝΤΟΠΑΡΙΟ
τοὶ Χαροπίνο παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τῶ Παρίω.

Cf. Kirchhoff *Studien* 144; Roberts I, 230 *bis*, and for the second copy, Homolle *BCH* XX, 582. Kirchhoff pointed out that neither dialect nor alphabet could be Parian, and must therefore be the epichoric. The dialect, however, is mixed; τοί is Delphian, but ἀνέθεσαν Ionic. Homolle *Fouilles de Delphes* IV, 56, makes the plausible suggestion that Charopinus was a Parian sculptor who had taken up his residence at Delphi. This would explain at once the Delphian character of the dedication by his sons.

The fragmentary dedication of Micciades and Archermus of Chios, found at Delos, is generally believed to be in the alphabet of Delos, not that of Chios. Cf. Kirchhoff *Studien* 83 ff.; Roberts I, 24*a*; Loewy 1; *SGDI* 5387. Otherwise Hoffmann *Gr. Dial.* III, 59.

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The Cleobis and Biton dedication reads as follows, according to Premerstein *Oest. Jhrh.* XIII, 44. Cf. also Homolle *BCH* XXIV, 447 ff., *Fouilles de Delphes* 7 ff.; Pomtow *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1911, 526; Baunack *Philologus* LXX, 312.

a) [Κλέοβις καὶ Βί]τōν τὰν ματάρα

b) ἀγαγον τοῖ δυγοῖ | . . . μέδēς ἐποίεε haργεῖος.

The alphabet had been called Argive by Homolle, but Premerstein points out that the characters which occur here are such as have substantially the same form in both the Argive and the Phocian alphabets. The dialect, he thinks, can only be Phocian (Delphian). But this question of dialect is more complicated. The form ματάρα, the reading of which is declared certain, is without doubt Delphian, ranging itself beside Delph. φάρεν, δάρματα, and πενταμαριτεύων, with αρ from ερ, as regularly in Locrian and Elean. This is enough to show that the dedication was not inscribed at Argos, but at Delphi. But did the Delphian stonecutter use his own dialect throughout, or did just this one form of his native dialect slip in, while he otherwise followed correctly an Argive copy? This latter, I believe, is correct. The form of crasis[1] seen in haργεῖος (ὁ Ἀργεῖος) is so well attested in early Argolic inscriptions as to demand recognition as one of the characteristics of the dialect. So Arg. τἀργεῖοι (τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι), *Inschr. von Olympia* 250, 251; Arg. Haγελαΐδα τἀργείō (ὁ Ἀγελαΐδα τοῦ Ἀργείου), *ibid.* 631; Epid. ταἰσκλαπιεῖ (τῷ A-), *IG* IV, 1203 (the editor reads haισκλαπιεῖ, but Kabbadias' reading is probably correct; cf. Solmsen *Inscr. select.*, p. 45, footnote). From other dialects, leaving Attic out of account, there are a few scattering examples, namely, so as far I know, one each in Corinthian, Arcadian, Rhodian, and several in Cyprian. But none such occurs in Delphian, which has only τὠπόλλωνι etc., like most of the other dialects. Where, as in this dedication, it is a question of Delphian or Argive dialect, haργεῖος is as distinctive of the latter as is ματάρα of the former.

The verb form ἐποίεε Premerstein says cannot stand for the Argive aorist ἐποίϝēhε, and must therefore be regarded as Phocian and an imperfect. But there is no ground for the inference that,

[1] In reality, I believe, elision instead of true crasis; cf. my *Greek Dialects*, p. 73 with footnote. But this does not affect the present argument.

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taken as an imperfect, it must be Phocian. The form is equally strange in either dialect. Although intervocalic *ϝ* lasted longer in Argolic than in Phocian, in a sixth-century inscription it is to be expected in Phocian also (cf. *κλέϝος*, *αἰϝεί* on the altar of Crissa). The absence of contraction in *ἐποίεε*, which Premerstein calls "das erste urkundliche Zeugniss für die unkontrahierte Vorstufe zu *ἐποίει*," but which can be explained only in the manner suggested to him by Kretschmer, namely, as due to the analogical influence of forms like *ἐποίεον* with regularly uncontracted *εο*, is just as likely to be Argive as Delphian. Or better, it is no more unlikely. We have some few examples of verb forms with uncontracted *εη*, as Locr. *δοκέēι*, etc., which are probably due to analogical influence (cf. my *Greek Dialects*, §§ 42. 4 and 45. 5), but nothing parallel to *ἐποίεε*, outside the pages of Herodotus. Accordingly I prefer to believe that the first of the two E's is intended for *ϝ* (cf. EOINON = *ϝοῖνον* in the Delphian stadium inscription, and other similar cases[1]) and that the correct reading is *ἐποίϝē*. This form might be either Delphian or Argive.

In *δυγῶι* = *ζυγῷ*, if Premerstein's reading is accepted,[2] the *δ* = *ζ* is new for either Delphian or Argive. But in view of the special relations between the Argive and Laconian dialects, the occurrence of *ζ* = *δ* in an early Argive inscription, and certain other facts (cf. especially Meister *Dorer und Achäer* 52 ff.; in connection with Rhod. *τοζ'* = *τοδ'*, note that *Δεύς* has now turned up on a Rhodian vase), it may be said that the eventual appearance of *δ* = *ζ* in Argive has been looked for.

Dedication of land to the Muses of Helicon, by Philetaerus, son of Attalus of Pergamum. Two identical copies found in the neighborhood of Thespiae. Homolle *BCH* VIII, 158; *IG* VII, 1789; Michel 1103:

*Φιλέτηρος Ἀττάλω Περγαμεὺς ἀνέθεικε τὰν γᾶν τᾶς Μώσας τᾶς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσι ἱαρὰν εἶμεν ἐν τὸν πάντα χρόνον.*

Philetaerus, whose patronage of the Greek cults and festivals is evidenced by dedications and decrees in his honor found at Athens,

[1] Cf. Kretschmer *Vaseninschriften*, 97; Solmsen *Untersuchungen*, 147.

[2] This is questioned by Pomtow *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1911, 529, who still prefers to read *τοι δ' υἱοί*.

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Delos, Olympia, and Delphi (cf. Homolle, *loc. cit.*), had acquired and donated to the proper authorities certain land to be consecrated to the Muses of Helicon. The form of dedication is evidently not one furnished by Philetaerus himself. Rather the Boeotian beneficiaries commemorated his gift in their own dialect, but in the form of a dedication in his name.

Dedications by the Theran Archedamus, from the Cave of Vari at the foot of Mt. Hymettus. Dunham *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1903, 297 ff.; Roberts II, 199–201; *SGDI* IV, 796 ff.:

*a*) Ἀρχέδαμος ho Θε͂ρ|αῖος κᾶπον Νύ|μφαις ἐφύτευσεν

*b*) Ἀρχέδ[α]μος [h]o Θε͂ρ|αῖος καὶ χ̂ο̂(ρ)ον ὀ(ρ)χε͂στε[ῖ] Νύνφαι ἐχ|σοι-κ[οδό]με͂σεν.

*d*) Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θ|ηραῖος ὁ νυμφ|όληπτος φραδ|αῖσι νυμφῶ̂ν τ|ἄντρον ἐξηργ|άξατο.

The dedicator, a native of Thera but doubtless a resident of Athens, follows the local practice in writing (*a* and *b* in Attic alphabet, *d* in Ionic except for O=ω), but in dialect mixes Attic and Doric forms. Even in *d*, where his name appears in Attic form, he uses the Theran ἐξηργάξατο. The restoration of *b*, ll. 2, 3, is uncertain.[1]

### EPITAPHS

In his article on the epigram in Pauly-Wissowa, Reitzenstein remarks (p. 78): "Der Dialekt ist wesentlich epichorisch; wenn der Tote im Ausland begraben ist, der seiner Heimat. Doch hat die Einwirkung des Epos oder der Lyrik ab und an auch die dialektische Form beeinflusst." The matter of literary influence is nowhere more correctly and concisely stated. But the words "wenn der Tote im Ausland begraben ist, der seiner Heimat" are only in part true of the facts, and imply a misconception, which may be observed in other writers, too, of what determines the dialect. Just as the dialect of honorary decrees is determined by that of the authors, not by that of the recipients, so the dialect of epitaphs is determined by that of the authors, not primarily by that of the deceased. If

[1] The metrical dedication of Hegelochus (Loewy 40; Roberts I, 67), who was evidently an Ionian resident in Athens, is in the Attic alphabet but in the Ionic dialect, the only inconsistency being the spiritus asper in ὑιός, this being properly omitted in the dedicator's own name.

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epitaphs are actually, in the great majority of cases, in the dialect of the deceased, it is because they are usually from the hands of relatives or compatriots, whose dialect is the same. But in the case of those buried on alien soil this may or may not be true. Note the following illustrations, of which the first three are in the dialect of the deceased, and the next three not in that of the deceased.[1]

Hicks[2] 18; Dragoumis *Athen. Mitt.* XXII, 52; Wilamowitz *Gött. Nachr.* 1897, 306; Wilhelm *Oest. Jhrh.* II, 227; found at Salamis:

Epitaph of the Corinthians slain at Salamis. As we learn from Plutarch, the Athenians allowed the Corinthians to bury their own dead at Salamis. The epitaph is accordingly in the Corinthian alphabet and dialect.

Hicks[2] 28; Roberts I, 77; found at Athens:

Fragment of an epitaph and list of Cleonaeans (and Argives?) who were slain in the Battle of Tanagra, and, as Athenian allies, received burial at Athens (Paus. I, 29, 5). The names show their Doric form and the alphabet is the Argive. The copy for the inscription was doubtless furnished by the compatriots of the dead.

*IG* I, 477; Loewy 8; Hoffmann *Syll. Epigr. Graec.* 11; found at Athens:

Dedication by Phocylides in memory of his wife Lampito. The alphabet is Attic, but the dialect Ionic. The phrase γῆς ἀπὸ πατρωίης shows that Lampito (and doubtless her husband) was a foreigner, and it is an altogether reasonable presumption from the dialect that the family was Ionian. Cf. Kirchhoff *Hermes* V, 54.

*IG* IX, i, 867; Roberts I, 98; *SGDI* 3188:

Monument of Menecrates at Corcyra. Menecrates was a native of Oeanthea, but this monument to him is from the hands of the people of Corcyra whose proxenus he had been. The epitaph is accordingly in the Corinthian alphabet and dialect (with epic mixture).

*IG* I, Suppl. 491[12] (p. 115); Hoffmann *Syll. Epigr. Graec.* 32:

Monument of Pythagoras at Athens. Pythagoras was a native of Salybria, a Megarian colony, but the monument was set up by

[1] The epitaph of a Syracusan woman at Athens, ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑ ΣΥΡΟΚΟΣΙΑ, is taken by Kirchhoff *Studien*[4] 109 to be in the Syracusan alphabet, but this is a doubtful case. For the only two non-Attic characters, Ξ and Γ, may also be Ionic, since these were not infrequently used at Athens in the fifth century.

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the people of Athens, whose proxenus he had been. The epitaph is accordingly in the Attic dialect (with epic coloring in the vocabulary) except for the natural retention of the original form of the name Σαλυβρία and the Ionic form Πυθαγόρην. This last is in puzzling contrast to the converse substitution of Πυθαγόρας by the Samian artist (above, p. 138), and even the explanation suggested by Mess *Quaest. de epigr. Att.*, p. 14, is not entirely convincing. The use of the Ionic alphabet is, in spite of Kirchhoff, perhaps of no special significance here.

*IG* IV, 49; Roberts I, 127*c*; *SGDI* 3414:

Monument of Gleucitas at Aegina. Gleucitas was a native of Salamis in Cyprus. But the epitaph is in the Aeginetan alphabet and dialect, and probably Diotimus, who set up the monument, was an Aeginetan.

Similar to the two cases preceding the last is the fourth-century epitaph, *IG* II, 1678, of the two Corcyraean envoys who died at Athens and were commemorated by the Athenian state. But there are numerous other fourth-century epitaphs of foreigners who were buried in Athens, e.g., Hoffmann *Syll. Epigr. Graec.* 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, where the use of Attic has no such special explanation. Most of these persons had probably become residents of Athens and their children (cf. *op. cit.* 82) or other relatives naturally used Attic.

### HONORARY DECREES, ETC.

Decrees granting honors or specific privileges to foreigners or to a foreign state are regularly in the dialect of the party issuing the decree, regardless of the dialect of the party honored. Thus the numerous honorary decrees of the Boeotian League or of any of the Boeotian towns, down to about the middle of the second century B.C., are in the Boeotian dialect, whether the recipient is a citizen of Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Byzantium, Carthage, Chalcis, Delphi, Phalanna, Naupactus, Rome, Tarentum, or Teos. If Mycenae honors a Gortynian, or Troizene a Plataean, the dialect is that of Argolis. If Tenedos or Mytilene honors the people of Erythrae, the dialect is Aeolic. When the Eleans honor Damocrates of Tenedos, the dialect is the Elean of the time. And so on, in examples so numerous that there can be no doubt as to what is the usual practice.

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Although the great majority of the extant decrees of this kind are those which were set up in the cities issuing them, there is also a sufficient number represented by the copies which were set up in the home of the recipient. These show the original dialect retained, apart from occasional errors due to the local stonecutter. Thus, to cite a few of the most striking illustrations, an inscription found at Mytilene (*IG* XII, ii, 15) contains the text of a decree of the Aetolian League in favor of Mytilene, in its original Aetolian (Northwest Greek κοινή) form, a copy of which had been brought back by the Mytilenaean envoys. This is followed by a decree of Mytilene, in Lesbian, quoting from the Aetolian decree and ordering the inscription of both. From Cos (Paton and Hicks 13) we have a portion of a decree of Halicarnassus in honor of a Coan citizen and announcing an embassy to Cos to request its publication there. Subjoined is the Coan decree, in Doric, granting this request. Copies of Coan decrees in honor of citizens of Calymna and of another Coan decree accepting the proposal of the Calymnians to honor a Coan physician have been found at Calymna (*SGDI* 3611, 3612, 3619). However, the dialect of Cos and Calymna was the same. From Iasus (Hicks[1] 130) we have a copy of a Calymnian decree, in Doric, in honor of certain judges who had been sent from Iasus. This is preceded by a decree of Iasus, in the κοινή, in response. From Priene we have a decree of some Aeolian city, in Aeolic, in honor of a judge from Priene (*Inschr. von Priene* 60). Cretan and Delphian decrees in honor of Athenians have been found at Athens (*IG* II, 547, 548, 550). From Delos (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 722; *SGDI* 5150) we have a decree of Cnossus in honor of Dioscurides the grammarian, a native of Tarsus. According to the text the decree was to be set up at Cnossus, and copies sent to the "Athenians dwelling in Delos" and to the people of Tarsus.[1]

[1] There is also no lack of examples of copies of other classes of decrees and communications which have been set up in the home of the party addressed. The copy of the Spartan decree found at Delos (*SGDI* 4415; Roberts I, 267) is in the Laconian alphabet as well as dialect, though the subjoined names of the magistrates are in the Ionic alphabet. We have Rhodian decrees found at Iasus, Seleuceia, and Cyzicus (*SGDI* 3750–52), decrees of Iasus, Naxos, Athens, and some Doric city, found at Cos (Paton and Hicks 14–17), decrees of the Aetolians and Naupactians found in Ceos (*IG* XII, v, 526, 527), Aetolian and Cretan decrees found at Mytilene (*IG* XII, ii, 16, 17), etc. From Delphi (*BCH* VI, 460 ff. = *SGDI* 1412, 5151) we have a letter in

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We may now consider the few exceptional cases in which an honorary decree is not in the dialect of the party issuing it, but in that of the recipient. One, but of questionable significance, is the decree of Megarian Aegosthena in honor of Boeotian Siphae (*IG* VII, 207), which is mainly in Boeotian, though with several un-Boeotian forms. The use of Boeotian is commonly attributed solely to the fact that the decree was in honor of a Boeotian town,[1] whereas I

Cretan from Axus to the Aetolians, subjoined to a decree of the Aetolians in response. From Athens we have a copy of the amphictyonic decree of 380 B.C. (*SGDI* 2501) in its original Delphian form. In this case the Athenians are not specifically addressed, and no doubt several other copies were set up elsewhere. The most extensive series of foreign decrees are those found at Teos (Le Bas et Waddington III, 61 ff.) and at Magnesia on the Maeander (Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia*), dating from the early part of the second century B.C., and accordingly showing the various dialects employed in a mixed form. The Teian series embraces decrees, granting the privilege of asylum to the temple of Dionysus at Teos, from the Romans in the Attic κοινή, from the Delphians and the Aetolians in Northwest Greek κοινή, from the Athamanes in the Attic κοινή, and from twenty Cretan towns in various forms of mixed Cretan. The Magnesian series comprises replies to an invitation of Magnesia to participate in the festival of Artemis Leucophryene, also several decrees in honor of citizens of Magnesia, and affords a comprehensive picture of the linguistic conditions of the time. There are decrees in Arcadian, Boeotian, Lesbian, Thessalian, Cretan, Doric κοινή (from Corinth, Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Epirus, Acarnania, Achaea, Cnidus, Cos [?], Rhodes), Northwest Greek κοινή (from Aetolia, Cephallenia, Ithaca, Phocis, Messenia), and the Attic κοινή (nearly all these from Attic-Ionic territory or the Macedonian cities of the Orient).

[1] Foucart (Le Bas et Waddington II, Explic., p. 2) says Boeotian was used "sans doute pour être mieux compris des Siphéens." Meister (note to *SGDI* 1145) says: "Ein Akt besonderer Höflichkeit war es, dass man in Aegosthenä den gefassten Beschluss in den böotischen Dialekt übertragen liess, um ihn in böotischer Fassung nach Siphä zu schicken; dass bei dieser Uebertragung einige unböotische Schreibungen (ἐπιδή 2, ἐκ 3, 9, ἐκτεθήκανθι 6, ὁπωτ 8, δαΐζοι 12) in den Text hineingekommen sind, erscheint begreiflich." This is also the conclusion of Dittenberger (note to *IG* VII, 207), who discusses the other alternative only to reject it. His comment raises the issue so distinctly that it must be quoted in full: "Plebiscitum n. 207 Boeotica dialecto composita est. Quod utrum Aegosthenitae fecissent, ut Siphensibus Boeotis gratificarentur, an quia ipsi tum Boeotorum societati ascripti essent, Boeckhius quidem (*Opp.* VI, p. 365) dubitabat. Sed eos populos, qui cum natione Boeoti non essent per aliquod temporis spatium foederis Boetici participes erant, nequaquam propterea in actis publicis sermone Boeotico usos esse cum ex reliquis Aegosthenitarum titulis et nonnullis Megarensium (n. 27, 28, 29) tum ex permagno numero decretorum Oropiorum apparet, quae ad unum omnia Attica dialecto composita sunt (n. 237 ff.). Restat igitur prior Boeckhii interpretatio; etsi haec quoque res satis inusitata est, tamen aliquot eius generis exempla extant, veluti decretum Arcadeum quo Phylarchus Atheniensis honoribus afficitur (*Syll. Inscr. Gr.* 167) ipsum quidem sermone Attico compositum, cum index nominum subiunctus dialecti Arcadicae formas habeat." But where we are dealing with a practice which is admittedly unusual from either point of view, the one decree of Oropus in Boeotian is as good a parallel in one direction as the decree of the Arcadians in the other. Boeotian forms occur also in a decree of the

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regard this as, at most, only a contributory factor, since Boeotian forms and expressions occur in several other inscriptions of Aegosthena, which was at this time in the Boeotian League. Certainly the case has no such unambiguous significance as it would have if it were, for example, a decree in honor of a Thessalian town and in Thessalian.

The stock example, the one cited by Dittenberger in the note just quoted, and the one which even misled Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* I, 67 (cf. above, p. 134), into a generalization which is the reverse of the truth, is the decree of the Arcadians in honor of the Athenian Phylarchus, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 106; Michel 193. While the subscribed names of the officials keep their native form, the decree proper is in Attic. But, for the very reason that this is an exception to the general practice in honorary decrees, it is not enough to say merely, with Dittenberger, that Attic was used out of compliment to the person honored. May not the explanation lie in part in the linguistic situation of the time in Arcadia, about which, unfortunately, we are still very imperfectly informed? The date of the inscription was formerly put in the third century B.C., but the character of the letters is more suitable to the fourth century, and for this and other reasons, this date is now preferred. Cf. Dittenberger's note, and most recently Hiller von Gärtringen *Athen. Mitt.* 1911, 349 ff. It is long prior, and would be even with the later dating, to the final adoption of the Attic κοινή in Arcadia. But this is equally true of a decree of Tegea in honor of a Thessalian Agesandrus, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 476, Michel 189, which is of about the same time, and which is also in Attic.[1] In this connection may be mentioned also another fourth-

Phocians (*Inschr. von Magnesia* 34). And, what is more to the point, other inscriptions of Aegosthena do contain Boeotian forms though not nearly so many as the decree in honor of Siphae. Dittenberger recognises those in No. 208, but thinks they are due to the fact that the stonecutter had just been working on No. 207 ("quae in animo scribae ex eis quae paullo ante exaraverat haesisse videntur"). But we have also the Boeotian phrase ἐν πελτοφόραι in 210, 211, 214, ἔλεξε in 219, ἀπε-[γρ]άφανθο in 214. Plainly it was not unusual to employ Boeotian forms at this time, and at most only their more nearly consistent use in No. 207 can be attributed to the fact that it was in honor of a Boeotian town.

[1] The only trace of the native dialect is the retention of ἴμπασις = ἔγκτησις, and even this not in its strictly local form (ἴνπασις). The date of the inscription is generally given as the end of the third century B.C. But this rests on the remarks of Sauppe *De titulis Tegeaticis* pp. 5, 6: "In universum igitur literatura eius simillima

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century Arcadian decree, that of Psophis in honor of a Naxian, *Inschr. von Olympia* 294. Dittenberger says that the use of Ionic "mag in einer Rücksicht auf die Heimat des Geehrten seinen Grund haben," and again refers to the Phylarchus decree as an example of this practice. But there is nothing in the inscription which may not be Attic as well as Ionic. It is evident that the occasional employment of Attic in Arcadian inscriptions (its influence upon the native dialect is apparent in the Tegean building inscription) is earlier than had been supposed. Only subsequent discoveries can determine whether this was confined to certain classes of inscriptions, such as those involving foreign relations like these two decrees, and how far it was restricted in time within certain narrow limits.[1]

Michel 188; *Inschr. von Olympia* 30:

Ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖσι. Δίφιλον τὸν Ἀθαν[αῖ]ον, Μελανόπο hυιόν, πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν τοῖν Ἀλειοῖν γράφσαι ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι ἔδοξεν.

Meister *Griech. Dial.* II, 79, is certainly right in recognizing an Attic admixture in both writing and dialect,[2] and in his explanation of the same. This is not a copy of the original honorary decree but of an authorization to publish its result at Olympia. Diphilus had attended to the matter himself, and in preparing the copy of the authorization had allowed some Attic peculiarities to slip in.

est, quae in titulis P. Foucarti et A. Michaelis esse dicitur," and p. 8: "Itaque hoc unum restat, ut comparatis literarum formis cum eis, quae in titulo foederis arcadici habentur, etiam tegeaticum Agesandri eodem fere tempore scriptum esse iudicemus, i.e., sub finem tertii ante Christum natum saeculi." The two inscriptions here referred to are the Phylarchus decree, which as noted above is now dated in the fourth century, and the Tegean building inscription, which was also formerly dated in the third century, but which, according to Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftkunde* 21, belongs rather to the fourth. The forms of the letters in the Agesandrus decree, as described by Sauppe and as represented by Milchhöfer *Athen. Mitt.* IV, 140, also point to the fourth century.

[1] We know that the advance of Attic influence in Arcadia was not one of uninterrupted progress. The native dialect persisted till about 200 B.C. (the decree of Megalopolis, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 258, with all its mixture, is essentially Arcadian). But before this there had come into use, through the influence of the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, a form of Doric κοινή, and it is this, not the Attic κοινή, which prevails in Arcadian inscriptions of the last two centuries B.C.

[2] Doubted by Dittenberger-Purgold, *loc. cit.* But, though Meister's points are not all equally certain, the one occurrence of ⌊ =λ, and the ν- movable in ἔδοξεν, are not to be explained away.

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Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 483; Michel 316; *SGDI* 1340=4256:

[Θεός. τ]ύχα ἀγαθά.] [ἐπὶ π]ροστάτα Λευ[κ]άρου, ἀφικομένων Ἱπποσθένεος, Τει[σία], Ἔρμωνος, Σελίνιος, ἔδοξε τοῖς Μολοσσοῖς προξενία[ν] δόμειν τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις.

The infinitive in *-μειν* is confined to the dialect of Rhodes and its colonies, hence *δόμειν* must belong to the speech of the Agrigentines, not the Molossians. Yet we must take decided issue with the statement in the note to *SGDI* 4256: "Die Urkunde ist den Akragantinern zu Ehren in ihrer, nicht in der Sprache der Molosser abgefasst." There is not the slightest probability that the Molossians employed the dialect of the Agrigentines in their original decree. But the envoys mentioned in the decree, who had come from Agrigentum and obtained a decree of proxeny in its favor, had themselves furnished the copy for its publication at Dodona, and, probably inadvertently, used their familiar *δόμειν*.

An interesting fact, perhaps to be explained in the same way, if not accidental, is that in a long series of decrees of Olus in different hands (*SGDI* 5104) the one in honor of certain Gortynians (No. II) shows *Γορτυνίονς προξένονς ἦμεν καὶ εὐεργέταν καὶ πολίταν καὶ αὐτὸνς καὶ ἐγγόνονς*, whereas all the others have only *-ος* or *-ονς* in the accusative plural. It was at Gortyna and Cnossus that the forms in *-νς* persisted longest.

### INTERSTATE ARBITRATIONS

Decisions of interstate arbitration were regularly rendered in the dialect of the arbitrators, and copies in this form were set up by the states involved in the dispute, at home and often also in one of the religious centers as Olympia or Delos. The majority of the extant inscriptions of this class,[1] as it happens, involve arbitrators and disputants who have the same dialect anyway, or had come to use the same at the given date, by the spread of one of the forms of *κοινή*. So, for example, besides those most numerous cases in which the use of Attic *κοινή* was common to all parties, a decision of unknown arbitrators in a dispute between Sparta

[1] Conveniently grouped in Berard *De arbitrio inter liberas Graecorum civitates*. Many of the texts there cited are not copies of the decisions proper, but decrees of parties to a dispute either authorizing arbitration or carrying out its terms.

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and the Achaeans acting in behalf of Megalopolis, copy found at Olympia (*Inschr. von Olympia* 47), is in the Doric κοινή, which at the time, second century B.C., was used throughout the Peloponnesus; a decision of the Aetolians in a dispute between two towns of Phthiotis, Melitea and Perea, copy found at Melitea (Ditt. *Syll.*[3] 425; *SGDI* 1415), is in the Northwest Greek κοινή, which was regularly used by the Aetolians, but also at this time, about 200 B.C., in Phthiotis.

But there remain some examples of decisions rendered by arbitrators whose dialect was not the same as that of the disputants.

Decision of the Argives in a dispute between the islands of Melos and Cimolos, copy set up at Cimolos, whence it was carried in modern times to Smyrna (*IG* XII, iii, 1259; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 428; *SGDI* 3277; fourth century B.C.).—This is in the Argive dialect; note especially the specifically Argive word ἀρήτευε.

Another, recently discovered, Argive inscription (*BCH* XXXIV, 331 ff.; cf. also *Class. Phil.* VI, 219; fifth century B.C.) regulates the relations of Cnossus and Tylissus in Crete. If we had the copy set up at Tylissus, to which reference is made in the text, it would show the same Argive dialect.

Decision of the Megarians in a dispute between Corinth and Epidaurus, copy found at Epidaurus (*IG* IV, 926; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 452; *SGDI* 3025; Michel 20; between 242 and 234 B.C.).—Here, it must be admitted, nothing occurs, except in the personal names subscribed, which could not be Epidaurian as well as Megarian, and one feature, the psilosis in ἐπ' ἰαρεῦς, is due to the Epidaurian stonecutter (cf. my *Greek Dialects* § 58*b*).

Decision of the Rhodians in a dispute between Samos and Priene, copy found at Priene (*Inschr. von Priene* 37; *SGDI* 3758; early second century B.C.).—This is in the Rhodian dialect, in the mixed form which appears in all Rhodian inscriptions of the time. An earlier decision of Lysimachus in the same dispute is of course in the Attic κοινή, as regularly used by the Macedonians.

Decision of the Milesians in the dispute between the Spartans and Messenians, copy found at Olympia (*Inschr. von Olympia* 52; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 314; Michel 31; about 135 B.C.).—This is in the Attic κοινή, which had long since been adopted by the Ionians, but not yet by

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either Spartans or Messenians. This decision is preceded on the stone by a decree of the Eleans, in Doric *κοινή*, granting the request of the Messenians that they be allowed to publish the decision at Olympia, and followed by a Roman decree, this last of course in Attic *κοινή*.

Of a decision of the Magnesians in a dispute between Itanus and Hierapytna we have parts of two copies, one from Magnesia and one from Itanus (*Inschr. von Magnesia* 105; Ditt. *Syll.*² 929; about 138 B.C.). Where the same portion is preserved in both copies, they agree except in some insignificant matters of spelling. The decision is of course in the Attic *κοινή*, but various Cretan documents, such as boundary records, decrees, and letters, are incorporated, in their original dialect.

### TREATIES

Of the thirty-five or so epigraphical texts of Greek treaties which are given by R. von Scala *Staatsverträge des Altertums*, erster Teil (down to 338 B.C.), all but four are in Attic. That this is the case is due simply to the fact that they are, except the four, treaties between Athens and various other states and are the Athenian versions of the same, found at Athens. The other parties to the treaties are of different speech, Boeotians, Thessalians, Locrians, Phocians, Arcadians, Corcyraeans, Eretrians, Mytilenaeans, Argives, Byzantians, etc., but there is no trace of this in the form employed, not even when the oath to be taken by the other party is quoted—with one exception: In a treaty with Corcyra (Scala 143; Ditt. *Syll.*² 84; Hicks² 106; Michel 9; 374 B.C.) there is a feeble attempt, not consistently carried out, to give its proper Doric form to the oath to be taken by the Corcyraeans (*αἴ κά τις* = *ἐάν τις* of the Athenian oath, though the proper Doric order is *αἴ τίς κα*, also *[θ]άλασσ[αν]*, *[Δά]ματ[ρα]*, but *[γ]ῆν*, *[δ]ήμωι*). In a treaty with the Thessalians (Scala 176; Ditt. *Syll.*² 108; Hicks² 123; Michel 11; 361/0 B.C.) the oath to be taken by the Thessalians is given, like all of the rest of the text, in Attic. This is what is to be expected, not the touch of linguistic realism seen in the Corcyraean oath, which is rare.[1]

[1] Just as linguistic realism is almost unknown among the Greek prose-writers Xenophon being a notable exception in his fondness for a bit of dialectic color here and there. The puzzle in Thucydides is not that speeches of foreigners and treaties are

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The four treaties in other dialects which are included in v. Scala's collection are: treaty found at Olympia, and in the Elean dialect, between two towns otherwise unknown, but doubtless, at least one of them, Elean (Scala 33; *Inschr. von Olympia* 10; Michel 2; *SGDI* 1150; sixth or fifth century B.C.); another from Olympia, and in the Elean dialect (Scala 27; *Inschr. von Olympia* 9; Hicks² 9; Michel 1; *SGDI* 1149; sixth century B.C.) between the Eleans and the Heraeans of Arcadia (? this is the usual view, but is doubted by Niese *Genethliakon Carl Robert*, p. 20); treaty between Oeanthea and Chaleion, found at Oeanthea, in the Locrian dialect (Scala 58; *IG* IX, i, 333; Hicks² 44; Michel 3; *SGDI* 1479; fifth century B.C.); treaty between the Olynthian Confederacy and Amyntas of Macedon, found at Olynthus, and in the Euboean dialect (Scala 107; Ditt. *Syll.*² 77; Hicks² 95; *SGDI* 5285; 389–383 B.C.).

Another, not given in v. Scala's collection, though falling within its chronological limits, is the treaty between Eretria and Histiaea, found at Eretria, and in the local Eretrian variety of Euboean (Michel 7; *SGDI* 5307; early fourth century B.C.). Cf. also the monetary agreement between Mytilene and Phocaea, found at Mytilene and in the Lesbian dialect (*IG* XII, ii, 1; Hicks² 94; Michel 8; *SGDI* 213; first half of fourth century B.C.); and a customs agreement, between Aegae in Asiatic Aeolis and certain Ὀλυμπηνοί (revised text by Keil-Premerstein *Denkschriften Wien. Akad.* LIII, 2, 112 ff.; probably late fourth century B.C.), found near the site of Aegae, and in Aeolic, but with some apparently Ionic forms (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* III, 301).

Of treaties of later date and not in Attic, the most numerous are those of the third and second centuries between various Cretan cities, as: of Drerus with Cnossus (*SGDI* 4952); of Gortyn with Cnossus (*SGDI* 5015), Lappa (*SGDI* 5018), Elyrus (*SGDI* 5014); of Gortyn

regularly given in Attic form, but why an exception is made in the case of the two treaties between the Spartans and the Argives (V, 77 and 79). There is no probability in the view of Kirchhoff that all the other texts of treaties, for example of the three between Sparta and Persia (VIII, 18, 37, 58), were copied from actual versions in Attic and that the translation into Attic is never due to Thucydides himself ("deren Urheber auf keinen Fall Thukydides sein könnte, da dieser, wie die beiden letzten Urkunden des fünften Buches beweisen, hellenischen Urkunden nicht attischer Fassung ihre dialektische Fassung zu belassen pflegt"—Kirchhoff *Ueber die von Thukydides benutzten Urkunden*, p. 153).

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and Hierapytna with Priansus (*SGDI* 5024); of Hierapytna with Priansus (*SGDI* 5040), Lyttus (*SGDI* 5041), Cnossus (*SGDI* 5073), Praesus (*Rev. ét. gr.* 1911, 379 ff.), Itanus (*Rev. ét. gr.* 1911, 415 ff.); of Malla with Lyttus (*SGDI* 5100); of Olus with Lyttus, copy found at Athens (*SGDI* 5147); of Olus with Lato (*SGDI* 5075); cf. also two inscriptions from Delos containing agreements of Olus and Lato to submit their differences to the arbitration of Cnossus (*SGDI* 5149 and *BCH* XXIX, 204 ff.). While the same type of modified Cretan was common to both parties in the case of many of these treaties, e.g., to Gortyn and Cnossus, to Olus and Lato, this is not true of all. That between Drerus and Cnossus, copy found at Drerus, is in a mixed type which differs much from that seen in contemporaneous inscriptions of Cnossus. At Hierapytna a Doric κοινή, lacking the special characteristics of central Cretan, was employed. It is this which appears in the treaty with Lyttus, the copy of which, though transported to Venice, must have come from Hierapytna, as is shown also by the fact that the same stone contains two other treaties of Hierapytna; likewise in the treaty with Priansus, the copy of which, though transported to Oxford, undoubtedly came from Hierapytna. But the treaty between Hierapytna and Cnossus is in a dialect which indicates that the copy, the actual provenance of which is unknown, represents the Cnossian version, and it is therefore so classed by Blass (*SGDI* 5073). So the dialect of the treaty of Gortyn and Hierapytna with Priansus is such as to indicate that our copy, transported to Venice, is either the Gortynian or the Priansian version, probably the former and so classed by Blass (*SGDI* 5024). There are also from Hierapytna, and in the Doric κοινή, a treaty with the Magnesians on the Maeander (*SGDI* 5042), and one with Rhodes. But the latter is rightly classed as a Rhodian inscription (*SGDI* 3749), not because of anything in its dialect which might not, at this time, be Hierapytnian as well as Rhodian, but because it is in form a decree of Rhodes, a copy of which was brought to Hierapytna and there set up, embodying the terms of agreement. The situation is the same in the case of the joint-citizenship agreement, made at the behest of the Aetolian League, between the Messenians and the Phigalians (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 234; *SGDI* 4645; Michel 187; between 250 and 222 B.C.). The text is a copy of the Messenian

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decree, sent to Phigalia, there being added a decree of Phigalia accepting the terms of the former.

Among other later treaties in dialect may be mentioned that between certain Lesbian towns, found at Delos, and in the Lesbian dialect (*BCH* XXIX, 210 ff.; third or second century B.C.); one between the Arcadian Orchomenus and Euaemon, in the Arcadian dialect (*Athen. Mitt.* XXXIV, 237 ff.; Solmsen *Inscriptiones Selectae*[3] 2; about 300 B.C.); a joint-citizenship agreement between the two Phocian towns of Stiris and Medeon, found at Stiris, and in the Phocian dialect with some peculiarities from the neighboring Boeotian (*IG* IX, i, 32; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 426; Michel 24; *SGDI* 1539; early second century B.C.); alliance between the Aetolians and Acarnanians, in Northwest Greek κοινή (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1905, 55 ff.; cf. Swoboda *Klio* X, 397, who dates it between 272 and 265 B.C.). This last was ordered published on bronze stelae at Actium, Thermum, Olympia, Delphi, and Dodona. The copy we have is from Thermum. But Wilhelm (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910, 147) has acutely recognized in a small fragment found at Olympia (*Inschr. von Olympia* 40) a portion of the copy set up at Olympia.

In all of the above-mentioned treaties, whenever the parties to a given treaty are such as differ in their native dialect, the dialect employed is the one appropriate to that party in whose territory the text was found, so far as its provenance is actually known. That is, we have the home versions in the home dialect. We naturally conclude that the corresponding version which was set up in the home of the other party (or in the home of each of the several other parties) was likewise in its dialect—that, for example, if we had the version of the monetary agreement between Mytilene and Phocaea which was set up at Phocaea, it would not be in Lesbian, like the copy we have from Mytilene, but in Ionic. And this I take to be the prevailing view, so far as scholars have considered the question at all.[1]

[1] It is stated in the most positive form by Kirchhoff *Ueber die von Thukydides benutzten Urkunden*, p. 99, in discussing the treaty quoted in Thuc. v. 47, copies of which were ordered published at Athens (the one of which part has been found), Argos, Mantinea, and Olympia: "Zwar sind die Verträge selbst in Athen geschlossen worden und die originale Formuliring ihres Wortlautes ist darum sicher in attischer Sprachform erfolgt; daran ist aber gar nicht zu denken, dass die in der Peloponnes publicirten Exemplare diese Fassung beibehalten haben sollten. Im Gegentheil ist für sie ebenso gewiss die epichorische Sprachform zur Anwendung gelangt, wie für die

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Yet we must look to future discoveries to furnish a concrete demonstration of this, for unfortunately there is no treaty of this kind of which we now possess more than one of the versions.[1] Nor, with all the explicitness which we often find in the directions as to where the different copies were to be published, and whether they were to be inscribed on stone or bronze, is there ever any mention of different dialects to be employed. This, however, is merely a lack of specific confirmation and not to be used as an argument in disproof of the employment of different dialects. For direct allusions to the existing differences in dialect are unknown in epigraphical records, as they are rare in literature.

Pending the discovery of satisfactory concrete evidence, I hold

in Athen publicirten Texte des zu Sparta abgeschlossenen Nikiasfriedens und des ihn ergänzenden Bundesvertrages die attische. Selbst das in Olympia aufgestelltes Exemplar, obwohl im Namen und Auftrage aller am Abschlusse des Vertrages Betheiligten veröffentlicht, kann doch, da es an Stelle einer Sonderpublication der Eleer zu treten hatte und auf elischem Gebeite jedenfalls durch Vermittelung der Eleer errichtet worden ist, keine andere als Elische Sprachform gezeigt haben."

While this statement of Kirchhoff's represents what I believe to be the correct view to take in general of the dialect of different versions, he went too far in denying the possibility of any exceptions and representing it as inconceivable that in this case the formal draft made at Athens was followed in the other copies. See below, p. 157. I do not, however, agree with those who wish to explain the verbal discrepancies between the text of Thucydides and the extant fragment of the Athenian version by assuming that the former was copied from one of the other versions, namely the Elean; and, still less, with Kirchhoff's own view that the discrepancies are due to corruption of the text of Thucydides. This would imply a degree of textual corruption which, if assumed for the text as a whole, would render it folly for anyone to discuss the "language of Thucydides." Thucydides gave the text of the treaty in all essential agreement with the Attic version, but without seeking verbal accuracy, which is a comparatively modern requirement. Inscriptions have taught us, as Wilhelm has pointed out, that official duplicates were not always precisely identical in form.

[1] Two separate versions of a treaty between Olus and Lato found their way to Venice, but, while one came to light only recently, the other long since disappeared and is known only through a transcript of a transcript. Cf. Blass *SGDI* 5075 and especially Dieters *De Cretensium titulis publicis quaestiones epigraphicae* 27 ff. It is evident that the two versions differed here and there in the fulness of detail, in phraseology, in syntax (once *αἰ δέ τίς τινα ἀδικήσαι* versus *αἰ δέ τίς κα τινα ἀδικήσηι*), and in the form of individual words. On this last point one must of course be cautious, for the transcript of the lost stone is full of obvious inaccuracies, but the following differences of this kind between the transcript (A) and the extant stone (B) are significant: *κήϝς* A = *καὶ ἐς* B; *ποτί* A = *πορτί* B; *πλίονες* A = *πλίονεν* B; *Ἐστίαν* A = *Ἰστία[ν]* B; *ῥυθμίζοντες* A = *ῥυθμίττον[τες]* B; *πόμπαν*, *περιαμπέτιϝ* A = *πόπταν*, *περιαπέτιϝ* B; (but also *περιαμπέτιϝ* B); *Ὀλόντι*, *Ὀλόντιον*, *Ὀλοντίως*, *Ὀλοντίων* A = *Βολόε(ν)τι*, *Βολόντιον*, *Βολοντίος*, *Βολοεντί(ων)* B (ll. 39, 69, 84, elsewhere *Ὀλόντι*, etc.). Except in the case of *κήϝς* = *καὶ ἐς*, the A forms quoted show elimination of the local

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to the general truth of the view that the versions of the several parties to a treaty were published each in its appropriate dialect—but that on the other hand there might well be exceptions to this owing to the special circumstances of the formulation of a given treaty. The terms of a treaty might be incorporated in a decree passed by one party and copies of this decree be sent to the other party or parties. In this case the decree would be published in its original form, like any other decree sent abroad (cf. above, p. 146). We have already noted from the later period two examples of precisely this procedure (p. 154, bottom). And even where the formulation was not in the form of a decree, it might now and then happen that copies of a formal draft, made by the recording official of that

peculiarities of the B forms. To attribute this to the transcriber, to suppose, for example, that he corrected *πορτί* into *ποτί* or *ῥυθμίττοντες* into *ῥυθμίζοντες*, is to give him far too much credit. It is just such variations between local Cretan and Doric (or Attic) *κοινή* forms that are now familiar to us in Cretan inscriptions of this period. But, while the inscriptions of different towns are distinguished by varying degrees of *κοινή* influence, we have too little material from Olus or Lato separately, to warrant us in deciding, upon this basis, their respective claims to these versions (a third copy, moreover, was ordered set up at Cnossus). Note also that B itself varies between Βολόε[ν]τι, etc., and Ὀλόντι, etc., between *περιαπέτιξ* (and *-τις*) and *περιαμπέτιξ*, that both versions vary between *αι* and *ει*, and that the Olus-Lato arbitration agreement (*SGDI* 5149) has both *πορτί* and *ποτί*, both *ἀγγράφοντ[ε]ν* (nom. pl. like *πλοντες*) and *πράξαντες*. Yet one may hasard the guess that B, which retains in part the old forms Βολόε(ν)τι, etc. (with *β* for earlier *ϝ*), which occur elsewhere only in an Olus-Lyttus treaty (*SGDI* 5147), was the copy set up at Olus. It is nothing against this that Lato precedes Olus in the introductory lines, for the order is the same in both versions. In general, the order in which the parties to a treaty are mentioned in the heading or text has no such unqualified significance as has sometimes been assumed, e.g., by Boeckh, who, in commenting on this Olus-Lato treaty in the only version then known, asserts (*CIG* II, p. 406): "nostra quippe tabula hand dubie a Latiis posita est, quemobrem Latii primo loco nominari solent." So recently, but with more reserve, H. J. Reinach *Rev. des Ét. Grec.* 1911, 381, remarks: "Le fait que, dans l'en-tête comme dans tout le cours du document, les Hiérapytniens sont nommés avant les Praisiens incline à croire que la copie a été faite sur le texte conservé aux archives d'Hiérapytna," and points to other Cretan treaties (*SGDI* 5015, 5018, 5024, 5040) as conforming. But while the precedence of the home city as the "party of the first part" is the natural order, and is the one followed in perhaps the majority of cases, it is by no means an invariable practice upon which we can rely. Note, for example, from Athenian treaties in the Athenian versions found at Athens [*συμ*]*αχία* Βοιω[*τῶν καὶ* Ἀθηναίων] (Hicks[2] 84); Ἐρετριέω[*ν συμμαχία*] *καὶ* Ἀθηνα[*ίων*] (Hicks[2] 86); *συμμαχία* Κορκυραίων *καὶ* Ἀθηναίων (Hicks[2] 106).

As already noted, we have a small fragment of the Olympian copy, besides the nearly complete text from Thermum, of a treaty between the Aetolians and Acarnanians. But, aside from the fact that the fragment is too small to permit any satisfactory comparison, all versions were doubtless in the Northwest Greek *κοινή*, then employed by both parties, and nothing more than slight accidental variations could be expected.

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party at whose home the conference of the envoys arranging the terms took place, were sent to the other parties and published without transfer to the local dialect.

A notable case, mention of which has been deferred until this point, is the inscription, *IG* IV, 556, Hicks[2] 120, pertaining to a peace agreement between the Greek states, probably one made soon after the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C. It is not the text of the original agreement, but a resolution to announce this agreement and the attitude of the states toward Persia to the representative of the Persian satraps. This copy was found at Argos, but is in the Attic dialect.[1] Upon this Wilhelm *Oest. Jhrh.* III, 147 and 159, remarks:

> Der Dialekt ist der attische, wie Dittenberger gelegentlich bemerkte; an sich für Ort und Zeit auffällig, erklärt er sich durch den Umstand dass die Urkunde nicht Sondergelegenheiten der Argeier betrifft. . . . . Die Inschrift ist nur verständlich als Beschluss der an der κοινὴ εἰρήνη betheiligten Hellenen oder vielmehr als Beschluss ihrer bevollmächtigten Vertreter. Es ist anzunehmen dass die Urkunden solcher gemeinsamen Abmachungen attisch abgefasst, und dass sie von den einzelnen Staaten öffentlich aufgestellt, mindestens im Archiv hintergelegt wurden.

But this is a dangerously broad conclusion. Attic was certainly not a generally recognized medium for interstate proceedings until a very much later period. It is possible that at just this time the situation in Argos and some of the other states with reference to the use of Attic was peculiar (see above, p. 148, on Arcadia). The most probable conclusion, however, is that of Fränkel *RhM* LVI, 34 (cf. also Hicks, *loc. cit.*): "Und zwar nötigt die Wahl dieser Mundart zu dem Schlusse, dass unter den verbundeten Staaten Athen eine führende Stelle eingenommen hat." The resolution was drafted by Athens, as the leading state, Sparta holding aloof, and copies were published elsewhere in this form.

Another question is, in assuming the existence of two or more home versions, each in its appropriate dialect, what was the form employed in those versions which, as was as often the case, were set up in the name of all parties (κοινῇ) in some center like Olympia?

[1] Doric forms occur in l. 18. But with l. 17 begins a new decree (cf. Fränkel *RhM* LVI, 244), and, for all that we can tell from the little that is left of these lines, this may have been wholly in Doric.

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If we could have before us, as Pausanias once had, the Olympian copy of the treaty of Athens with Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, we should note its dialect with the keenest interest. Yet it would not be a test case. For, as pointed out by Kirchhoff (see above, p. 156, footnote), this copy served a double function, and if it was in the Elean dialect, as assumed by Kirchhoff, and also by Grundy *Thucydides* 55, it was solely on account of its second function as the home version of the Eleans. The copies of such common versions found at Olympia, Delos, etc., are enough to show, what might be taken for granted, that the local dialect was not substituted. But, again unfortunately, they all, like those which have been mentioned above (*passim*), pertain to parties whose dialect was the same, or had come to be the same, for most of them are comparatively late. We may conjecture that, if we had treaties between parties of different dialect in the copies which were published in their common name, they would show now the dialect of one, now of another, according to the channels through which they reached publication. But this whole matter of the dialect in treaties is the one, of all the questions which have been raised in this article, upon which more light from new discoveries is most needed.

Note to p. 142. Similar skepticism of the reading ἐποίεε is expressed in the posthumous article of the late Professor Solmsen, *Idg. Forsch.*, XXXI, 448 ff. (see p. 473, footnote), which has just reached me.

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# PARIS AND HECTOR IN TRADITION AND IN HOMER

By John A. Scott

In the first thousand lines of the *Iliad* Achilles, Agamemnon, either Ajax, Idomeneus, Diomede, Nestor, Odysseus, Menelaus, Calchas, and Patroclus have been introduced in action or mentioned by name. The prominent heroes or characters are thus marched across the stage at the very outset; then, when in later scenes of the poem they have played their parts, they reappear at the games in honor of Patroclus, make their farewell bow, and disappear with no traces of mental or physical soreness. They are thus restored to the condition in which they were before the "Wrath" began. Evidently Homer had the conception of the Greek heroes distinctly in mind from the start; tradition, for the most part, had furnished him with their names and had already settled their fates: Agamemnon could not die in battle, for his death was reserved for his return, and so Odysseus, Diomede, Idomeneus, Nestor, and Menelaus must not fall at Troy, since their home-coming was a settled part of the epic saga, nor could any warrior win glory by slaying Ajax. The Greek leaders, as well as the individual fate of each, were already fixed and decided by tradition, which passing on from one Greek generation to the next would be definite and exact on the Greek side, but most vague and deficient concerning the Trojans. Homer had no knowledge of the Trojans except as Greek pride or Greek patriotism preserved it. Although the Greek leaders pass in review at once and we know who are to be the actors in subsequent events, there is no such an introduction of the Trojans. Except Hector and Priam, who are casually referred to in Book i, the Trojans are named only when they act. Paris does not enter and we have no inkling of his connection with the war until he comes in to challenge Menelaus to a duel. Aeneas, Glaucus, Sarpedon appear first in the Aristeia of Diomede, Helenus makes his initial bow in Book vi, Dolon in x, Polydamas in xi, while Coon, who forces Agamemnon to withdraw from his triumphant Aristeia, and Socus, who wounds Odysseus, win glory and death at



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their first appearance; Deiphobus and Asteropaeus are first named in xii; while Euphorbus, destined to have the great honor of wounding Patroclus, is not mentioned previous to that exploit.

The poem is manifestly written entirely from the side of the Greeks, while the Trojans are introduced or created merely that they, the Greeks, may have antagonists.

It is in finding names and exploits for the Trojans that Homer appears at his weakest. Tradition, Greek tradition, had supplied him with very few foreign names, hence nearly all the Trojans are fitted out with good Greek names.

Book iv mentions a Greek with the name Chromius, then in later books four Trojans appear bearing that same name, one Greek and three Trojans have the Greek name Melanippus, one Greek and two Trojans are called Antiphus, two Trojans have the name Adrastus, two Astynous, two Ennomus, two Ophelestes, two Pylartes, two Thersilochus, and more than a score of the Trojans, such as Alestor, Medon, Noemon, Orestes, are identical in name with some Greeks of the poem. Tradition failed, too, to give Homer the names of Trojan gods, hence he assigns them an Athena with her pure Greek priestess, Theano. This same tradition failed to provide Hector with a wife, else she had not appeared with the Greek name Andromache. The same is true of the son Astyanax, as well as of his brothers and half-brothers, Deiphobus, Helenus, Polydorus, Polites, Antiphonus, and Agathon.

Paris is the only one of the Trojan leaders who has an undisputed foreign name. It seems unlikely that tradition could have preserved the name of the son and forgotten that of the father; hence the tradition found in Apollodorus ii. 6. 4, that Priam was at one time called Ποδάρκης, is probably to be accepted as showing that the Greeks regarded Priam as a foreign name which they translated with Podarces, just as they translated the Trojan name Paris with Alexander. If Hector ever really had the Trojan name Darius, Homer gives no hint that he knew it.[1] Even if tradition told how a foreign prince with a foreign name sailed to Greece to entice Helen, it did not give the names of his companions, and accordingly the poet must have his ship built by a Greek, Φέρεκλος, the son of the Greek

[1] See Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, pp. 196 ff.

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Τέκτων, whose sire was pure Greek, as is shown by his patronymic, Ἁρμονίδης.

Hector, in name, dress, character, and all, is a Greek loaned to the enemy; Paris by these same tokens is foreign throughout.

The thesis I wish to establish is this: Paris was the traditional leader and champion of the Trojans, but for moral reasons could not be made the protagonist in the poem, hence the poet degraded him and created a hero of sufficient nobility of character to win sympathy for his cause. Hector, therefore, as he appears in Homer is the creation of the poet who conceived the idea of the *Iliad*.

The place of Paris in tradition and Homer will first be discussed. We have scant knowledge of the contents of the *Cyclic Poems*, yet from the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus we learn that Paris was the leading actor in the *Cypria*, the poem narrating the events immediately preceding the action of the *Iliad*, that he was a person of sufficient importance to be called upon to decide the contest of the goddesses, that he took a fleet to Greece in order to win Helen, and that on the way home he was able to capture the wealthy city of Sidon. All of this is in harmony with the conceptions of the *Iliad*, even if not definitely expressed. The deeds of no other Trojan find any place in tradition as reflected in the *Cypria*. The phrase καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ' Ἕκτορος is not an independent tradition, but is founded on the *Iliad* and in violation of Homer, as I shall show later.

In the *Aethiopis*, the poem which takes up the events that follow the close of the *Iliad*, Achilles is slain by Paris with the aid of Apollo. No other Trojan is named by Proclus as sharing in the events of this poem. The *Ilias Parva* follows the *Aethiopis*, during the action of which Paris is slain by Philoctetes who has just come from Lemnos. Even here Paris is not slain as a coward or in flight, but was bold enough to face Philoctetes in a duel. No other Trojan acts in this poem, so far as known from Proclus, except Helenus, who like a traitor tells the Greeks how his own city may be taken.

Here we find that in the first three poems of the *Cycle*, leaving the *Iliad* out of account, Paris is the only Trojan whose acts are of sufficient importance to receive mention in the *Chrestomathia* of

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Proclus. Paris alone of the Trojans had the honor in tradition of causing the death of a Greek leader, and that leader was none other than Achilles.

The character of Paris in the *Iliad* involves constant contradictions. The first great contradiction is that he who is to be such a craven and a coward should be introduced as Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής, Γ 16. Why this honoring name? Scholiast to M 93: ἐκλήθη οὖν Πάρις, οὐχ ὥς τινές φασιν, ὅτι ἐν πήρᾳ ἐτράφη, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν μόρον παρῆλθεν· ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι τῇ πατρίδι ἠλέξησεν, ὅ ἐστιν ἐβοήθησε, πολεμίων ἐπελθόντων. Evidently the honoring titles, δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλῆι, which, at first glance, seem so inappropriate in Homer are in complete harmony with pre-Homeric tradition.

The second contradiction is found in the fact that a Greek with his feeling that to be beautiful is also to be brave, καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, should have represented a coward as handsome. Paris is εἶδος ἄριστος, Γ 39, and because of his beauty the Greeks thought he was the Trojan champion. It was the physical defects in Thersites on which the poet placed emphasis, and Homer had a real difficulty in representing the handsome figure of Paris in the guise of a poltroon.

A third contradiction is found in the continued influence of Paris. After he had fled in Book iii and disgraced himself and his cause he should have had but little influence or power, yet on the evening of this very day, when Antenor makes the inevitable suggestion that their oaths be kept and Helen with her possessions be returned to the Greeks, Paris arises and insultingly replies:

H 357: Ἀντῆνορ, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις· . . . .
εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις,
ἦ ῥα δή τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί.

He flatly refuses to let Helen be returned to Menelaus, no one answers him, Hector is mute, and the herald is sent to deliver to the Greeks the opinion of Paris. The apparent character of Paris was so out of keeping with his power that Herodotus, ii. 120, could only explain the contradiction by assuming a tradition according to which Helen was never in Troy, but had been held in Egypt; otherwise Hector, in spite of Paris, would have delivered her to the Greeks. "Nor was it as if Alexander had been heir to the crown, in which case he might

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have had the chief management of affairs, since Priam was already old. Hector, who was his elder brother, and a far braver man, stood before him, and was the heir to the kingdom. And it could not be Hector's interest to uphold his brother in his wrong, when it brought such dire calamities upon himself and the other Trojans. But the fact was that they had no Helen to deliver" (Rawlinson's translation). It is most significant that while Priam's other married sons and daughters lived in the same palace with their father (Z 242 ff.), Paris had a palace all his own. The description of this palace (Z 313 ff.) shows that it was of unusual beauty.

Paris is no coward in Homer and no weakling, since his heroic proportions show through, despite the efforts of the poet to represent him as mean and timorous. This is shown by the fact that he and not Hector determined the decision of the assembly, and by the following minute details: Paris was a leader of one of the great divisions of the Trojans (M 93). When Aeneas was hard-pressed by the Greeks he called for help, "trying to fix his eyes on Paris" (N 490). In the very thick of the fight when Hector moves along the portions most engaged he finds Paris:

N 765: τὸν δὲ τάχ' εὗρε μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ δακρυόεσσης
δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἑλένης πόσιν ἠυκόμοιο,
θαρσύνονθ' ἑτάρους καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα μάχεσθαι.

His acts are in keeping with his words to Hector:

N 784: νῦν δ' ἄρχ', ὅππῃ σε κραδίη θυμός τε κελεύει·
ἡμεῖς δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες ἅμ' ἑψόμεθ', οὐδέ τί φημι
ἀλκῆς δευήσεσθαι, ὅση δύναμίς γε πάρεστιν.

The day was saved for the Trojans because of the skill of Paris:

Λ 504: οὐδ' ἄν πω χάζοντο κελεύθου δῖοι Ἀχαιοί,
εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο,
παῦσεν ἀριστεύοντα Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν
ἰῷ τριγλώχινι βαλὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον.

But one Greek of any prominence is slain in the action of the *Iliad*, while comparatively few are wounded. Paris is the only Trojan to wound a Greek of the first rank who is not himself slain. Euphorbus and Hector who caused the death of Patroclus, Pandarus who wounded Diomede, Coon who pierced Agamemnon, and Socus who thrust Odysseus paid for their brief glory with their lives; while

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Paris, without divine aid, wounded Diomede, Machaon, and Eurypylus, slew Euchenor, Menesthius, and Deiochus; yet Paris escaped. His greatness in Homer is of a piece with the *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, and *Ilias Parva*.

Paris was an archer, but that was no disgrace, despite the angry words of the wounded Diomede. A people who regarded the ambush as the place of greatest honor (A 257) and a tradition which gave glory to such archers as Teucer and Philoctetes, or made the bow of Heracles his greatest possession and the bow of Odysseus the arbiter of marriage—these could not have considered archery a source of infamy. Paris' sole weakness was moral weakness, and great as he was in tradition and is in Homer, the adulterer and false friend could not be permitted a position of epic leadership. No people under the control of such a leader as Paris could win sympathy, but since tradition furnished the Trojans with no other leader the poet must create one.

Hector has no place in the pre-Homeric traditions as given in the *Cypria*. In that poem his name is found but once, where it is said that he slew Protesilaus: *καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ' Ἕκτορος*. Homer knew nothing of this, as his account of the death of the same warrior shows:

B 698: *τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήιος ἡγεμόνευεν*
*. . . . τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ*
*νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.*

The author of the *Cypria*, with the plot of the *Iliad* before him, could not see why so important a hero as Hector had no standing in tradition outside of Homer, and so found him a place by quietly removing the Homeric *Δάρδανος ἀνήρ* and substituting Hector. Here the attempt to give Hector a position in the *Cycle* not warranted by pre-Homeric tradition is evident and unmistakable.

It is a matter of common observation that many of the leaders in the events described by the *Iliad* have designations which have no adequate explanation in the action of the poem itself. Priam who does not wield a spear is nevertheless *ἐυμμελίης* and though withdrawn from battle is still *δαίφρων*. Achilles, whether he be standing or seated, is *πόδας ὠκύς* and *ποδώκης*, yet on the one occasion where he has the opportunity to show this fleetness of foot

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he was unable to overtake Hector, and must needs receive the help of Athena, who orders him to refresh himself while she induces Hector to come near. The simple fact that an epithet is applied to Achilles which has no interpretation in the events of the *Iliad* shows that he is a traditional hero and not the creation of the poet. The epithet must have its explanation elsewhere. Odysseus early in the *Iliad* is called ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς (B 278), the reason for which is found not in this poem, but in outside tradition. Many other examples might be given, but these sufficiently illustrate the principle that in the *Iliad* certain epithets carry the implicit proof of traditions other than those used by the poet. If Hector be an old and traditional hero he should bring into the poem with him some traces of his earlier existence. What epithets are applied to Hector? He is ἀνδροφόνος, κορυθαίολος, δῖος, μέγας, φαίδιμος, διίφιλος, ὄβριμος, ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηι, ὁ λυσσώδης φλογὶ εἴκελος, θρασύς, πελώριος, κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος, ἶσος Ἄρηι, χαλκοκορυστής, μεγάθυμος, βοὴν ἀγαθός, κύον, ἱππόδαμος, μάχης ἅτος, θρησὺν ἡνίοχον, ἄλαστε, ποιμένα λαῶν, νήπιε, κλυτός, φίλτατε παίδων, δαέρων φίλτατε. Here is an unrivaled richness and variety of epithet, yet no one of them refers to any relationship, trait, or quality not shown in the poem itself. The *Iliad* furnishes a full explanation of every attribute given to Hector in Homer. If the number of epithets were small this might be due to accident, but here chance can have no part, and we may confidently assume that the tradition which among so many epithets has left no traces of its influence had no influence to leave, and that the character of Hector was beyond its power to shape or change.

As already said, the Trojan leader, Paris, whom tradition furnished, was for moral reasons unworthy to be the great leader of either side, hence the poet was obliged to substitute another whose human and moral excellencies fitted him for leadership. The degradation of Paris involved one great contradiction, namely, in giving the hearer the impression that the warrior who did so much was a coward; the creation of Hector involved the second great contradiction, namely, in giving that same hearer the impression that the warrior who did so little was a mighty champion. Tradition narrowed the poet's range in either case; he could create a hero, but not a war.

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The prowess of the Trojans is described only in general terms, since no Greek of real importance is slain during the course of the *Iliad*. Patroclus is prominent merely because of his relations with Achilles, and besides him only two of any consequence fall, Medon, the bastard son of Ajax Oileus, and the colorless Tlepolemus. On the Trojan side the slaughter is almost complete; Adrastus (the Greek names deserve notice), Asteropaeus, Dolon, Euphorbus, Hippothous, Cebriones, Lycaon, Socus, Coon, Pandarus, Sarpedon, and Hector, these all perish. Paris is the only Trojan to wound a great leader and then escape with his life. Evidently the strength of tradition tied Homer's hands, and gave Paris a charmed life in the *Iliad*.

Hector receives high praise in vague and general expressions, but the events of the poem give no warrant for assigning him a high place as a soldier. He is found retreating at his first appearance in battle, he is no match for Ajax in the duel, is almost slain by Diomede with a spear and by Ajax with a rock, fainting each time; while he flies before Odysseus, Agamemnon, Patroclus, Diomede, Ajax, and Achilles. It is only as a man, a son, a husband, and a father that Hector really wins respect; that is, just in those qualities where he can appear noble without fighting the Greeks. Why is Hector so great as a man, so rarely great as a soldier? If one reads the list of the Trojans he will find, as already noted, that they with few exceptions have Greek names; hence are Greek creations or adaptations. The Greeks had their own tradition of their own leaders conducting a war at Troy to recover Helen, who had been taken from Menelaus by Paris. Paris bears a Trojan name, his part in the cycle is sure, but tradition as far as the Trojans were concerned went little farther. It did not tell who built the ship, and so the poet had it built by a Greek who came of a line of Greek ancestors. The name Hector is probably Greek, as it has a good Greek derivation. If he, Hector, did really have the Trojan name Darius, then he was a subordinate Trojan rechristened with a Greek name and elevated to leadership. Homer gives no hint of having known Hector under any other name. It is doubtful if the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon had a larger place in the early Greek traditions of Troy than the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus, which is given but ten verses in the eighth book of the *Odyssey* (viii. 73 ff.). At the opening of the *Iliad*

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the Greeks are before Troy, and the Trojans are within the walls. The Greeks lose no leader, warrior, or king of independent influence. At the close of the poem both sides are in the same relative positions in which they were at the beginning. On the Trojan side the slaughter has been almost annihilation. Those who fell, Adrastus, Pandarus, Hector, and the rest, were for the most part created to be participants in the events occasioned by the Wrath of Achilles. They never had an existence elsewhere, and by their death the poet accounted for their absence from subsequent events of the *Trojan Cycle*. This explains the contradictions in the character of Hector. The Greek leaders were fixed and the fate of each known. Tradition had decided that Ajax was to fall by his own hand, Achilles to be slain by Paris, Agamemnon by his wife and by Aegisthus, and so the fate of each was already determined. What was there left for Hector? No new Greek general of any importance could be added, and no local hero could be replaced, no more than a modern historical novel of the American Revolutionary War could add a new and important general to the list of famous heroes. Homer then was forced to make a Trojan champion without the privilege of allowing him to slay any one of the really great Greeks. Hector's greatness, therefore, is to be not military but human. Even so he must have some military glory, and accordingly the poet created the character of Patroclus. Patroclus does not appear in the *Catalogue of the Ships*, is not named in the *Cypria* except under the influence of the *Iliad*, Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς Λῆμνον ἀγαγὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ. Here the author of the *Cypria*, unable to explain the absence of Patroclus from tradition, reshapes the story of Lycaon, as found in Homer, to give Patroclus a place. Lycaon says to Achilles:

Φ 78: καί μ' ἐπέρασσας ἄνευθεν ἄγων πατρός τε φίλων τε
Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθέην.

Evidently the author of the *Cypria* used the *Iliad* to secure a little glory for Patroclus in the same way that he gave to Hector the honor of slaying Protesilaus. There were no families claiming descent from Patroclus, and the poet explains his lack of heroic following by the simple device of having him slay one of his youthful companions. His lack of descendants hinges on the same device. There was no place for Phoenix in a poem which exalted Patroclus, since each owed

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his prominence to the friendship of Achilles. The creation of the part of Hector involved the degradation of Paris; the creation of Patroclus, the practical elimination of Phoenix. In the paper, "Phoenix in the Iliad," *A.J.P.*, XXXIII, 68 ff., I recognized that the prominence of Patroclus had caused the eclipse of Phoenix, but did not then see the reason for the existence of Patroclus. Homer, like an Athenian father, could cause the death of no children but his own; Patroclus he could expose, but tradition's child, Phoenix, he must not kill. So he might slay Hector, and also, just because he was the poet's own, he could make him his mouthpiece to express his own advanced views on religion, patriotism, and domestic relations. In religion Hector is frankly rationalistic:

M 237: *τύνη δ' οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις*
*πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὔ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,*
*εἴ τ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,*
*εἴ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.*

There is nothing traditional about this. However it may appeal to modern sympathies, it shocked the ancients. Scholiast to this passage remarks: *ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ θεὸν τιμᾶν οἶδε καὶ οἰωνοῖς πείθεσθαι, ὅπερ Ἕκτωρ οὐ συνίησιν.*

His views on patriotism are expressed in O 496:

*τεθνάτω· οὔ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης*
*τεθνάμεν·*

while his ideals of domestic relations are shown in the tenderness with which Hector treats Andromache. It is certainly worthy of note that this devoted husband should have been reared in a polygamous household and should himself have championed a war founded on treachery and adultery.

Milton stood in much the same relation to his sources as Homer stood to his. Milton must have an Adam and an Eve, a Garden of Eden, a Satan, a Tree of Forbidden Fruit. The tempter must appear in the form of a serpent and the woman must be the first to fall; all these he had in the Bible and they must be retained. The poetry, the descriptions, and most of the incidents were his own. Homer likewise had a list of Greek heroes, and a brief reference to the Wrath of Achilles, he was familiar with the story of the Rape of

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Helen by Paris, a prince from Troy. Tradition supplied him with scant information in regard to the Trojans, hence the long list of Trojans with Greek names. Although tradition told of the death of such first-class Greek heroes as Protesilaus, Palamedes, Achilles, and Ajax at Troy, it told of the death of none during the Wrath of Achilles. Accordingly the poet had to content himself with the death of so subordinate a leader as Patroclus.

This is in complete accord with the thesis of Doctor Leaf's *Troy* that "The *Iliad* is a real record of a real event." He does not mean that Thetis brought Achilles an armor from Olympus, that Aphrodite rescued Paris, or that Athena trapped Hector, but he does mean that a real war was fought in a real place, and that that place was the Troad. Professor Davis' novel, *A Victor of Salamis*, describes a real war in a real place, but the hero and most of the incidents are fictitious. One is history treated as poetry, the other history treated as fiction.

The saga provided Homer with the idea of the Wrath, but the conception of Hector and Patroclus was the poet's own. The dialogue, the speeches, the enthusiasm, the pathos, all the human interest were Homer's and only Homer's. Homer was far removed from the beginnings of poetry. The beauty and finish of his verse and language show long ages of development and prove that many great poets lived before Homer, just as "many brave men lived before Agamemnon." These poets who were before Homer furnished him with the tools with which he worked, but he was the first to conceive of the Wrath of Achilles as the theme of a great epic.

The *Iliad* is not the production of a poet who reshaped and refitted the work of others into a more perfect whole, who found his characters already made and touched them now at this place, now at that, who added a little here, removed a little there, but of a poet who largely created his own characters and gave them a name. Tradition gave no parallel account of the events of the *Iliad* from the simple fact that the events of the *Iliad* never had a being until created by the genius of Homer.

If the *Iliad* be the work of *Volkspoesie*, or the poetic expression of an entire people, why was all that poetic ability centered on so unimportant a segment of epic tradition as the Wrath, and but ten

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verses given to the quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus, "the glory of which," Homer himself tells us, "reached the heavens"?

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NOTE.—That Hector and Ajax face each other so often is no proof of pre-Homeric tradition. Homer expressly says that Ajax was second only to Achilles. In the absence of Achilles he, Ajax, naturally would be most called upon to face the champion of the Trojans. When Achilles appears Ajax retires and the champion of the Greeks, Achilles, faces and slays the champion of the Trojans, Hector.

If there was a real shrine dedicated to Hector in Thebes, the origin is easily explained. The word Hector is in derivation the "defender," the same as the Latin *stator*. What more natural than for a city to dedicate a shrine to the "Defender"? Then later generations would confound the divine "Defender" with the Trojan "Defender," Hector.

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# SATURA AND SATIRE

By B. L. Ullman

A great deal of interest and discussion has been produced by a recent article by Professor Hendrickson in his brilliant series of papers on Roman satire.[1] As a result, four papers on this subject have already appeared,[2] and the present contribution, *qualecumque est*, owes its being to the same source. Professor Hendrickson's chief point may be briefly summarized as follows: The word *satura* in the literary sense does not occur in extant Latin literature until the second book of Horace's *Satires*. Other expressions are used by earlier authors and especially by Horace in the first book of the *Satires* where the context calls for the word *satura*. This situation must be explained as due, not to chance, but to the fact that the word *satura* had not yet come into use as a literary term, that, indeed, it existed until the time of Horace's second book only in the legal phrase *per saturam*, from which it probably was adapted after Ennius and Lucilius had given their poems titles something like *poemata per saturam*.

Webb and Wheeler have both made the point that the phrase *per saturam* presupposes a noun *satura*, and from this there is no escape. Therefore an explanation of this noun must precede any attempt to interpret the history of satire. It is my purpose to sketch the origin and history of the word and to touch on the various questions that naturally arise in the course of such a discussion.

It is practically certain that our word is derived from the adjective *satur*, "full." According to the traditional explanation it is a feminine adjective with *lanx* or *lex*, or some other word, to be supplied. This assumption rests on a remarkable misunderstanding of our ancient authorities—a misunderstanding in which scholars, one after the other, have blindly followed their predecessors. Festus, in his epitome of Verrius, has the following: "Satura et cibi genus et

[1] "Satura—The Genesis of a Literary Form," *Class. Phil.*, VI, 129.

[2] Ingersoll, *Class. Phil.*, VII, 59; Webb, *ibid.*, VII, 177; Knapp, *A.J.P.*, XXXIII (1912), 125; Wheeler, *Class. Phil.*, VII, 457.



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lex multis aliis legibus conferta, itaque in sanctione legum adscribitur, 'neve per saturam abrogato aut derogato,'" followed by other examples of the use of *per saturam*. Festus clearly uses *satura* as a noun, for he says that it is a *lex*. But it is Diomedes apparently who has been most instrumental in leading scholars astray (485 K): "Alii autem dictam putant a lege satura quae uno rogatu multa simul conprehendat, quod scilicet et satura carmine multa simul poemata conprehenduntur, cuius saturae legis Lucilius meminit. . . . ." At first glance it would seem that Diomedes is using *satura* as an adjective modifying *lege*. But the phrase *lege satura* is balanced by the phrase *satura carmine*—in which *satura* is, of course, a noun.[1] Not only is it *possible* to take *satura* as a noun with *lege*, but the balance shows that we *must* consider it as such.[2] In the same way *cuius saturae legis* means "which *satura*, [i.e.] the law [not the poem]." In Isidorus' paraphrase of Diomedes or his source, we see the same substantive use (Orig. v. 16): "De lege satura. Satura vero lex est quae de pluribus simul rebus eloquitur, dicta a copia rerum et quasi a saturitate."[3]

As for *lanx satura*, there is no authority for that either. Diomedes says: "Satura autem dicta sive a saturis, quod . . . . , sive satura a lance, quae referta variis multisque primitiis in sacro apud priscos diis inferebatur et a copia et saturitate rei satura vocabatur. . . . . " Presumably the word *satura* of the phrase *satura lance* has been taken as an adjective modifying *lance*, but such an interpretation is clearly wrong because the word would be superfluous, not merely with the *quae* clause following, but especially with the last part of the sentence (*a copia*, etc.). Rather *satura* is a noun in the ablative in apposition with *lance*—"from the dish called *satura*." So also the Horatian scholia (*praef. Serm.* i): "Satyra dicitur lancis genus," and "satyram a lance quae plena diversis frugibus." Similarly, in the phrase *per saturam*, *saturam* is a noun with nothing to be supplied. Kiessling

[1] It is very interesting to note that emendations have been suggested for *satura carmine: saturo, saturae, saturarum carmine*, and *satura carmina* (cf. Hoelser, *De satura romana*, 1865, p. 101).

[2] It cannot be argued that the different order of words in the two phrases shows that in the second phrase *satura* is a noun and in the first an adjective, for in the next sentence we find the other order for the supposed adjective: *cuius saturae legis*.

[3] This is Lindsay's text. Only one of his MSS omits *est*. Otto (Lindemann, *Corp. Gram. Lat.*, III) in omitting *est* followed an unimportant MS.

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supplied *poesis* with *satura* in the literary sense. Not only is this unnecessary, as we have seen, but it is very unlikely in view of Lucilius' definition (342 Marx; cf. Varro *Men.* 398B) of *poesis*, as distinguished from *poema*. According to this definition Lucilius' satires were *poemata*, not *poesis*.[1]

If no noun like *lanx* or *lex* is to be supplied, how then was *satura* derived from the adjective *satur*? The neuter of the adjective was naturally used substantively, and, in the sense of "stuffing" (see below), the plural was of course most used. After a time the neuter plural *satura* came to be regarded as a collective feminine singular. To show the plausibility of this I first call attention to the following example: the Latin word *fartum*, meaning stuffing, often used in the plural, *farta*, became in Italian the collective feminine singular *farsa*—the very word which has often been quoted as a parallel to *satura* from the standpoint of the development of meaning. The survival of the word in Italian shows that it belonged to the popular speech in Latin, and the roots of this popular speech extend back to early times—when *satura* became a noun. But there are close parallels in Latin itself. Closest of all is another word for "stuffing," *insicia* (feminine singular) or *insicium*—both forms being found. The history of the former is like that of *satura:* a neuter plural becoming a collective feminine singular; that is, we have here an earlier stage of the process which produced the noun *satura*. So, too, for *impendium* (commonly in the neuter plural) we find in inscriptions[2] (therefore undoubtedly the colloquial form) the feminine singular *impendia*. I realize that another explanation has been offered for nouns whose gender varies between feminine and neuter. Schmidt[3] develops the theory that the Indo-European neuter plural was originally a collective feminine singular. But even if this be true, it does not follow that every phenomenon that involves these forms, whether it be in Latin or any other language, must be explained on this basis.

[1] Fritzsche (Horace *Serm.*, pp. 11, 13) also took *satura* as an original substantive without ellipsis of *lanx*, etc., but he gave no proof for his opinion. After the above was written I found that A. Zimmermann, "Zur Herkunft d. lat. Abstrakta auf tura" in *Zeit. f. vergl. Spr.*, XLII (1909), 307, pointed out briefly that *satura* was a noun in the Diomedes passage. His article seems to have escaped the notice of writers on satire. He holds that *satura* is a noun formation independent of *satur*.

[2] Gruter, 62. 8 (*C.I.L.*, VI, 629), 871. 8, 1070. 6.

[3] *Die Pluralbildungen der Indoger. Neutra*, 1889, pp. 21 f.

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Schmidt's explanation may well hold in some cases but cannot hold in all. The weakness in his position is that he considers worthless the evidence adduced by Appel[1] showing that, in late Latin, neuter plurals became feminine singulars. This process, coupled with the resulting usage in the Romance languages, proves that the change was a characteristic of popular Latin and very probably manifested itself at an early time.

If then we discover that the rarer feminine forms of some of these varying nouns are found almost exclusively in writings more or less colloquial, and that the commoner neuter forms found elsewhere are generally in the plural, it is quite certain that we are face to face with an earlier stage of the phenomenon which resulted in the metamorphosis of a number of Latin neuter plurals into Romance feminine singulars.[2] We can go farther than this, I believe. Many feminine nouns are to be accounted for by the supposition that they were originally neuter plural adjectives, rather than by supplying some feminine noun—there has been too much "supplying" both by scholars and pedagogues.[3] An example that seems a certainty is *impensa*, for which *pecunia* has been "supplied"—quite incorrectly, for not only does *impensa* sometimes mean building material, stuffing, etc., but the addition of *pecunia* is manifestly impossible in a sentence like Livy's (xliv. 23. 1), *impensa pecuniae facienda erat*.

What, then, was the original meaning of the noun *satura*? We are not limited to conjecture, for we have good ancient testimony

[1] *De genere neutro intereunte in lingua latina*, 1873, pp. 49 f.

[2] Some striking examples are: *ramentum*, generally used in the neuter plural (quite naturally so; cf. its English equivalent "shavings"), but in the feminine singular in Plautus *Bacch.* 513, 518, *Rud.* 1016; *caementum*, generally neuter plural, but feminine singular in *C.I.L.*, I, 577, and feminine plural in Ennius; *terricula*, when neuter, found only in the plural, but the feminine singular was the ante- and post-classical form, found in Afranius, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix; *labium*, when neuter, generally used in the plural, but feminine singular twice in Apuleius, and once in Titinius, feminine plural in Plautus, twice each in Novius, Lucilius, and Pomponius, three times in Gellius (two of these in quotation), and five times in Apuleius; *lamentum*, generally neuter plural, but feminine plural in Pacuvius; *armentum*, generally neuter plural, but feminine plural in Ennius (twice) and Pacuvius; *faenisicia* (cf. *insicia* above) when neuter, found only in the plural (three times in Varro and once in Columella), but feminine singular twice and feminine plural once in Varro. Note the array of colloquial authors: Plautus, Afranius, Minucius Felix, Apuleius, Titinius, Novius, Lucilius, Pomponius. Most of the others are early.

[3] Teachers are familiar with the student who gets the notion that anything at all can be "understood" in a Latin sentence.

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for a perfectly natural meaning of the word. Diomedes, in defining *satura* as a literary term, quotes Varro: "a quodam genere farciminis, quod multis rebus refertum saturam dicit Varro vocitatum. Est autem hoc positum in secundo libro Plautinarum quaestionum 'satura est uva passa et polenta et nuclei pini ex mulso consparsi. ad haec alii addunt et de malo Punico grana.'"[1] Webb has been the latest to point out that the use of *autem* shows that two citations from Varro are intended, one from some unknown work, the other from the *Plautine Questions*. In the former Varro defines *satura* as a kind of stuffing, in the latter he gives the recipe.[2] The fact that he does so in the *Plautine Questions* is almost certain proof that the word was so used in Plautus—though it does not occur in the extant plays. It is incomprehensible to me (and I here follow Hendrickson) how one can accept Marx's conjecture that Varro's comment was intended for *Amph.* 667 where *saturam* has the entirely natural sense of pregnant. So then we are led to believe that as early as Plautus there was a noun *satura* meaning stuffing. Probably by the time of Varro it had already become obsolete in that sense, and he therefore felt called upon to define it in his *Plautine Questions*. There is no reason for suspecting either Diomedes or Varro, as Hendrickson does. Diomedes' statement is confirmed by that of Festus that *satura* was "cibi genus," by that of Martianus (see below, p. 194), and by that of Isidorus xx. 1. 8: "saturitas autem a satura nomen accepit, quod est vario alimentorum adparatu conpositum." What motive could Varro have for giving such a definition if it were false? Why should he go to the trouble of inventing the recipe? Skepticism on these points seems to me unjustified. Ancient etymologies need to be critically tested and usually discarded, but testimony as to usage should in general be accepted. That the usage under discussion is

[1] Keil, I, 486. I adopt the punctuation of Goetz-Schoell, Varro *L.L.*, p. 202.

[2] This has been described as a sausage, e.g., Leo, *Hermes*, XXIV, 70, n., but a consideration of the materials used shows the absurdity of such a definition. It is due to the fact that the dictionaries give this meaning alone for *farcimen*. It is evident that this is but one of the special meanings of the word, and that it must have had a general meaning stuffing. *Satura* is not in the list of sausages mentioned by Varro *L.L.* v. 110 f. Fritzsche (Horace *Serm.*, p. 13) curiously takes Varro's *farcimen* to be the same as the *lanx*. He was evidently trusting his memory for Varro's recipe. There is no reason for assuming that the recipe given in the *Plautine Questions* does not apply to the *genus farciminis*, as Pease assumes in Harper's *Dict. of Class. Lit.*, *s.v.* "satura."

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a natural one is attested by the parallel of the Italian *ripieno*, "stuffing," derived from the Latin *replenus*, "full."[1]

From the meaning stuffing it is possible that all the other meanings of the word were derived. It was of course the miscellaneous character of the *satura* that suggested itself when the use of the word was extended. As for the *satura* which Diomedes defines as a *lanx*, there is little to be said, since we have no citations of such a use. It is very strange that he cites two examples of the word *lanx* to explain the word *satura!* In view of this state of affairs we can hardly object to skepticism concerning this usage, although scholars, following the Horatian scholia, have given it much greater prominence than Varro's *genus farciminis*.

The collective noun *satura* seems, at some time in its history, to have become an abstract noun, meaning "fulness," perhaps giving name to the local goddess Satura (*Saturae palus*, Verg. *Aen.* vii. 801). It is found in the glosses in conjunction with *satietas*, *saturitas*, and *abundantia* as a translation for the Greek words *κόρος*, *πλησμόνη*, *χορτασία* (*C.G.L.*, II, 353, 48; 410, 8; 478, 4).

Taking up the phrase *per saturam*, it is clear that it was a politico-legal one in origin, for it is used in a legal sense in the earliest examples, and whenever not so used there is almost always some indication that the context is figurative.[2] It is difficult to say whether the phrase is derived from the culinary use of *satura* or not.[3] In its later history, at least, it seems sometimes to be associated more directly with the meaning fulness. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is to assume an origin from the culinary sense, and, in the later examples, an influence from the abstract noun, or from the adjective *satur*. Of the original use we have the following examples: Festus states that it was used in the *sanctio* of laws, "neve per saturam

[1] Note the analogy of the English word "filling."

[2] That it is used in a comparison by Fronto (see below) makes it certain that it could normally be applied only to legal matters. The use of *quasi* or *tamquam* by Sallust and others points to the same conclusion, for it is not the archaism that these words apologise for. Their inherent meaning makes this impossible; *ut ita dicam* is the proper phrase. Even so I doubt if the deliberate archaiser Sallust ever felt it necessary to apologize for an obsolete expression.

[3] Somewhat parallel are the words of a newspaper editorial, "legislative omelette" and "chop-suey menu," referring to the program of legislation at the opening of a session of Congress. It is the sort of phrase that springs up and spreads in the heat of political strife.

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abrogato aut derogato"; he cites further an example from Annius Luscus' speech against Tiberius Gracchus, "Imperium quod plebes per saturam dederat, id abrogatum est,"[1] and another from C. Laelius' speech "pro se," but unfortunately the words are lost. It occurs also in the *lex Acilia Repetundarum* of 122/1 B.C. (*C.I.L.*, I. 198. 72), though with *in* for *per:* "extra quam sei quid in saturam feretur." Again in the Schol. Bob. on Cic. *Mil.* 14: "hoc autem [i.e., divisio sententiae] solebat accidere cum videbatur aliquis per saturam de multis rebus unam sententiam dixisse." In all these cases the reference is to a *lex* or *sententia* containing a number of unrelated provisions.[2] Hence the term *lex per saturam* naturally arose. The term *satura* likewise was applied to such an omnibus law. For the latter term we have the testimony of Festus and Diomedes already quoted, and in addition the Latin-Greek gloss (*C.G.L.*, II, 179, 9), *satura: νόμος πολλὰ περιέχων.* For the term *lex per saturam* we have the Greek-Latin gloss (*ibid.*, 376, 67), *νόμος πολλὰ περιέχων: lex per saturam.* Now a relation evidently exists between these glosses. The use of the same Greek phrase at once suggests that the latter is copied from the former, and such presumably has been the general impression. Marx (*Lucil.* ii, p. 23) says that it is apparent that both were taken from the source that Diomedes used. But if we look closer, we see that the Latin equivalents of the Greek phrase differ. Now the phrase *lex per saturam* could not possibly be a corruption of *satura*—though the reverse might be the case; therefore the Greek-Latin gloss could not have been copied from the other. In *lex per saturam* we have just such a phrase as we should expect. Thus the evidence as to the relation of the glosses to each other appears to be contradictory. It would seem that they are independent, though the appearance of the same Greek phrase in both remains unexplained. This was the point I had reached when Bannier's highly important article was published (*Philologus*, LXI

[1] Marx (on *Lucil.* 48) assumes that the phrase is used figuratively here—why, I cannot understand. Mommsen on the *lex Acilia* (see below) does not take it so: see below, p. 179.

[2] Stowasser (*Lat.-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch*, 2d ed., 1900) states that the *Lex Caecilia Didia* of 98 B.C. contained a clause "ne quis per saturam ferret." While it did undoubtedly contain words to that effect (see below) these words are not actually preserved to us, as Stowasser implies.

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[1912], 238). Bannier has proved conclusively that many of the Greek-Latin glosses were taken from Latin and Greek versions of various codes of laws like Justinian's *Digest*. Undoubtedly the Latin-Greek glossary was formed in the same way. Now there were several versions in Greek and Latin of these law codes, as Bannier remarks. Thus the similarity between the two glosses finds an explanation. The author of the Greek-Latin glossary had before him a Latin version differing from the one used by the other glossographer.[1] Thus we see that both *lex per saturam* and *satura* existed as legal terms. We shall see presently that Justinian was familiar with the term *per saturam*.

There is, moreover, in my opinion, another example of the phrase *lex per saturam*, though it has not been recognized as such. Diomedes quotes the following line from Lucilius: "Per saturam aedilem factum qui legibus solvat." *Per saturam* would naturally be taken with *factum*, but that would give an impossible meaning unless *per saturam* is used figuratively to mean "in confusion," and this is how Mommsen (*R. St.*, III, 336, n. 5), followed by Marx (in his edition of Lucilius), takes it. But the figurative use is not found before Sallust, and even then is regularly apologized for. Leo (*Hermes*, XXIV, 69, n. 3) takes *per saturam* with *solvat* and suggests that either *factum* means "einen in aller Form gewählten," or *legibus* depends on *factum* as well as *solvat*. But even so, the sentence is not satisfactory from the legal standpoint. It is hard to see how one could be exempted *per saturam* from the provisions of a law. We have seen that *lex per saturam* is not only a natural phrase but one actually found. What more likely than to take *per saturam* with *legibus* in Lucilius' verse, translating: "which frees a duly elected aedile from omnibus laws"? *Legibus solvere* is a common phrase, as Marx shows, and since it was by the senate that laws were suspended, we must understand *senatus* as the antecedent of *qui*. The interpretation of *per saturam* that I have suggested is not only plausible in itself, but prepares for an explanation of Lucilius' line in its context that is, it seems to me, more likely than Marx's. Marx has shown that the first book, to which this verse is attributed by Diomedes,

[1] Bannier has, as he himself says, merely pointed the way for a thorough study of these glossaries—a study well worth making.

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deals largely with L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, a political opponent of Lucilius' patron, Scipio Aemilianus. It would therefore be desirable to connect this line with Lupus—an advantage which is secured by the interpretation which follows. As the line stands, it is to be noted that there is a strong emphasis on *per saturam*, standing first and separated from *legibus*. What was Lucilius' probable attitude toward *per saturam* laws? It is easy to guess. T. Annius Luscus, a conservative of Scipio's party, in a speech against the democrat Ti. Gracchus, denounces a *lex per saturam*.[1] C. Laelius, a personal and political friend of Scipio, in a speech in his own defense, perhaps against the Gracchi and their fellow-democrat, C. Papirius Carbo, as Meyer suggests (*Orat. Rom. Frag.*, 2d ed., p. 173), used the phrase *per saturam*, no doubt in a similar connection. In 98 B.C. the conservative consuls Caecilius and Didius succeeded in having passed the *lex Caecilia Didia*, which was meant to act as a check on the tribunes by making *leges per saturam* illegal.[2] In 91 B.C. the conservative senators pointed out that the law proposed by the democrat Drusus would be a *lex per saturam* and therefore illegal according to the *lex Caecilia Didia*, and by these obstructive tactics they brought on the Social War. The *lex per saturam* always was a weapon of the democrats. It would be interesting to trace the complete history of its use.[3] From all this we see that Lucilius, fighting for the conservative cause, would naturally attack a *lex per saturam*. Besides, Lucilius' own patron, Scipio, had himself been freed from the operation of certain laws (Livy *Per.* 50). If Lucilius were objecting to the senate's action, he would at once lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency. We may be confident then that Lucilius is defending in one form or another the senate's action. Now, as Marx correctly discerned from the words *aedilem factum*, the laws which the senate suspended in this case were concerned with the election of magistrates. In view of the extreme rarity of such suspensions it is more than likely that Lucilius is referring to the exemption of Scipio in the year 148 from the operation of the *lex Villia annalis* which

[1] See Festus above. Mommsen (*R. St.*, I, 336) suggests, plausibly enough, that the *imperium* mentioned in the citation from Luscus was that granted by Gracchus' land bill to the three commissioners.

[2] Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, III (2d ed.), 86.

[3] For other instances see *ibid.*, II (3d ed.), 471.

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fixed the prerequisites for the various magistracies.[1] Since the consular elections were regularly held before the others,[2] Scipio must have been elected consul before the election of the aediles took place. Remembering that at that time elections were *viva voce*, it is easy to imagine what happened. When Scipio appeared at the voting-place, a great shout no doubt arose, like the acclamations which greeted Cicero at the elections in 64.[3] When the individual voter was asked for whom he wished to vote, he declared, amidst the enthusiasm, for Scipio.[4] The senate and the consuls[5] refused to accept the election. No doubt the consuls went on with the other elections,[6] and probably the senators saw to it that Scipio was regularly elected aedile, as originally planned, in the hope of satisfying the people. But the people would not be satisfied and the senate was finally forced to recognize the election of Scipio to the consulship. This situation exactly fits Lucilius' line. *Per saturam legibus* would refer to the *lex Villia*.[7] This law was introduced by a tribune and directed against the young nobles eager for public office, thus being intended as a democratic measure.[8] It would not be surprising, therefore, if it

[1] Mommsen (*R. St.*, I, 539, n. 1) lists the cases on record of the suspension of the *lex Villia*. Scipio's is the only case from its passing in 180 down to the end of Lucilius' life—in fact to Pompey's consulship in 70 B.C. Pompey's case is the only real parallel, for other candidates either were unsuccessful or did not consult the senate. If there had been other cases, we surely should have heard of them in connection with Pompey's exemption. Even so, no attempt to evade the law was made until Julius Caesar Strabo unsuccessfully ran for the consulship for the year 87, without having been praetor. Unsuccessful also was Calpurnius Bestia for the year 42. The younger Marius gained the consulship for 82 by force, although he was below the legal age. Q. Lucretius Ofella, candidate for the consulship for 80, was put to death by order of Sulla for presuming to sue for the consulship without having held the praetorship or quaestorship. A reference to the histories will show what a political crisis existed when Scipio was freed from the operation of the laws. The case, in fact, became a famous subject for *deliberatio*, like that of whether Carthage should be destroyed or not (*ad Heren.* iii. 2. 2).

[2] Mommsen, *R. St.*, I, 580, n. 2. [3] Cic. *De leg. agr.* ii. 2.

[4] Or the details may have been more like those described by Plutarch (*Paul.* 10) for the year 168 B.C. No *professio* was required in those days (Mommsen, *R. St.*, I, 502): "Können daher sogar am Wahltage selbst neue Candidaturen aufgestellt und auch wer sich nicht meldet, gewählt werden."

[5] Appian, *Pun.* 112, specifically mentions the consuls.

[6] The senators held out for some time (*aliquamdiu*, Livy *Per.* 50).

[7] Possible also the *lex Pinaria*, about which we know next to nothing. Livy, *Per.*, says that Scipio was *legibus solutus*.

[8] Lange, *op. cit.*, II, 259 f.

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were open to the same objection as so many other democratic measures—namely, that it was a *lex per saturam*, though, to be sure, we know scarcely anything about it.

The attitude of Lupus to all this can easily be surmised. He was a senator and successful candidate for the censorship at the time of Scipio's election. We know from Cicero (*Tusc.* iii. 51) that Lupus was opposed to Cato on the big political issue of the day—the third war with Carthage. Scipio's election to the consulship was due to the desire to send him to Africa, a scheme which Cato heartily favored. Evidently Lupus was one of the leaders in the opposition to the recognition of Scipio as consul.

We may thus imagine that in his first book Lucilius represents Lupus as heaping anathemas upon a senate which suspends the laws for an individual, and an individual, moreover, who has held no curule office previously; to whom Lucilius (or his spokesman) retorts: "What, you find fault with a senate which releases a duly elected aedile (there's your curule office for you) from the operation of laws that are *per saturam* (and therefore vicious and in spirit unconstitutional)?" Or, if Marx has placed the line correctly, the god who has been calling Lupus a *vulturius*, etc., goes on with his description of Lupus as a man who finds fault with a senate because it frees, etc. In either case, *aedilem factum* would have a humorous point such as we should expect in a burlesque like Lucilius' first book.[1]

We have then the testimony of the glosses for the terms *satura* and *lex per saturam*—a testimony made as strong as that of the *Digest* or the *Institutes* by Bannier's paper. For *lex per saturam* we have very probably also the testimony of Lucilius—as well as the probability of the expression. For the term *satura* (not *lex satura*) we have the testimony of Festus and Diomedes as well. The term *satura* did not, of course, come directly from the term *lex per saturam;* rather the latter suggested the possibility of using *satura*, "miscellany," in the restricted sense of a miscellaneous law. Yet scholars have been skeptical about its existence. Why should not anything at all that was of a miscellaneous nature be called a *satura*? Much,

[1] Cichorius (*Untersuch. z. Lucil.*, p. 234) builds up an explanation based on Marx's, though much less probable, and far more hypothetical, it seems to me, than the one just presented.

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if not all, of the skepticism is due to Festus' language. Since he follows up his definition of *satura* as a *lex* with examples of the phrase *per saturam*, it has been assumed that Verrius (Festus' source) misinterpreted the phrase *per saturam*. But in view of his extensive legal knowledge,[1] this assumption is extremely unlikely. Furthermore, it is hard to believe that Verrius, who could, as a boy, have known Sallust, failed to understand his own quotation from Sallust. Therefore there is either another lacuna in our text of Festus, based as it is on a solitary MS (that there is one lacuna is certain), or—and this is more likely—Festus has abridged Verrius carelessly at this point. Verrius may have gone on to say (after *conferta*) that *lex per saturam* was also used and that such a law was considered illegal, that hence (*itaque*), etc. As the passage stands, *itaque* is rather foolish.[2]

The further history of the phrase *per saturam* is of interest, but has never been adequately presented.[3] Perhaps the words of the Bobio scholia on Cicero's *Milo* 14 show best of all what connotation the phrase gathered to itself. After the words given above, the passage runs on: "et habebat nonnunquam conexio huiusmodi rerum multarum fraudulentas captiones, ut rebus aequis res improbae miscerentur atque ita blandimentis quibusdam obreperent ad optinenda ea quae si per se singulariter proponerentur, displicere deberent." The three ideas that associated themselves with the phrase, partly because of its etymology, partly because of its legal usage, were (1) fulness (completeness, plurality), which resulted in (2) miscellaneousness (confusion), which, in turn, was deliberately aimed at for (3) deceit (the connotation gained in the legal usage). Sometimes one or another of these ideas is prominent, sometimes two, sometimes all three, as in the passage just quoted (note *multarum, fraudulentas, miscerentur*). *Per se* and *singulariter* are here used as the opposites of *per saturam* in the first of these senses.

The phrase is used in a figurative sense for the first time by the

[1] In this connection a glance over the lemmata from Festus in Bruns's *Fontes* (7th ed.), covering more pages than the material from all other literary sources combined, is of interest.

[2] Diomedes has of course distorted his source still more than Festus.

[3] Funck, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, V (1888), 37, hardly does more than to give a list of the examples.

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archaizer Sallust (*Jug.* xxix. 5): "dein postero die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur." Note the apologetic *quasi*.[1] Here all three ideas are present. Ammianus Marcellinus, probably imitating Sallust, shows the same usage (xvi. 6. 3): "tamquam per saturam subito cubiculariis suffragantibus." Ammianus uses *tamquam* in place of *quasi*. Fronto (p. 212, Naber) has the following: "si divisa generatim argumenta nectemus, non sparsa nec sine discrimine aggerata, ut ea[2] quae per saturam feruntur, sed ut praecedens sententia in sequentem laciniam aliquam porrigat." Fronto goes back directly to the legal usage and adapts it in a simile. *Per saturam* here has only the first two senses, and in Fronto's own words means *sine discrimine aggerata* and is the opposite of *divisa generatim*.[3] In Charisius (K. ii. 194. 21), "adverbum stoici . . . . pandecten vocent. nam omnia in se capit quasi collata per saturam," the emphasis is on the first meaning, though the second is not excluded. The third, of course, has no place here. *Quasi* is again used. In *Panegyrici lat.* v. 11. 1, we find the following: "separate igitur utrumque dicam; neque enim quasi per saturam confundenda sunt tanta beneficia." *Per saturam* is contrasted with *separate;* thus the first meaning is prominent, but *confundenda* points to the second as well. Again we have *quasi*. Justinian, *Praef. dig.*, p. xv, goes back to the legal use:[4] "hoc opus . . . . non secundum edicti perpetui ordinationem, sed passim et quasi per saturam collectum et utile cum inutilibus mixtum." The emphasis is on the second sense, of confusion, *utile cum inutilibus mixtum*, in which he is thinking of the various parts of a *lex per saturam*. Cf. exactly the same use in *Codex Just.* vii. 6: "quapropter imperfecta Latinorum libertas incertis vestigiis titubat et quasi per saturam inducta adhuc remanet et non inutilis quidem pars eius deminuitur, quod autem ex ipsa

[1] The use of *sententiis* suggested the introduction of a figure from political language.

[2] Naber, following Heindorf, brackets *ea*—why, I do not know, unless it be through a misunderstanding of Fronto's meaning. The clause means "like those matters which are proposed (to a legislative body) in a lump." Cf. Scholia Bob. cited above: "ea quae si per se singulariter proponerentur."

[3] Possibly the use of *divisa* called to mind the *divisio sententiae* (cf. Scholia Bob. above) and suggested the figurative use of the legal term.

[4] Judging mechanically from the use of *quasi* or *tamquam*, Marx (on *Lucil.* 48) quite wrongly states that the phrase here and in Charisius, *Paneg. lat.*, and Ammianus was taken from Sallust.

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rationabile est, hoc in ius perfectum deducitur?" The *ius Latinum* was given to certain classes of freedmen by the *lex Junia* of 19 A.D. Justinian wishes to have the useless part of the law discarded and the useful and reasonable retained. Lactantius, i. 21. 13, gives the following: "Pescennius Festus in libris historiarum per saturam refert." Here we seem to have a different usage from that just discussed; there is no apologetic word and the phrase seems to limit a noun (*historiarum*) and not a verb. Apparently this is in imitation of the phrase *lex per saturam*. So also in the *Vita* of Boethius, and in a MS title of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.[1]

A closer examination of the phrase *per saturam* will be of value. For the *per*, one may compare *per se*, as used, e.g., in the Scholia Bob. cited above. Cf. also Pliny *Ep.* x. 117. This use belongs to the class called "Art und Weise" by Kühner.[2] As the preposition *in* may be used in exactly the same sense (the same class-name is used by Kühner, p. 568), it is not surprising that we have found an instance of *in saturam* instead of the usual *per saturam*. The closest parallel is *in plenum* (*plenum = saturum*), which in many cases was its successor. Very similar are *in universum*, *in omnia*, *per omnia* (note the same variation of preposition), *in totum* (Fr. *partout* from *per totum*). Some examples will show the close relation of these to our phrase and will throw light on its meaning: Pliny *N.H.* iv. 80: "in plenum quidem . . . . omnes Scytharum gentes . . . . variae tamen tenuere litora . . . . Daci," etc. Here *variae* is opposed to *in plenum*. In a similar passage in Caesar *B.G.* i. 51 we find (for Pliny's *variae*) "generatim constituerunt Harudes," etc. In the passage from Fronto cited above, *generatim* is used as a partial contrast to *per saturam*. Livy ix. 26. 8 reads "non nominatim [i.e., each by name] sed in universum." *In universum* is in this case partly parallel to *per saturam* as used by Sallust. *In totum* is the opposite of *in partem;* cf. Quint. iii. 6. 32. The analogy of these phrases shows that our phrase might have been *per* or *in saturum* or *satura* had not a noun *satura* already existed (cf. *in partem*).

We come now (*vix tandem!*) to *satura* as a literary term. It seems likely that this use developed out of the culinary meaning, in

[1] See below (p. 193) for these passages.

[2] *Lat. Gram.*, II (2d ed.), 557.

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view of the many parallels. Thus we have—and some of these have often been pointed out—*farsa*, *olio*, *olla podrida*, *mélanges*, *potpourri*, and even, in American newspaper English, hash and chop-suey. For cooking terms in literature we may compare also "macaronic poetry."

Let us take up, then, Hendrickson's main thesis, as outlined at the beginning of this article. Wheeler has shown that the absence of the word *satura* from extant writings antedating Horace's first book of satires is easily accounted for, his argument concerning the usage of Varro and Cicero being particularly cogent; but with regard to Horace he is not so convincing. The elegy of Propertius which he cites is not a perfect analogy. Nor does it seem to me that Horace avoided the word *satura* in the fourth satire from any stylistic motive. In my judgment, therefore, Hendrickson's point that the absence of the word from the first book of satires needs explanation is well taken. I cannot agree, however, with the one that he gives. I prefer to believe that the word *satura* did not definitely mean satire in the modern sense when Horace wrote his first book of *Sermones*, but still had, for the most part, the meaning of miscellany.[1] It was the miscellaneous character of their works that was indicated by the title *saturae* in the case of Ennius, Lucilius, and Varro.[2] When Horace cast about for a title to the first book of satires his choice did not light upon *Saturae*, chiefly because his poems were not strictly miscellanies, as he used only one meter.[3] So it was that he called them *Sermones*.

Hendrickson, following Marx, denies that *saturae* was used as a title by Ennius, Lucilius, and Varro. Neither offers any evidence for his belief, except that Hendrickson argues against its use by Varro. As for Ennius, the strongest evidence in favor of this title

[1] This explanation occurred to me immediately after reading Hendrickson's article and has already been suggested in print by Webb, who does not attempt, however, to go into details.

[2] Porphyrio on Horace *Epist.* i. 3. 1, classes them together: "hic Florus scriba fuit <et> saturarum scriptor, cuius sunt electae ex Ennio Lucilio Varrone saturae." Quint. x. 1. 95 also classifies Varro with Ennius by implication.

[3] See also below, p. 189. It should not be urged in opposition at this point, or elsewhere in this paper, that Horace's satires were miscellanies in content if not in form. It should be remembered that form was all-important. From the standpoint of content the lyrics of Catullus and Horace, the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius are miscellanies.

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is that of Nonius,[1] who regularly employs the formula "Ennius satyrarum libro I," etc. It is extremely improbable that Nonius here uses *satura* as a descriptive term, for he quotes the plays of Ennius by name, not using the generic "in fabula," and likewise constantly uses the formula "Ennius annalium libro I," etc. Nonius' evidence is supported by that of Gellius and Servius. For Lucilius the evidence is stronger. Books i–xxv are cited by Nonius under the formula "Lucilius satyrarum libro I," etc., Books xxvi–xxx, under the formula "Lucilius libro xxvi," etc. The difference has been explained as arising from the fact that two different individuals excerpted Lucilius for Nonius. Whether this be so or not, it is highly probable that two manuscripts were used, one of which included *satyrarum* as a part of the title. Of course it will be argued that this evidence proves nothing for Lucilius' usage. True —but it creates a strong presumption. Furthermore, *saturae* was clearly the title of Lucilius' work at least as early as Suetonius, as can be seen from the following (*De gram.* ii): "ut C. Octavius Lampadio Naevii Punicum bellum, . . . . ut postea Q. Vargunteius annales Ennii, . . . . ut Laelius Archelaus Vettiusque Philocomus Lucilii saturas." *Saturas* is clearly as much a title as *Punicum bellum* and *Annales*.

As for Varro, we have strong evidence for the use of the term *saturae*. In a list of Varro's works found in a letter of Jerome, are found the titles *Satyrarum libri* and *Satyrarum Menippearum libri*. Hendrickson admits[2] that the list was based on information derived from Varro himself, but believes that the two titles mentioned represent the "interpretative classification of a later time." The assumption that Varro's own titles were changed in this list is certainly not justified. Furthermore, we have strong evidence for the term *saturae Menippeae* in Gellius (ii. 18): "Menippus cuius libros M. Varro in satiris aemulatus est, quas alii cynicas, ipse appellat Menippeas." Hendrickson's interpretation, by which he aims to discredit the title *saturae*, lacks probability. And even if we could admit that this title might be due to later "interpretative

[1] Hendrickson by his silence rejects Nonius' testimony concerning the titles of Ennius and Lucilius, but accepts it for Varro (*Class. Phil.*, VI, 342), an inconsistency which he does not explain.

[2] *Class. Phil.*, VI, 342.

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classification," why was it chosen? From Horace's time on, *satura* meant satire in our modern sense, almost exclusively. Since Varro's Menippeans were not primarily satirical but miscellaneous,[1] the title *saturae* would not likely have been given to them after the time of Horace. Hendrickson cites Apuleius' classification of the "Greek writings of the Cynic Crates of Thebes" as satires to illustrate the use of the "descriptive terminology of his time." Passing over the fact that this is really arguing in a circle, for the reading "Crates" is an emendation for "Xenocrates" based on the assumption that Apuleius meant *saturas* in the sense of satirical pieces, it is quite evident that Apuleius is using generic terms, not titles. There is no comparison between this passage on the one hand and the titles in Jerome's list and Gellius' words on the other. In the latter two we are dealing with titles; in Apuleius a title would be out of place.[2]

It seems clear, then, that *saturae* was the title, or part of it, in the works of Ennius, Lucilius, and Varro under discussion. We might perhaps grant, if strong evidence were presented, that the title of one of these works was altered, but that this could have taken place in the case of all three is utterly incredible.

Hendrickson has shown in a most interesting and convincing way that there was great enthusiasm for Lucilius in the ten years following 40 B.C. Now Lucilius' poems were called *saturae*, "miscellanies," but the striking element in them was the satirical—so striking that the word *satura* lost to a large extent its original meaning and took on during this period of enthusiasm the new meaning of satire.[3] It is much easier to suppose that because of the great interest in the satirical element of Lucilius' *saturae* this title acquired the meaning satire than that a new word was evolved out of a phrase "sermones

[1] See the words which Cicero (*Acad. post.* i. 2. 8) puts into Varro's mouth: "in illis veteribus nostris, quae Menippum imitati, non interpretati, quadam hilaritate conspersimus, multa admixta ex intima philosophia, multa dicta dialectice, quae, quo facilius minus docti intelligerent, iucunditate quadam ad legendum invitati." Cf. also Vahlen's *Ennius*, 2d ed., p. ccxv.

[2] As each of Varro's *saturae* had its own subtitle, Nonius naturally uses this in citation in preference to the comprehensive title of the whole work.

[3] Hendrickson, in an earlier article (*A.J.P.*, XV, 29) aptly cites the change in meaning of "epigram." A still closer parallel is the English word "essay," used in a number of non-literary senses, and as a literary term "originally implying want of finish, an irregular undigested piece" (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*). The present usage, of a composition of careful style, etc., apparently dates from Montaigne.

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per saturam."[1]. The tendency which ended in the loss of the meaning miscellany and the gain of that of satire probably set in even in Lucilius' day, for it was only his earlier books (xxvi–xxx) that were truly miscellaneous—in various meters—while the later books (i–xxi) were all in the hexameter. This tendency met a temporary check when Varro, by introducing prose, made his *saturae* more miscellaneous than any others ever had been—and Varro had some influence on Horace.[2] Naturally the Lucilians of Horace's day tried to out-Lucilius Lucilius in the use of the term. Since Horace was opposed to them on so many other points, it is not unlikely that he was opposed to their term for the genus which he and they were cultivating, especially in view of the formlessness which it suggests,[3] and postponed using it until he was practically forced to by popular usage. We can perhaps even see traces of his reluctance in the two passages of the second book in which he uses the term. In the first of these (ii. 1. 1) he is quoting the opinion of those who ignorantly class him with Lucilius and the Lucilians ("sunt quibus in satura videor nimis acer"). It is their term that he is using. In ii. 6. 17 ("saturis Musaque pedestri") we have in the last two words a reminiscence of one of the matters that he and the Lucilians quarreled over: Horace maintained that his and Lucilius' verses were not poetry (*Serm.* i. 4. 39). May we not see a reference to another point at issue in the word *saturis*? Horace would thus imply: "Yes, I accept your term *satura*, but refuse, all the more, to call my verses poetry." Elsewhere Horace prefers to call his satires *sermones*.

Another line of inquiry furnishes evidence confirmatory of our position. If the literary history of the word *satura* as outlined above

[1] This title was suggested by Marx (*Lucilius*, p. xiv) without any reason for rejecting *saturae*, as we have seen, and without any relevant evidence to support his suggestion. He cites as a parallel "Αρατος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ λεπτόν, whence Vergil's *Catalepta*. The parallel proves too much, for if Lucilius' poems had been called *sermones per saturam* the later word for satire would have been *persaturam*. *Per* is an integral part of the phrase. See above, p. 182.

[2] Fritzsche, Horace *Serm.*, pp. 28 f. At the same time Lucilian satire influenced Varro to some extent. Birt (*Z. pol. Satiren d. alten Roms*, p. 28, n. 1) compares Varro's *Bimarcus* (53 B), "et magnae mandonum gulae," with Lucilius (946 Marx): "atque omnes mandonum gulae." Cf. also the differentiation of *poesis* and *poema*, Lucilius 338 f. Marx; Varro 398 B.

[3] For this very reason, no doubt, Lucilius chose the term *satura*, as he did *schedium* (see below). This characteristic of Lucilius and the Lucilians was highly offensive to Horace, as *Serm.* i. 4 and i. 10 show.

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is correct, if in an earlier stage it meant miscellany and did not definitely acquire the meaning of satire in the modern sense until the time of Horace, then we should expect that only after it was thoroughly established in the language in this sense could it be used of "a satire," i.e., of one poem. For if it could be shown that Horace used the word both in the general sense of satire and in the specific one of a single *sermo*, then the history of the word as just given is called into question, since it is unlikely that it would so quickly[1] lose its original meaning that it could be used of a single poem, when before that it meant a *collection* of *miscellaneous* poems. On the other hand, if we find that the use of *satura* of a single poem was introduced at a later period, we have strong circumstantial evidence that the above outline is correct. It may be argued that Ennius[2] and Lucilius used *satura* of a single poem, judging from the title *saturae*—in the plural—indicated by such references as "in sexto saturarum," etc. The answer to this is that each book was a *satura*, and Ennius' work consisted of eight books, Lucilius' of thirty.[3]

Since *satura* did not at first mean a single poem, we can explain the absence of the word from many passages in Lucilius and Horace. We find, too, an explanation for the facts that Ingersoll has gathered: Lucilius used the word *schedium*, among others, for the single poems of a collection called *satura*.

Let us see, then, what the use of our word reveals. The two passages in which Horace uses it have already been quoted. In the first of these he employs it in the generic sense; in the second, he refers vaguely by use of the plural to the two books of satires and any others he might publish in the future—as if he had said *libris*.[4] When Horace speaks of a single satire he uses *carmen*, as in ii. 6. 22, or *versus*, as in ii. 1. 21.[5] Lucilius' word *schedium* he of course does not use at all, for it was even more objectionable than *satura*.

[1] I.e., between 40 and 30 B.C. [2] So Schanz, *Röm. Litt.*, 3d ed., p. 203.

[3] Kiessling (Horace *Serm.* Intro.), compares Statius' *silvarum libri* and Suetonius' *pratorum libri*. Lejay (Horace *Serm.*, p. ciii) compares Fr. *des mélanges* (not *un mélange*) and It. *miscellanea*. The citation of these parallels does not explain the usage. The explanation must be essentially the same as that here given for *saturae*.

[4] Hoelser, *op. cit.*, p. 5, unnecessarily changes to *satura*. It is of course possible here, and in some of the examples that follow, to take *satura* to mean a single satire. My point is that such an interpretation is not necessary, nor even likely, in view of the evidence I present.

[5] The term *ecloga* applied to the single satires of Horace in the MSS, scholia, and elsewhere, probably arose before *satura* had developed the specific meaning of a single

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The title of Persius' single book of satires throws an interesting light on our problem. The best MS, the famous Montpellier MS of Persius and Juvenal (P), starts out with "Thebaidorum[1] Persi Satura," has "Persi satura" at the top of each right-hand page, and ends with "explicit Persius Thebaidorum Satura." This alone would be enough to show that the correct title for Persius' book is "satura." But the MSS belonging to Sabinus' recension point to the same title. The MSS that are considered the best representatives of the class (A and B) have "Persii Flacci satyra[2] incipit," though at the end they have "Persi Flacci satyrarum explicit feliciter." It is to be remembered that the use of *satura* to mean a collection of poems would be unfamiliar to most copyists and would therefore be exceedingly susceptible to change—as witness our modern editors.[3] Thus its retention is a warrant of fidelity. Especially is this true of P's copyist, for whom the temptation to change would be very great, since the text of Persius is followed by that of Juvenal, with its *saturarum liber* as an "explicit." The evidence then is decisive: Persius called his book "satura," which indicates that in his day *satura* did not yet mean a single poem, but still meant a collection of poems in one book.

Statius uses the word *satura* once (*Silv.* i. 3. 103) and there clearly in the generic sense. Quintilian seems to use *satura* only as the generic term (x. 1. 95), or to mean a collection of poems: ix. 2. 36, *in satura tradit Ennius;* ix. 3. 9 (referring to Persius' collection), *in satura est.* It seems impossible to decide whether Martial used *satura* of a single satire or of a collection (xi. 10. 1; xii. 94. 7). The latter is entirely possible and seems to me very likely in view of the facts that will be presented in a moment.

Juvenal uses the singular in the generic sense three times (i. 30; iv. 106; vi. 634), and the plural, either of single poems or of a collec-

poem. Perhaps this was during the first century A.D., at a time when Statius used the term of the single poems in his *Silvae.* Statius seems to be the first to use it in this sense. Varro (*apud* Char. 120. 28 K) used it in the original sense: "eclogas ex Annalei descriptas."

[1] It has been suggested that this word crept in from a MS containing both Statius and Persius, as one at Paris.

[2] It is interesting to note that P has the better spelling. It is likely that Sabinus was responsible for the change to the form current in his day (fifth century).

[3] The most recent critical edition, by Leo (4th ed. of Jahn's Persius and Juvenal, 1910) follows earlier editions in retaining the title *Persi Saturarum liber.*

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tion, once (iii. 321). The title is of interest. The best MS, P (the same as the P of Persius), has no inscription, but at the end of Book i has the words: "Iuni Iuvenalis saturarum liber I explicit," and similarly at the end of Books ii, iii, and iv. This MS, like all the others of Juvenal, is incomplete. The same *explicit* for Book i is found in B, a fragmentary MS, ending at vi. 437, that is cited by Leo (4th ed. of Jahn). Thus the title of Juvenal's five books was clearly *saturarum libri* as against the *satura* of Persius.

It is agreed that the book-division of Juvenal as found in the MSS goes back to Juvenal himself. Now it happens that the second book consists of but one satire, the sixth, the longest of all and fully capable of filling a book. It seems not improbable that in this fact we have the origin of the usage which we have been investigating—the application of the term *satura* to a single poem. Of course it may be argued that this is effect, not cause. But we have seen that to Persius *satura* did not yet have any such force, and we have found no example in which it necessarily had it previous to Juvenal's sixth satire. Beginning with Suetonius positive examples of *satura* in reference to one poem are common (*De gram.* 5): "fecitque . . . . saturam quoque, in qua libertinum se ac duplici cognomine esse per haec indicat," (*ibid.* 15) "Sallustium acerbissima satura laceravit."[1]

To sum up this portion of the paper, *satura* was first used to mean a collection of miscellaneous poems. In Horace's time it came to be used of a collection of satirical poems and of the genus satire. Finally in the time of Juvenal it began to be applied to a single poem of satirical nature.

Let us now turn our attention to several works which were in form imitations, more or less close, of Varro's *Menippeans*, to see whether we may glean any facts of interest from their titles. When Seneca wrote his Menippean satire concerning Claudius he did not entitle it "satura." He probably called it *Apocolocyntosis*, as Dio reports. The best MS has: "Divi Claudi apotheosis Annaei Senecae per saturam," which Teuffel suggests was introduced when the meaning of the original title became obscure. For Petronius' miscellany of prose and poetry, Buecheler adopts the title *saturae*,

[1] It is not certain, though probable, that this book was written by Suetonius after Juvenal's sixth satire had been published.

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though some of the MSS give *satyricon*.[1] If Petronius used *saturae*, he used it in the Varronian sense.[2] Hendrickson suggests that possibly the phrase *per saturam* was attached to the titles of Boethius' *De consolatione* and of the encyclopedia of Martianus Capella, basing his suggestion on a sentence in the mediaeval *vita* of Boethius: "in quo [carcere] repositus hos libros per satyram edidit, imitatus videlicet Martianum Felicem Capellam." Whether this be true or not, it is interesting to see that the phrase *per saturam* is used of two works that are in effect Menippean satires, just as it was used of Seneca's skit. Pescennius Festus' *libri historiarum per saturam* (Lact. *Inst.* i. 21. 13) were perhaps of the same sort. Thus the evidence would seem to indicate that the term *libri per saturam* came into use in the third century as a designation for Menippean satires. This was only to be expected, for after Juvenal's time *satura* would hardly be used as a title in the Varronian sense. Yet the feeling for the etymological force never died out. For example, it had some influence on Juvenal. When in i. 86 he says : "nostri farrago libelli est," he is thinking of the literal meaning of *satura*, as defined by Varro.

The idea of miscellany is present in the work of Martianus Capella also—in fact he manages to convey to us almost as much about the history of the word *satura* in his incidental verse as Diomedes in his grammatical treatise. We must pay a tribute to him for having succeeded in disguising his information so well that modern scholars have not discovered it! Particularly striking are verses ix. 997 ff.

> Habes senilem Martiane fabulam
> miscilla lusit quam lucernis flamine
> Satura . . . .
> haec quippe loquax docta indoctis adgerans
> fandis tacenda farcinat, immiscuit
> musas deosque . . . .
> haec ipsa nauci rupta conscientia
> turgensque felle ac bile . . . .

[1] Marx (*Lucil.*, p. x) believes that the word *satyricus* did not come into use until the third century. The word does not occur until that time, if we reject the testimony of the several Petronius MSS.

[2] Did Petronius perhaps publish, or at least begin, his *saturae* before Persius' *satura* was published? If so, he would feel justified in using the title, since the last previous writer of importance to use it was Varro, whom Petronius was imitating in form.

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Note the allusion to Varro's etymology of a *genus farciminis*[1] in "farcinat"; the miscellaneous character is shown in "miscilla" and "immiscuit," the satirical element in "felle ac bile."[2]

The results of this investigation, then, are as follows: the word *satura* is an independent noun, originally used as a neuter plural adjective. Its first meaning probably was "filling," from which all the other meanings seem to be derived. The phrase "per saturam" was properly a political term, and out of it arose the combination "lex per saturam," which we have restored in a line of Lucilius, thus giving the latter a new interpretation. *Satura*, too, was used of an omnibus law. When *per saturam* is found in a non-political context there is always evidence that its use was regarded as figurative. We have dissected the phrase and compared it with others, thereby gaining a clearer notion of its meaning. As a literary term, we have concluded that *satura* did not lose its early meaning of medley and take on the meaning satire until the time of Horace, and that its application to a single poem began after the time of Persius, perhaps in Juvenal's day. In the third century "libri per saturam" seems to have come into use to supply the need of a term meaning medley.[3]

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[1] Since Martianus made extensive use of Varro (Eyssenhardt's edition, pp. xxxii f.) and apparently none of Suetonius or Diomedes, it is very likely that in using the strange word *farcinat* he is alluding directly to Varro's definition. Thus we have an independent witness for it—an item of importance in view of the skepticism displayed towards Diomedes' statement. The fact, too, that Martianus introduces the various ideas about *satura* into his apparent imitation of Varro's *Menippeans* may indicate that Webb is right in supposing that Varro spoke of the origin of satire in his *Menippeans*. In this connection a comparison of Martianus' work with the fragments of the *Menippeans* might prove of interest.

[2] Note, too, vi. 576, "lepidula . . . . Satura iocabunda"; viii. 807, "tam tristibus asperisque Saturae alioquin lepidulae verberibus demulcatus," etc.

[3] It was the original intention to publish as a part of this paper a discussion, already written, of the so-called dramatic *satura*, based largely on the famous passage in Livy vii. 2. The unexpected length to which the present paper has grown makes it advisable to postpone such a discussion for the time being.

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# HOMERICA

## I. ἄκρητον γάλα, ι 297

By W. A. Oldfather

The brutal Cyclops has just devoured two of Odysseus' companions for his evening meal. Then "we wept and lifted up our hands to Zeus at sight of these dread deeds, and helpless fear gat hold of our hearts. But when the Cyclops had filled his huge maw, devouring the flesh of men and drinking thereafter unmixed milk, he lay down within the cave stretched out among the sheep." The attentive reader must surely be struck by the curious phrase "unmixed milk" (*ἄκρητον γάλα*). The text is perfectly sound; there is not a single MS variant, and an old scholium guarantees the antiquity of the reading. The translators in different languages vary in turning the word either with "pure"[1] or "unmixed," Messrs. Butcher and Lang discreetly omitting the word entirely. The commentators leave us almost entirely in the lurch, only a few deigning to note the word and they shedding no real light on its meaning. An exception must be made, however, in favor of our oldest commentator, the source of the scholiast of MS H, but here a corrupt and misunderstood text has stood in the way of the exact interpretation of this passage, as I shall show at the end of this paper.

It will be convenient to consider such chance opinions as I have been able to find on this subject in their chronological order. W. Dindorf, in the revised Thesaurus, collects passages where *ἄκρητον* is used of water, and then cites our verse with the observation that this is an instance of *katachresis*. If this be true of Homer,[2] the same must be said of similar usages in Sophron, Antipater of Sidon, and Dio Cassius, and so much misuse of a word among good authors is surprising. In employing a word like "unmixed," you naturally imply that the substance you are speaking of is frequently mixed with other things, e.g., unmixed wine is wine without the common

[1] Of course "pure" in a literal sense the milk could not have been. In the sense of "mere," it is pointless.

[2] I take *ἀκήρατον* in Ω 303 (*ἀκήρατον ὕδωρ*) as only a doublet of *ἄκρητον*.



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admixture of water, unmixed water is water without the admixture of salt, mud, sand, alkali, etc. Therefore, unmixed milk should be milk which has not been mixed with that substance with which, under the circumstances, you might have expected it to be mixed. It is more appropriate to look for that substance than to assume faulty usage.

To K. F. Ameis in a note on this passage is due an explanation which has imposed on Buchholz,[1] La Roche,[2] and even on such a scholar as O. Hentze.[3] In his own words: "Die mässigen Griechen tranken auch die fette Milch meist mit Wasser gemischt wie den Wein," to which La Roche adds that for the Cyclops to drink his milk *ἄκρητον*, i.e., "straight," was "auch ein Zeichen der Unmässigkeit." For this bit of *Scholiastenweisheit* no authorities are adduced, or, perhaps, adduceable. Instances of adulteration of milk with water are not unheard of, but they are generally induced by commercial motives rather than by those of temperance. Despite a few known cases of watering milk for one's own consumption[4], the Cyclops was, nevertheless, perhaps the last person in the world of Homeric figures of whom one might have expected such refinement in matters of food and drink as to make it a significant fact that he drank even his milk "straight." Not to mention other evidence that his tastes were not in all respects very finical, it will perhaps be sufficient to observe that the evening meal in question was a couple of raw human beings whom he grasped and "hurled to the ground like puppies, and their brains oozed out and soaked the earth. And he cut them up and made ready his meal, and devoured them like a mountain-bred lion, the entrails, the meat, and the marrowy bones, and left nothing!"

Professors Perrin and Seymour in their edition (Boston, 1897, *ad*

[1] *Die homerischen Realien*, II, 1, Leipsig, 1881, p. 150.

[2] Ed. Wien, 1892, *ad loc.*

[3] In the 9th ed., Leipsig, 1895, *ad loc.*

[4] Dr. J. D. Fitzgerald calls my attention to the fact that occasionally in the Midi and in Spain milk is diluted with water before drinking. I can find no evidence of such a custom among modern Greek peasants; indeed, the widespread habit of compelling the milkman to do his milking in the presence of the purchaser in order to guard against diluting the milk (cf. George Horton, *Modern Athens*, New York, 1901, pp. 40 f.) implies that the Greek does not care to purchase, at least, the combination of milk and water. As no books on Modern Greece which I have seen mention the habit, and none of my friends who have spent several years in the country have observed it, I judge that it cannot be a widespread custom, even if it exists at all.

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*loc.*) observe that the epithet is "half-humorous . . . . from the custom of diluting wine." I am inclined to challenge even the "half-humorous" in this connection. To be sure, there is much humor in Homer, more than is commonly recognized perhaps, and especially in the Cyclopeia, though even here mainly toward the end, where the witty trick of Odysseus is succeeding, or about to succeed, and the situation is less tense. But here humor, even half-humor, were obviously out of place. Few passages in ancient literature are more realistically horrible than this, the monster at his loathsome feast, the wretched survivors cowering in the recesses of the cave and raising their hands to Zeus in anguish and despair. It is incredible that in the midst of this Homer would perpetrate a silly pun in the feeblest style of Charles Lamb.

To an American sociologist, Dr. Keller,[1] we owe the latest explanation I have seen. He observes that the epithet here (together with some quite inconsequential praise of the abundance of pastoral products in Libya) "seems to point to a scarcity of the article [namely milk] in Greece." This remark implies not only that milk was positively scarce in Greece, but also that when milk is scarce people who live upon it add water so as to increase its bulk for their own consumption. Now there is very little that could be accepted as evidence for the first point, i.e., that the pastoral population of Heroic times suffered from a permanent shortage in milk supply,[2] and I know of none at all for the second.

Yet another explanation, which surprisingly enough seems never to have been offered, would be that we have here a misplaced stereotyped epithet of the type of the "starry heavens." To this we answer that the combination *ἄκρητον γάλα* occurs nowhere else in extant Greek literature and so could never have been a stereotyped formula, and even in connection with wine, *ἄκρητον* was so seldom used that it could not possibly owe its presence here to an inept intrusion from a memory well stored with verse tags. Even at that, however, this would be a better explanation than any of the preceding.

[1] Homeric Society, New York, 1902, p. 47. The second edition I have not been able to consult.

[2] Compare the famous simile, II 641 ff., of the spring time when the white milk wets the pails; and certainly the 10,000 ewes which are being milked in the court of a rich man (Λ 433 ff.) are, despite the obvious exaggeration, suggestive of abundance.

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But we do not need it. As suggested above, all we have to do is to find some substance with which the milk in this particular connection might very naturally have been mixed. To do so we shall have to look only a little away from this very passage. The first thing the thrifty Odysseus observed on entering the cave was the large number of willow baskets that were heavy with cheese (vs. 219), and a little later on he describes a portion of the Cyclops' evening chores in these words: "Then he sat down and milked the ewes and bleating goats all orderly, and beneath each ewe he placed her young, and anon he curdled [literally "he treated"] one-half of the white milk and massed it together and stored it in wicker baskets, and the other half he let stand in pails, that he might have it to drink against supper time" (Butcher and Lang). You will observe that it is the *fresh* milk which he curdles, a process which must therefore have been accomplished by artificial means, and this curdled milk is then put into wicker baskets for the whey to drain off—as nowadays a bit of cloth (called cheese-cloth for that reason) is used in making cottage cheese. This process was preparatory to pressing it firmly together into the large and solid cheese cakes at some later occasion. We have already observed that the milk was artificially curdled, but how? At present rennet is regularly used for this purpose, and such use of rennet was known to the Greeks also, but that was not the earliest process employed, nor the commonest. Originally they extracted the juice of the wild fig tree, *ὀπός* they called it, and stirred a few drops of it into a bucket of milk, which then coagulated with great rapidity. Aristotle in several passages describes and tries to explain the process (see the index of Bonitz, *s.v.*), and references to it are frequent in the lexicographers.[1] Empedocles[2] described his world-constructing force of *φιλία* under the figure of the *ὀπός*, "which bolts and binds the white milk." But, more to the point, Homer was himself perfectly familiar with the process. In the *Iliad* (E 902 ff.) the physician-god Paeon heals Ares by rubbing ointments over the wound, and then: "Even as fig juice

[1] Apoll. Soph. *Lex. Hom.* 122, 3: *ὀπός· τὸ τῶν δένδρων δάκρυον . . . . εἰδικῶς μέντοι Ὁμηρος οἶδεν ὀπόν τινα λεγόμενον ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ κτλ*; Hesych. *s.v. πυτίων* (MSS) is inaccurate in speaking of it as *βοτάνη τις, δι' οὗ πήγνυται τὸ γάλα*; Suidas (*s.v.*), *τὸ ἀποστάλαγμα τοῦ γάλακτος*, and *s.v. πυτία· ὁ ὀπὸς ὁ τυρεύων τὸ γάλα*. Compare further especially *Dioskorides* I, 184 (copied by Pliny 23, 7) and Varro, *R.R.* 2, 11.

[2] Frg. 33 Diels[2] *ap. Plut. Mor.* 95*a*.

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[ὀπός[1]] maketh haste to thicken white milk, that is liquid but curdleth speedily as a man stirreth, even so swiftly healed he impetuous Ares" (Lang, Leaf and Myers). The "unmixed milk" is now perfectly plain. The Cyclops had stirred a few drops of ὀπός into half of his milk in order to curdle it for making cheese; the rest of his milk he left as it was for drinking purposes, i.e., he did not mix in any of the coagulating juice; it was therefore, properly speaking, the "unmixed milk" which he drank later on, after supper. We might have called it the "sweet," or the "straight," or "ordinary" milk, but it was strictly and literally "unmixed," exactly what the poet called it without any danger of being misunderstood by his audience, ruder perhaps, but in this detail at least more sophisticated than some of his later commentators. Some, I say, for I believe the source of the scholium in H had the correct idea. At present (in Dindorf's ed.) it reads thus: *ἀπεριμιγὲς ἔχον καὶ ὀρρῶδες καὶ τὸ τυρῶδες καὶ τὸ ἐλαιῶδες*. This is obviously corrupt, even for scholiastic Greek. We should read *ἀπερίμιγές· ἔχον καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ὀρρῶδες κτλ*, and this reading is substantiated by the form which originally the same note takes in Eustathios (1630, 39, *ad loc.*): *ἄκρητον δὲ γάλα λέγει ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἔτι τὸ τυρῶδες καὶ τὸ ἐλαιῶδες καὶ τὸ ὀρῶδες*, which means "unmixed milk is that which still contains the element of cheese [the curds], that of oil [the butter, or cream] and that of whey," in other words, milk which contains its three most obvious parts as yet unseparated either by standing (for the cream), or by curdling for the separation of curds and whey.[2]

[1] As a lexicographical note might be added the following: *ὀπός* = rennet as the curdler par excellence. Schol. B on E 902: *ὁ δὲ ὀπὸς ἡ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις λεγομένη πιτύα· ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν σύκων ὀπόν· βέλτιον δὲ τὸ πρῶτον*; and Eusth. *ad loc.*, 619, 41: *κυρίως ὀπὸς καλεῖται ἡ τὸν τυρὸν συμπήττουσα πυετία . . . . τῶν τις δὲ παλαιῶν φησιν· ὀπὸς ἡ πυτία . . . .* obviously, as the quotation shows, a usage very much older than the time of even Schol. B. This is perhaps what Dindorf had in mind in the Thes. *s.v. πυτία* with the observation: "alio nomine *ὀπός* dictum *κατ' ἐξοχήν*," but he has not expressed himself with perfect clearness.

The byform *πιτύα* for *πυτία* for *πυετία*, rennet. See Theophrastos, *Hist. Plant.*, 9, 11, 3, *φώκης πιτύᾳ*, and frg. 125 (Phot. *Bibl.* 278, 8), *ἡ φώκη ἐξεμεῖ τὴν πιτύαν*; Schol. B on E 902 (above). It is also a variant reading in Aristotle *περὶ θαυμασ. ἀκουσμ.* 77 (835*b*, 31), which is a close parallel to the passages from Theophrastos, and again in *περὶ ζῴων γεν.* 1, 20, 18 (729*a*, 12). Compare further Hesych. *πιτία*, changed by Schmidt to *πυτία*, and Schneider's *Theophrastos* (Leipsig, 1821), V, 480.

[2] Much interesting material regarding the names for milk and the value set upon it in Indo-Germanic times is contained in Hermann Brunnhofer's interesting monograph: Γάλα, *Lac, der graeco-italische Name der Milch*, Aarau, 1871.

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## II. *κουρίδιος ἄλοχος* A 114 *et passim*

Very different is the question concerning the significance of *κουρίδιος*, an adjective occurring frequently in Homer[1] in agreement with words referring to the marriage relation, and but rarely elsewhere.[2] One is here embarrassed by the multitude of counselors. The true etymology and the original significance of the word were in dispute already in antiquity, and frequent have been the discussions in modern times.[3] It would take many pages to enumerate the different explanations that have been offered and to point out their shortcomings in detail, so I shall merely state my own opinion and then give the arguments for it at some length, not because it is an entirely new view, but because no elaborate attempt has yet been made to demonstrate the correctness of it.

I feel certain that the adjective is derived from *κοῦρος* or *κούρη*, *κόρη* to which the suffix *-ίδιος* (originally doubtless *-ϝίδιος*; cf. Brugmann's discussion cited in note 3, below) has been added, as *νύμφη*, *νυμφίδιος*, etc., and that the primary significance is "of or pertaining to youth," either male or female, in the widest sense. At the same time the word in Homer, frequently at least,[4] means "of or pertaining to formal marriage," and universally bears this meaning in the later literature. The difficulty of squaring these two facts has called out several very different etymologies, no one of which, however, can be considered plausible. The derivation from *κοῦρος*, "youth," is certain for the following reasons: (1) it is so obvious that if any reasonable explanation can be given it must be accepted, and this explanation can in my opinion be furnished; (2) it is the derivation which the

[1] It is used with *ἄλοχος*, A 114, H 392, A 243, N 626, T 298, *ξ* 245, *ο* 356; *πόσις*, E 414, *λ* 430, *ψ* 150, *ω* 200; *ἀνήρ*, *τ* 266, *ω* 196; *γυνή*, *ν* 45; *φίλος*, *ο* 22; *δῶμα*, *τ* 580 (= *φ* 78); *λέχος* O 40.

[2] The best survey of the usage is in L. Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, II (Leipzig, 1901), 386 f.

[3] The earlier literature is best summed up in Ebeling's *Lexicon*, *s.v.* I add the most important contributions with which I am familiar since the date of that publication: W. Schulze, *Quaest. Epic.*, Gütersloh, 1892, p. 85, n. 2; W. Prellwitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* XIX (1893), 318, n. 1; L. Meyer, *loc. cit.*; A. Bezzenberger, *Bezz. Beitr.* XXVII (1902), 170; K. Brugmann, *Indog. Forsch.* XVI (1904), 492; W. Prellwitz, *Etymol. Wörterb. d. griech. Sprache*,[2] Göttingen, 1905, p. 240; Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg and Paris, 1911, pp. 503 f.; Zubatý, *Listy filologické*, 31 (1904), 409–19, has not been accessible.

[4] See below at the end.

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Greeks generally gave; and (3)—a point which has never been noted but seems quite conclusive—as a cult-epithet of Apollo (who had nothing specifically to do with marriage), the original significance "of or pertaining to youth" is maintained.[1] Considering the extreme tenacity of cult-titles and appellations, this usage unmistakably points to a time when κουρίδιος was commonly recognized to mean that which on its face it should. Apollo was a god of youth and youths under this name, and any other interpretation of it is impossible.

In order to explain the postulated development and restriction of meaning it is necessary to look a little outside Homer for a better understanding of the conditions obtaining in primitive marriage. Aristarchos' principle, Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν, was needed at his time, and always will be, in order to guard against confusing ideas and attitudes of mind that belong to quite different levels of culture, and not a little modern criticism, as well as a very great deal of what the ancients did, is useless for this very reason. But to compare Homer with the same general stage of culture as his own, a stage which, in externals at least, has been reached pretty much over the whole world, and on points where he is reticent or obscure (as, for example, precisely in this matter of the marriage relation) to contrast the well-understood conditions which have prevailed in similar civilizations, past and present, is not only justifiable, but necessary, if we wish to understand the little which the poet actually does tell us.

Now among polygamous peoples, who, in general, are at about the same level of culture regarding the social status of women as Homer, we find marriage primarily an economic institution, rarely and then

[1] For Apollo κουρίδιος see Hesych. *s.v.*, and especially at Amyklai and Sparta *s.v.* κυναικίας; Sosibios (*F.H.G.*, II, 627, 11); cf. Libanios II, p. 371 M, etc. That this Apollo was τετράχειρ and τετράωτος has no apparent significance for the name κουρίδιος, cf. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa II, Sp. 70, 31 ff. The function referred to in this name is evidently the same as that meant by κούρεος (at Teos, *B.C.H.*, 1880, p. 168), κουροτρόφος (schol. on *Odyssey* τ 86; Eusth. *Il.*, 1293, 3, and *Od.*, 1856, 33), etc., as Apollo was to a striking degree the god of young persons (see the latest very excellent discussion of this point in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, 1907, 148, and the references, pp. 371 f.). Athene was also closely related to Apollo in this aspect as she too was one of the θεοὶ κουροτρόφοι (cf. Farnell I, 1896, p. 328, and Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 1205 f.). Compare her titles κορία (Paus., 8, 21, 3) and κορησία (Steph. *Byz. s.v.* κόριον), and for the close connection between Apollo and Athene in this aspect, the dissertation of C. Bruchmann, *De Apolline et Minerva deis medicis*, Breslau, 1885, p. 37 (not 36 as Gruppe cites it).

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mainly by accident illumined by that romantic halo which we conventionally assume for it. A woman represents among the poor either so much labor-power, like an ox or a mule, and so is carefully bargained for, or else, as among the rich and powerful, she brings in, by cementing friendly relations with influential folk, such prestige, power, or wealth, that the most elaborate covenants and contracts are drawn up between her past and her future owners. Indeed, so prosaic a thing is marriage to the vast majority of the human race, past and present, that a wedding without first buying up the bride and her parents, or else bribing the husband and his relatives, is difficult to imagine. Now this purpose of strengthening the husband's family by an accession of labor-power, capital, or prestige, being the dominant motive for marriage, it naturally follows that there is everywhere felt a strong inclination toward early marriage, while the son is yet a member of his father's house. Benziger[1] gives a vivid description of how among the fellaheen of the Turkish empire the marriage is completely arranged for in all its business details by the parents of the prospective bride and groom (who are always in their early teens when not even younger), and how the son and his young and vigorous wife remain under the parental roof and help to maintain the establishment. It is stated of the Basutos of South Africa, that "the choice of the great wife [i.e., the first wife] is generally made by the father, and all the relations are interested," while the later wives are significantly called "the heels," and the father is not expected to contribute to their support.[2] Similarly Hagar sees to getting an Egyptian wife for Ishmael (Gen. 21:21), Abraham feels the responsibility of securing a wife for Isaac (Gen., chap. 34), and even the footloose and unconventional Samson came to his father and mother and said: "I have seen a woman in Timnath of the

[1] *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 138 ff. Cf. also W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, I, 156 ff., Baldensperger's "Woman in the East," *Palestine Explor. Fund, Quart. Statement*, 1899, 1900, 1901, and the most systematic and detailed discussion by Thad. Engert, *Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer*, München, 1905, pp. 40 f., as well as A. S. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, London, 1903, pp. 74 f., for similar customs in ancient Israel, Arabia, and Babylonia. The elaborate care with which all the details of a marriage among the powerful in early Canaan were agreed upon beforehand is excellently illustrated in the Tel-el-Amarna Letters, Nos. 17, 21, and 23.

[2] Westermarck in the work cited below, p. 446.

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daughters of the Philistines; now therefore get her for me to wife" (Judg. 14:2)[1]; or, to take an example from Homer, Achilles repudiates the offer of one of Agamemnon's daughters in marriage with the remark: "If the gods save me and I reach home, then will Peleus hunt me out a wife himself" (I, 393 f.). These are only typical cases whose number might have been multiplied indefinitely from the world-wide prevalence of the custom. Such being the economic basis of marriage in primitive conditions, one can easily understand the temptation toward child-marriage, which has been, and is, very widespread, not only in Islam and India, but among Semites, Africans, Australians, etc. Where the economic feature of marriage is especially prominent, the head of the household, who is socially responsible for the support of his family, naturally seeks to get all the advantages he can from the wedding of a son or a daughter, so that marriage in the tenderest state of infancy is frequent enough, and betrothals of the yet unborn not unknown.[2]

The first wife is therefore among all polygamous peoples married in comparative youth, her selection is made with all the care and forethought that an interested kinship can bestow upon the cementing of a lasting relation, and of course the best and sharpest bargain is driven. By virtue of the dowry she brings with her, or because of the total loss of the bridegift if she be divorced (not to speak of the offense that would be given her kin and the weakening in capital or labor-power that would result to her husband's house), the first wife is strongly fortified in her position by permanent economic considerations of a very substantial sort. Being thus carefully chosen, there can never be any doubt of the perfect propriety and legitimacy of this marriage, and of course under normal conditions

[1] If Samson's marriage was, as has been very plausibly suggested, originally of the *mot'a* type, it is especially significant that the redactor, in trying to make an older tale agree with the regular conventions of his time, chooses just this circumstance as characteristic of the typical Hebrew marriage.

[2] It may not be commonly known that child-marriages took place in England even as late as the times of Queen Elizabeth. The depositions that were taken in the Bishops' Court of the diocese of Chester in the trial of certain of these cases during the years 1561–66 have been edited by Mr. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society (1897), and make very surprising reading. In 1564 a witness deposes concerning the marriage of John Somerforth, aged three, to Jane Brerton, aged two, and we can readily believe another witness who testified that "it was the youngest Marriage that euer he was at."

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the first wife becomes the mother of the cherished firstborn son. It is therefore inevitable that the first wife should tend strongly to occupy a leading position in the household, no matter how many legal wives or concubines[1] may succeed her, and this is indeed the case, except under very unusual circumstances, as for example, when the husband materially improves his social status after the first marriage, when the first wife remains childless, or when her family becomes humiliated or ruined. Now this primacy of the first wife is an actual fact among practically all polygamous peoples, past or present. I have tried to classify the peoples and religions among which this custom prevails, and while all the details are wearisome the general outlook is most significant.[2] The first wife holds the position of primacy and precedence which I have mentioned, of course with numerous inconsequential variations under different local conditions, among the Greenlanders, Alaskans (especially the Tlinglits), Aleutians, Indians of the Northwest coast, Californian Indians, Crees, Sioux, Omahas, and Algonquins, the Mormons, the Mexicans, Central and South American tribes, especially those of Western Brazil, the Samoans, Tahitans, Ainos, Kamtschatkans, Mongols, Chinese, Siamese, Burmese, the inhabitants of the East Indian Archipelago, the Kalmucks, Central Asiatic Turks, the tribes of East and South Africa, especially the Zulus, the natives of Madagascar, and throughout the whole of Islam; from earlier times, among the pagan Prussians, the pagan Russians, the Egyptians,[3] the

[1] For the purposes of our argument it is unnecessary to distinguish sharply between "polygamy" as the possession of several regular wives, and "juridic monogamy," where all wives but the first are really concubines. I use "polygamy" in its general, non-technical sense.

[2] For the detailed citation of the authorities in each individual case one may refer to E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, London, 1894, pp. 443–48; G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, Chicago, 1904, I, 143 f.; J. G. Fraser, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, p. 277 and p. 576.

[3] Thus the *Pharaoh* added the name of only one wife on his inscriptions, and among the common people "a man possessed but one legal wife who was the mother of his heirs" (Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, New York, 1905, p. 85), though he might have a harem and concubines *ad libitum*. This wife was called "the dear wife," "the lady of the house." Regular bigamy was rare, though Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. Tirard, London, 1894, p. 152) cites occasional instances from the Pharaohs on down to the thieves of the royal tombs. The case of Cheuemhotep is interesting: Chety is his "beloved wife," "the lady of the house," and likewise the heiress to the Jackal nome which her son inherits, yet Tatet, doubtless his real favorite, is also called his

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old Persians,[1] the Parthians,[2] and the same conditions prevailed in Chaldea in the twenty-second century B.C., as evidenced by the great code of Hammurabi.[3] Very significant is the case in Islam. Despite the fact that Mahomet attempted to guarantee the complete legal and social equality of the four regular wives allowed the Moslem, there has everywhere, out of the economic conditions referred to above, grown up the custom which makes the first wife "the great lady," before whom the other wives, despite their recognized legal position, and despite any preference that the husband may have for any one of them, because of youth, beauty, or other advantages, take an inferior position, and to whom they frequently act in the rôle of servants. Anyone who has lived in Moslem countries remembers the pomp and circumstance which attend the first and formal wedding, the ceremonies lasting frequently for several days, while a second, or third, or fourth wife is generally taken in so quiet a fashion, that it is frequently only by the outbreak of those noises and scenes peculiar to feminine combats that even the immediate neighborhood is apprised of a fresh matrimonial venture. So frequently, as among the modern Turkish fellaheen and the ancient Hebrews, the first wife is of equal social station with the husband, whereas the subsequent wives may or may not be, according to circumstances.

wife, and occupies with her children a place on the inscription behind Chety and her heirs. The precedence which the heiress obtains is thus typically expressed here. A peculiar Egyptian form of marriage by which an heiress might take a husband on contract and dismiss him later at pleasure with some pecuniary compensation (*cf.* Spiegelberg, *Schriften d. wiss. Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, I, 1907) may have helped a little in securing a somewhat superior position for woman in general. It finds a close parallel in the contract marriage of pre-Islamitic Arabia, in which various stipulations (generally against a second wife) might be made by the woman. See J. Wellhausen, "Die Ehe bei den Arabern," *Nachr. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1893, pp. 466 f.

[1] The Persian king had four regular wives, but only one queen, who was legally, at least, mistress over all the rest, and this same situation doubtless recurred among the nobility, who likewise had several wives. Cf. G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World*, III, 216 ff., London, 1871, and for details, Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, III, pp. 677 ff., Leipzig, 1878. Strange to say, the new *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* seems nowhere to mention this phase of the subject.

[2] G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Gt. Orient. Mon.*, London, 1873, p. 423.

[3] See paragraphs 140 ff. and 170 of the Code, and Cook's excellent discussion of these details, contrasting them with the Hebrew usage, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff. It may be remarked that these paragraphs of the Code are in accord with other early Babylonian legal documents.

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Now this Homeric word κουρίδιος is peculiarly appropriate as a designation of the first bride, the one taken in her own and her husband's youth, that is to say, she is "the bride of youth." For we know that the old patriarchal family was the prevailing institution in the Homeric age. The sons brought their wives to the father's house, where each had his special apartment, though an especially favored son might have a separate house, as Hector and Paris in Ilion. So the family of Nestor, of Aiolos, of Alkinoos, of Laertes (where Odysseus builds his own bridal chamber onto his father's house), and especially the house of Priam, which must have looked like a fair-sized village settlement—a state within the state. I need not here rehearse details of bargaining for a bride in Homer, as they are familiar to all. The name given to maidens, πάρθενοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι, meaning "those who bring in possessions of cattle," epitomizes conveniently Homeric usage.[1] A typical case, too, is the formal proposal of marriage to one of his daughters, with detailed specification of the gifts that go with her, which Agamemnon makes to the offended Achilles (I, 141 ff.). In a word, the economic conditions prevailing in Homer in the general feature of the marriage relation are quite those of the polygamous peoples we have mentioned. More than that, we can parallel even the expression. Three times in later Hebrew literature the very same idea occurs: Prov. 5:18, "Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice in *the wife of thy youth*"; Mal. 2:14, "The Lord hath been a witness between thee and *the wife of thy youth* against whom thou hast dealt treacherously," and vs. 15, "Therefore take heed to your spirit and let none deal treacherously against *the wife of his youth*"; and Trito-Isaiah 54:6, "For the Lord hath called thee as a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit, even as *a wife of youth* when she is cast off, saith thy God."[2] Now it is impossible to fail to observe here a distinct preference felt for the

[1] Cf. G. Murray's interesting remarks à propos of these names in -βοια, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 2 (i.e. 2d ed.) London, 1911, p. 186.

[2] Cf. Jer. 3:4, where, in speaking of Jahve as the spouse of Judah, the prophet calls him "the guide [or companion] of my youth," i.e., the regular, legal husband of first marriage. See Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885, p. 118. A striking parallel to this more tender sentiment toward the wife of one's youth appears in the Leyden papyrus No. 371 (of a late period), where a widower in pathetic address to his dead wife cries, "thou didst become my wife when I was young, and I was with thee. . . . ." (Erman, *l.c.*)

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first wife, that "of thy youth," divorce or even neglect of whom seemed a much more heinous sin than similar ill-treatment of another wife, and such expressions presuppose a well-developed recognition of the social precedence of the first wife, however little this may have been embodied in actual law—precisely as we have seen in the case in Islam. Nevertheless, there is evidence from extremely ancient times of the preferential position of the first wife and her offspring. Thus in the most primitive scheme of social differentiation between Bedouin tribes (Gen. 4:19 ff.), the sons of Adah, Lamech's first wife, are those that dwell in tents and have possession of cattle, together with the musicians (like the Homeric *ἀοιδοί*), while the children of Zillah, the second wife, were Tubal-Cain, the ancestor of the blacksmiths (an inferior caste among the Bedouin to this day), and Naamah, "the lovely," very probably the ancestress of the prostitutes, as Ed. Meyer suggests. See his illuminating discussion of this passage in *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1896, p. 218. In fact, Meyer has no hesitation in classing Hebrew and old Sumerian and Akkadian customs together, asserting flatly that there were only the *Hauptfrau* and *Nebenfrauen* along with *Kebsweiber* among all these peoples. See his *Geschichte des Alterthums*,[2] I, 2, paragraph 422.

Bigamy was of course the common rule among the Hebrews, and Ezekiel speaks without any constraint of Jahve and his two wives, Aholah and Aholibah, Israel and Judah.[1] The second wife was commonly called "the foe," and the two wives were frequently distinguished as "the loved" and "the hated." Nevertheless, the very fact that the second wife, however beautiful and fruitful she might have been, was rarely able to accomplish the divorce of the first wife, despite the fact that she had supplanted her in her husband's affections, proves that the first wife was securely intrenched in her position both by custom and by the husband's self-interest.[2] The three passages just cited are probably all later than the sixth century B.C.—along with the Jahvist account of creation, a single equal help-

[1] See Engert's excellent discussion of this point, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff. The great antiquity of this institution is proved by the existence in the primitive Semitic *Gemeinsprache* of the word for a second wife; see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 448 f.

[2] The Deuteronomistic code especially intervened to guarantee the claim of the firstborn son, even though he be the child of "the hated," that is, under normal conditions, of course, the first wife (Deut. 21:15–17).

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meet for a single man—and they are significant of a refinement of sentiment regarding the wife of youth that before long led to the monogamy which prevailed in the time of Jesus and thenceforth.[1] And so in spite of the comparatively late date of these utterances regarding the first wife, the arguments which have just been given, combined with the perfectly clear-cut way in which Hammurabi's Code recognizes the primacy of the first wife, make it highly probable that even from the very first the wife of youth among the Hebrews also was felt to be, other things being equal, in a position, conventionally at least, regarded as superior to that of her successors.[2]

To all this the objection is certain to be raised that the Indo-Europeans were monogamous, and hence the Homeric Greeks likewise, while the present argument tacitly assumes a plurality of wives. Now it is indeed probable that the Indo-Europeans were, as a general thing, at least as far as the common people were concerned, conventionally monogamous. But we must remember that in all the cases with which we are dealing in Homer we have princely or heroic houses, and it is almost a platitude to observe that at all times and circumstances the nobility have allowed themselves far greater latitude in sexual and other forms of license than the common man has

[1] So gradually did this most important modification of a great social institution come about, that without rescinding any of the old law, either by new revelation or otherwise, and with scarce a single hint in any of the very considerable literature of that and subsequent times, bigamy so completely passed out of existence that neither John, nor Jesus, nor any writer of the early church felt it of sufficient importance even to mention the matter. And so, curiously enough, the Old Testament law has remained apparently in actual force, to the considerable confusion of the church. Witness Luther's famous quibbling on the matter, and the justification which the Mormons and Mohammedans have drawn for their practices; indeed, I am told on credible authority that in one of our northern states, little more than a generation ago, it was found impracticable to dismiss a prominent member of one of the greatest Protestant denominations who persisted in maintaining a harem and who defended his actions by the authority of the patriarchs and the Mosaic law.

[2] Cook, in the work just cited, has set forth a large number of the differences between the Code of Hammurabi and the laws of Moses. They arise primarily from the different conditions of life which prevail in nomadic and in agricultural society. The status of woman, however, seems not to be related in any essential way to the circumstances of a settled habitation and more elaborately developed commercial institutions. Too much cannot be inferred from the silence of the Mosaic legislation relative to the primacy of the first wife. From the Koran alone no one would expect to find the first wife in Islam occupying the position of superiority which is actually hers, and the same may be true of the Old Testament. Compare, for example, the very singular omission to specify the cohabitation of father and daughter among the illicit relations (Lev., chaps. 18 and 20), though there can be no doubt that this was not allowed.

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been granted or could afford. In the rather trenchant words of the Kalmuck proverb, "the great people—*and dogs*—know no bonds of kin." There is, moreover, a great mass of testimony to prove at least sporadic prevalence of polygamy among many of the Indo-European peoples, which Schrader (*Sprachvergl. und Urgsch.*,[3] III, 341 ff.) has collected. The Rig-Veda is full of it among kings and nobles; Herodotos i. 135 attests polygamy for the Persians; Caesar tells us that Ariovistus had two wives, and Tacitus (*Germania* 18) speaks of the numerous wives that the powerful German princes had; the Kelts in Gaul had several wives apiece, according to Caesar; bigamy is common in the old Norse Sagas and it is likewise well attested for the Thracians, the Paionians, the Old Prussians, the early Slavs, etc. There is thus any amount of antecedent probability that the heroes of the Homeric age were, as far as they wanted to be, polygamous, and there are many facts to bear out the assumption. To be sure, that has been denied by some scholars under the influence of the romantic idealizers who wished to find every virtue blooming in pristine freshness among the Hellenes, and this single false prejudice has done most to obscure the meaning of *κουρίδιος*. Certain obvious facts there are, however. For example, there is no word which means exclusively "wife" in Homeric Greek, or in any other Greek, for that matter, *ἄλοχος*, which comes nearest to it, including persons whom we should not call wives at all. Thus Achilles calls Briseis the *ἄλοχος* of Agamemnon (I 336), and uses *ἄλοχοι* of mistresses in general (vs. 340), and Hermes calls Leto an *ἄλοχος* of Zeus, though she was so only upon occasion (Φ 499). Again, the great court of Priam was manifestly typical of the patriarchal family house, as economists and historians have generally recognized, and Priam had besides Hekabe, his chief wife, Laothoe and Kastianeira as regular wives, not to mention the concubines who were the mothers of his bastards. Now it is incorrect to call this an oriental harem and stigmatize the Trojans as *βάρβαροι* in this respect,[1] for there is nothing in Homer to justify such a position. Indeed, the most beautiful and affecting scene depicting the ideal wedded life is set in Troy with the characters of Hektor and Andromache. Among persons so frankly irregular

[1] Compare the sensible remarks of K. Koch on this point in his *Program: Zur Stellung der Frau bei Homer*, Eisenach, 1909, p. 9.

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as were the Homeric chiefs it is idle to dispute about the question of any strict monogamy. Did not each of the heroes have his beautiful captive to cheer him in the intervals of battle? Does not Agamemnon, even in offering Achilles his own daughter, frankly add seven beautiful Lesbian women and the twenty most beautiful Trojan women after Helen, obviously to fill the harem of his prospective son-in-law? Did not Menelaos, when Helen remained childless, take to wife a slave woman, who bore him Megapenthes? And it was this latter's wedding that he and Helen were celebrating on a grand scale, when Telemachos dropped in for news of his father. The poet obviously sympathizes deeply with poor Laertes, who paid a huge price for the beautiful Eurykleia and yet was disappointed after all, because he was afraid of the wrath of his wife—as Homer puts it—a testimony much more to the vigorous personality of Antikleia than to any recognized institution of monogamy. Besides, the poet is quite inconsistent regarding this unusual virtue on the part of Laertes, for later on, in an undoubtedly most ancient episode of the Nostos, Eurykleia appears unequivocally as the wet-nurse of the infant Odysseus, τ 482, σὺ δέ μ'ἔτρεφες αὐτὴ | τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μάζῳ, "It was thou that didst nurse me there at thine own breast" (B. and L.), and infidelity toward Laertes would have been cruelly punished, while there is neither hint nor likelihood of her having been married to any retainer.

Again, if the anthropomorphic Gods of Greece were such in their marital relations as in all others, our argument were proved beyond all doubt; it is sufficient merely to hint at the highly gallant and certainly not infrequent adventures of a Zeus or an Apollo, and the former had at least two regular wives, Dione and Hera. Furthermore, the very kernel of several heroic tales involves the motive of recognized polygamy. Even under the modernizing hand of Euripides, Jason weds Kreusa in Korinth without the least hint of divorcing Medea, who leaves quite on her own initiative. Likewise in the Trachiniai of Sophokles, Herakles takes the new wife Iole without any indication of divorcing Deianeira or making her position untenable,[1] and she seeks merely to guarantee the continuance of his love by forwarding the robe of Nessos. But all this, together with

[1] Cf. vs. 546: . . . . κοινωνοῦσα τῶν αὐτῶν γάμων.

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much more similar evidence, has been gathered together by Ernst Hruza in his *Polygamie und Pellikat nach griechischem Rechte*, Leipzig, 1894, 11 ff., especially 25 ff., who traces instances of bigamy even down into Athens of the fourth century and elsewhere in Greece, so that the two most famous instances of historical times—Anaxandridas of Sparta and Dionysios the First of Syracuse—are really not so isolated as has often been thought.

It remains but to consider now in detail the instances of the occurrence of κουρίδιος in Homer. Several passages are very favorable to, if they do not distinctly imply, the original meaning which we have posited for the word. For example, both Paris and Menelaos speak of Helen as the κουριδίη ἄλοχος of the latter (H 392, N 626), though there is nothing to imply that she is not the legal wife of Paris also, who is called her πόσις and her παράκοιτις, capture being in all civilizations recognized as a legal form of marriage, where it is not actually enjoined upon the bridegroom. More significant is the passage where second marriage is spoken of: Athene addressing Telemachos in a dream observes (ο 21 ff.): "Thou knowest of what sort is the heart of a woman within her; all her desire is to increase the house of the man who takes her to wife, but of her former children and of her dear lord she has no more memory once he is dead, and she asks concerning him no more" (B. and L.). Here the first husband is the κουρίδιος φίλος, "the dear one of youth," the second is merely κεῖνος ὅς κεν ὀπυίῃ. Now it is obvious that here κουρίδιος cannot mean merely "legally wedded"—the second husband was just as legally wedded as the first, but only the first could be the "husband of youth," precisely as Menelaos is so characterized even on the lips of Paris, though the latter would be the very last person to emphasize his rival's *legal* advantages over him, if that implication lie in the word. On the other hand, Menelaos *was* the husband of Helen's youth—there was no denying that—and the use of this appellation was merely a convenient way of distinguishing Helen's former from her present husband. This meaning is also peculiarly appropriate in Λ 241 ff., where Iphidamas "slept the sleep of bronze, wretched man, far from his wedded wife, defending his fellow-citizens, even the *wife of his youth*, of whom he knew no joy, though he paid a great price for her, etc." The same holds true

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for the three passages in the Homeric Hymns where the word occurs, 6, 17; 2, 136; and especially 5, 127, where Aphrodite persuades the not unnaturally very credulous Anchises that she is the *virgin* daughter of Otreus of Phrygia, come especially to wed him. In only one case might there be a reasonable doubt, that where Patroklos promises to make Briseis the κουρίδιος ἄλοχος of Achilles, on his return from Troy (T 297 ff.). Now Briseis had been married before (vss. 291 ff.), but Achilles was as yet unmarried, and in taking Briseis he would be taking a "wife of youth" in a perfectly literal sense, though even then it is more likely that the adjective bears its secondary meaning, "lawfully wedded." For this secondary meaning undoubtedly appears in Homer, as is evident from its combination with λέχος and δῶμα, which are obviously not "youthful" in any sense, but "belonging to the wedding of youth," i.e., the formally solemnized and hence the most regularly recognized one. Such a change in the meaning of the word in Homer signifies that the ground for the formal distinction between the wife wedded in youth, and the one wedded later, was rapidly being lost in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. in Ionia, where monogamous marriage prevailed, and that therefore the secondary meaning was coming to be the only one commonly understood, as from the sixth century onward it is the only meaning for the word which Greek literature recognizes.

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## *IN MEMORIAM*

Harry Langford Wilson, professor of Roman archaeology and epigraphy in the Johns Hopkins University, died suddenly of pneumonia on February 23. Born at Wilton, Ontario, October 28, 1867, he was in the prime of his life and usefulness. His undergraduate course was taken at Queen's University, which later honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws; in 1896 the doctorate was conferred upon him by the Johns Hopkins University. In 1906–7 Professor Wilson was the annual professor of Latin in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, and recently, in December, 1912, he was elected president of the Archaeological Institute of America; he was a foreign member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute.

With his high qualities as an administrator, Professor Wilson combined rare personal traits. He was most friendly and approachable, interested in his students and eager to assist them; he was ever impartial and fair-minded and, as by his manner he invited the co-operation of his friends, so he inspired confidence in his judgment. Professor Wilson was an able teacher and put all his energy into his work. As a result the subjects which he taught at the Johns Hopkins University received a strong impetus, and the equipment which was provided in a comparatively short time, largely through his efforts, both in the library and in the collection of antiquities and reproductions, is surprisingly large.

To the world of scholars Professor Wilson is perhaps better known for his excellent edition of *The Satires of Juvenal* (1903); he was also author of *The Metaphor in the Epic Poems of P. Papinius Statius* (1898), and of numerous articles in various archaeological and philological journals. Aside from the personal loss, which his friends feel so grievously, it is a matter of great regret that one whose life was so full of promise was cut off so early in his career. *Sit tibi terra levis.*

W. D.

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# NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

## THE RENDERING OF GREEK VERSE

I am not aware that I have ever said that men of English speech cannot read Greek lyrics, nor does that seem likely. I have been reading them all my life. In a monograph published four years ago I did remark that 'these Greek songs were never intended by their composers to be *read* by anybody, Greek or barbarian.' Much less have I ever said (God forbid!) that we moderns cannot read Greek Aeolic verse in any other than the 'logaoedic' manner. On the contrary, I have been reading it, in conformity with what I believe is its true metrical form, for half a dozen years with increasing ease and pleasure and have discussed the matter with many correspondents. What I have said is that the allegation that 'the metrical structure of Aeolic verse must have been logaoedic because we moderns cannot read it in any other manner' is not convincing. I am responsible for no part of this allegation.

A review of my recent book on the *Verse of Greek Comedy*, published in the last number of this journal, prompts and will perhaps be thought to warrant these personal affirmations. Three times in this review I am saddled with statements that I repudiate, not to mention a considerable residuum of criticism that leaves me uncomfortably in doubt just what it is I am supposed to believe. This fact sensibly abated the complacence with which I read at the beginning of the review that I had given in my book "a perfectly lucid and intelligible account of a matter which perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that not more than two or three men in America or ten in Europe have hitherto understood."

The attempt to conform the metrical structure of Greek melic odes composed in one or more of ten distinct rhythms to the four elementary rhythms of modern recited poetry implies, I think, a fundamental misconception of facts and is due to the same confusion of mind that fails generally to appreciate well-defined differences between Greek and English poetry. The manner in which we find it natural to read English accentual poetry has not, in my opinion, the least significance in the scientific determination of the *form* of Greek quantitative melic verse. Quite apart from this is the question how we moderns shall now render the different sorts of Greek verse. This question is both practical and important and is worthy of serious consideration.

There was nothing in the manner of rendering a comedy in the theatre that distracted the attention of the man on the seats from the play itself. He was born to it. But a modern put there would inevitably have had his



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attention drawn from the play to the player. Apart from strange external conditions, he would have been strongly affected by the actor's mode of rendering: his exact observance of syllabic time, the lack of stress, and in non-melic verse the varying but constant rippling succession of tones within small compass. The total impression at first would probably have been that the rendering was sing-song. He would have got the same general impression on hearing Plato read one of his dialogues. When the actor or the chorus begins to sing, his impressions are enlarged. The tones have now been absorbed in the melody, but this is simple and not of great compass. The music sounds strange, but happily he can distinguish and understand the words of the song. There is still no stress. The rhythm flows smoothly on; the leader *marks the time*, appealing silently to the performer's eye or lightly to his ear, just as in all forms of non-melic verse, except the comic trimeter, the *time* was marked by a flute. Presently our man hears songs in rhythms with which he is not familiar, but his soul is the soul of a Greek and rejoices. This is the picture that I get of that blessed but bewildered modern. I am not unaware that the fact of ictus is still in debate.

The question how far we should now attempt to repeat the distinctive features of the ancient rendering is one that every man interested in the matter should be allowed to settle for himself, even when one says, "I propose to read my Greek poetry as I read English poetry, without attention to petty ancient details, for I wish to be understood." That is an intelligible attitude, even if extreme. His forefathers pronounced Greek like English for about the same reason. He will fall into difficulties, but these are his own affair. At the other extreme, everybody must agree that there is one ancient feature that cannot now be repeated. The music to which these songs were sung is irretrievably lost. This is a staggering loss, the play with Hamlet left out. We must now either simply read them or compose new music for them. Most of us probably will read them, but we need not lose heart. So did the Alexandrian scholar, who was sometimes himself a poet. So did the cultivated Roman. Horace did not sing Alcaeus. For that matter did he sing his own odes? Otto Jahn thought that he did, but he supports his contention only by indirect evidence and overlooks the significant fact of Horace's persistent peculiar use of caesura or diaeresis in verse that Jahn nevertheless thinks was melic.

How shall we deal with the other features of the ancient rendering? How far is it wise to neglect these, if preserving them seems to distract attention from the matter to the manner? That would really be neglecting the ancient mode in order now to secure an effect comparable with the ancient effect. The play's the thing! I myself grow distracted if I attempt to reproduce the variations of pitch signified by the written accents; every other feature is hopelessly outbulked. To forego stress is much easier, and just here I again protest that I have never said that we moderns cannot read Greek poetry without it. But there must be no quarreling! If anybody

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feels that it is for him "physiologically and psychologically impossible" to recite verse without an ictus, let him 'stamp' and 'clap' and stress his theses in reading Sappho and Alcaeus to his heart's content. The wise Aristophanes has said it: *πάρες πάρες πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ διαρραγῆναι!*

Most teachers probably will agree that one feature of the Greek rendering must be preserved at any cost—observance of the quantity of the syllables that constitute the feet. The man who believes that he does this, in the Greek manner, in reading English poetry will not think this difficult, but he had best look sharp. Let him compare his reading of the line: "This is the forest primeval, the murmuring pines and the hemlocks," with his rendering of a verse from Homer or Vergil. Omond, an English prosodist of acknowledged authority, holds that the English rhythm we are pleased to call dactylic is in triple time, the simple feet being tribrachs, and he quotes Longfellow's line in illustration. He holds similarly that the English heroic line is in duple (common) time, the simple feet being isomeric. Each rhythm thus becomes the converse of its Greek prototype. So widely do opinions differ as to quantity in English verse.

Perhaps the Greek verse that an Englishman reads most readily, with due observance of the quantities of the syllables composing the simple feet, is the anapaestic tetrameter. No syllable in this verse is irrational and the spondaic anapaest with resolved thesis is the only form of the simple foot of which the movement is strange. The sweep and volume of the verse (Dionysius remarks on its dignity) seem even to us to demand a measured and cadenced rendering. Swinburne has shown what can be done with it in English in his translation of the parabasis of the *Birds*, but his brachycatalectic tetrameters appear to me to be more effective:

> Such glory, such terror, such passion, as lighten and harrow the
> far fierce east,
> Rang, shone, spake, shuddered around us: the night was an altar
> with death for priest.

The observance of syllabic quantity in spoken and recitative Greek verse in diplasic rhythm is for me more difficult and the effect is somewhat alien, possibly because I read English iambic and trochaic verse badly. The Greek comic trimeter, in particular, requires practice, in consequence of the disturbance of iambic sequence caused by the frequent occurrence of irrational and anapaestic simple feet.

The necessity of marking syllabic length with precision is absolute in reading melic verse; otherwise, distinctions of rhythm are lost, but it is just the wealth and splendor of its rhythms that differentiates Greek melic verse from modern poetry and makes it a great treasure-house of new effects. Five of these rhythms, including true logaoedic rhythm, will not seem strange to us, although each will gain in significance and seem a more delicate means of rhythmical expression, if the verse is rendered with the quantitative precision

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that the Greek text makes easily possible. Aristophanes reveals to us a new and spirited sixth rhythm in his paeonic verse. As to ionic rhythm, few modern scholars, happily, have the temerity (to characterize this procedure mildly) to maim and dismember it and reduce it to a series of dragging logaoedic metres consisting each of a cyclic and a triseme anapaest in unvaried order and succession. The passion, terror, and despair inherent in dochmiac verse in tragedy can be expressed, in a fashion, even with the speaking voice, although I find it difficult to imagine Sophocles *reading* his dochmiacs. There remain two rhythms, prosodiac-enoplic and Aeolic, of which the rhythmical structure is now in debate. Within a century both these rhythms, as well as paeonic and ionic, have been consigned by some extreme theorists to the class that Henri Weil expressively named *les prétendus logaèdes*, a veritable muck-heap. All four may be submitted with confidence to the test of a rendering with the speaking voice, but this must be quantitatively exact, there must be no scrimping of 'times.' This is an inferior test, since the Greeks themselves employed these rhythms in song, but it will serve. It might begin with the second strophe of Sophocles's Song of Foreboding in his first *Oedipus*, δεινὰ μὲν οὖν, δεινὰ παράσσει, which will bring two of these rhythms to the proof. Let the strophe be rendered first as a combination of Aeolic with ionic rhythm, and then as 'logaoedic,' with the time of each triseme syllable fully given in the latter.

We shall gain a new sense of the significance and importance of syllabic time in all forms of Greek rhythm, if we *sing* the odes composed in them, and I make the suggestion seriously. Some of us are careless (if it is carelessness) in reading English verse, but when we sing it, we mark 'times' with precision. Anybody can invent, as he proceeds, a simple melody within the octave to which to sing his Greek ode, but first experiments perhaps had best be confined to his private apartments. If this seems too venturesome, there is a deal of good music at command that has been written to accompany the Greek plays presented in recent years in the original at English and American universities, but this is modern music and must be adapted. The melody can be appropriated (with apologies to the composer) and the time adjusted to the rhythm in which the ode is actually written. Professor John K. Paine wrote beautiful music to the first *Oedipus* and to the close of the *Birds*. His music to Aristophanes's πολλὰ δὴ καὶ καινὰ renders the original rhythm almost exactly.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

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Professor White is, of course, the final authority on his own intentions and practice. He says that I misunderstood him. But he cannot intend to say that I meant to misrepresent him. For my statement was explicitly given as as *inference* from his own words which I now quote more fully (p. xxii): "Regret that we cannot teach our pupils to render the *Odes* of

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Pindar as Greeks rendered them is an amiable sentiment, the resolution to read them even at the cost of reading them in the wrong fashion is prompted no doubt by a generous impulse, but neither has the least significance in the scientific determination of facts."

Whatever this means for Professor White's own theory and practice, its general acceptance would, I believe, mean the abandonment of the attempt to read Greek lyrics in our classrooms which I, it seems mistakenly, assumed to be satirized as an amiable weakness by Professor White. I have taught Greek metric in a practical way, perhaps somewhat more persistently than the majority of my colleagues, for twenty-five years. There are some students in every class who can learn to read with pleasure to themselves and their hearers by the schemes of Jebb's Sophocles and Gildersleeve's Pindar. They can in my experience make nothing of the schemes of the new metric.

Still I am also interested, though less so, in the purely "scientific determination of facts," provided I can get any light upon them. Professor White's reply throws less light on the subject than I had hoped for. Eloquence, wit, an implied Aristophanic comparison of τὸν ἐμέ to the stressful and distressful Cleon, a brilliant "time-machine" picture of a modern new metrist's experience when translated to the Dionysiac theater, the repeated purely abstract and general protest against assimilating Greek poetry to English—these excellent and entertaining things I find. They occupy most of his space. Specific argument on the issues is limited to a few suggestions toward the end.

Professor White repeats the oft-refuted charge that the "logaoedist" neglects quantity and "scans" with an English sing-song exaggeration of his stresses. There is plenty of bad and careless reading on any theory. But these particular faults have no necessary or logical connection with the logaoedic doctrine. A "logaoedist" may be, perhaps is, as careful of his quantities as another, and though he may sometimes intentionally exaggerate the stresses for pedagogical purposes, he may and often does stress lightly and read freely to bring out the thought and feeling of the poem. The bad practice of overstressing has nothing to do with the problem of the existence of rhythm without any stress at all. It is, I think, impossible to produce any modern example of entirely stressless rhythm. The French alexandrine is sometimes cited as a case in point. As a matter of fact its "tune" is distinctly anapaestic as Dryden, Moore, and Lowell have pointed out, and many of the more intelligent French critics admit. There is normally a strong stress on the twelfth and sixth syllables and frequently one on the third and eighth. This makes it no unjustifiable assimilation of French to English meter to affirm that the alexandrine is in essence an irregular or free anapaestic movement of four feet; that it is not either six iambic feet or a purely syllable counting verse of twelve syllables.

One may be able to define and reproduce in his own reading the different effects of which Greek, English, and French poetry are capable, and yet

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perceive, what is the plain fact, that the movement of δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐτελ Πριάμου is essentially the same as that of "Dans vos cieux au delà de la sphère des nues" (in spite of the spelling of *dans* and *au*) and that of "And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea" (in spite of the Byronic bad prosody of "like").

Professor White's other chief argument is a repetition of the familiar fallacious illustration of the English hexameter coupled with the old warning against reading Greek hexameters in $\frac{4}{8}$ time. I should be more impressed by Omond's statement that English dactylics are tribrachs if he had not also said on page 155 of his book that Byron's "Song of Saul" is in dactylics. As the poem is certainly in the main irregularly anapaestic, this for me places the "acknowledged authority" of Omond precisely on a par with the acknowledged authority of Hephaestion. An "authority" is no argument in metric, but if I wanted one I should appeal to Poe, who, despite some absurdities due to imperfect scholarship, is the best metrician and one of the clearest reasoners that America has produced. Most English hexameters are simply bad and that is all there is to say of them. A few are pretty good, as Kingsley's "Lingered in rose-red rays on the peaks of Ionian mountains"; and may and should be read in $\frac{4}{4}$ time. There is no real difficulty in reading Greek hexameters in $\frac{4}{4}$ time. To read them in any other way is mere carelessness or haste. There is no logical connection between the careless or unconscious shortening of the dactyl in the hexameter and the deliberate and conscious adoption of the "cyclic dactyl" as a necessary element in Greek lyric. The validity of this latter assumption must be argued on its own merits. I find no further elucidation of the matter in Professor White's note—nothing but the affirmation that music can do or that he personally can do what I have in "choriambic dimeter" given definite reasons for believing that nobody can do with the reading voice. It is possible to read the dactyl of the choriamb in its literal time, but only, I think, at the cost of developing another secondary stress. I suppose that most of us sometimes sing our Greek choruses in private; personally I do not believe that it improves them any more than flesh-coloring would better the "Hermes" of Praxiteles. But that is a question of taste.

Professor White will, I am confident, agree with me that, though controversy is usually unwise, in these remote philological matters it can do no harm, and may serve to clarify our ideas. Opinions which (in substance) he himself held for the larger part of his life may be wrong, but can hardly be inexplicably perverse. As controversialists each of us naturally endeavors to prove himself in the right. But our chief common task is to bring out of the confusion and define a few issues which may admit of testing by exact philological inquiry, by laboratory experiment, or by the consensus of intelligent observation, concentrated upon one point at a time. In the words of one of Plato's most authentic precepts, "If anyone assailed your hypothesis you would not answer until you had considered the consistency or the

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inconsistency of its consequences. Then if required to render an account of the hypothesis itself you would assume and refer it to a more general principle, the best you could find, until finally you reached something sufficient (and acceptable to both sides). But you would not in eristic fashion confound and confuse the discussion of the principle and its consequences if you desired to discover the truth." This question of stress is such an ἀρχή. It has to be settled before anything else can be determined. I genuinely believed that Professor White had adopted the to me unthinkable but logically impregnable position that, though we cannot feel rhythm without stress, the Greeks could. I now understand him to say that we can, and that he has been reading by pure quantity and without stresses for the past six years. I believe that he must be under an illusion. Some method I am sure will be found to decide this issue of fact, any uncertainty about which makes all discussion of metric a mere game of cross-purposes.

I have stated and shall continue to state as trenchantly as I can the argument for the logaoedic reading in which I believe. But in so delicate and difficult a matter I recognize the broad human probability that I may be entirely mistaken.

PAUL SHOREY

## THE DELIAN GYMNASIARCHS

The list of Delian gymnasiarchs published in the last issue of the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (XXXVI [1912], 395) gives what at first sight seems to be a "knock-out" blow to the system of chronology arranged by me for the ten years before and after 150 B.C. Gorgias, the son of Asklepiades, of Ionidae occupies the twentieth place in the list, which, assuming with M. Roussel that the first gymnasiarch to hold office in Delos belongs to 167/6 B.C. and that one name belongs to each year thereafter, appears to be 148/7 B.C. Gorgias, however, was gymnasiarch in Delos in the archonship of Archon in Athens, who, in turn, was the immediate predecessor of Epikrates. Since, now, the secretary for Epikrates' archonship belongs to the deme Sypalettos of the tribe Kekropis, Archon is placed by the "tribal cycle" of the secretaries in 151/0 B.C., or twelve years earlier or later. The contradiction seems clear and decisive.

The "tribal cycle" is established with certainty in 168/7 B.C. and again in 140/39 B.C. Thereafter, moreover, it continues for twelve-year period after twelve-year period without a break. There is no sign of a disturbance between 168/7 and 140/39 B.C., and, if a disturbance did take place in that interval, it must have been arranged in such a way that the succession of the tribes proceeds in 140/39 B.C. as if it had not occurred. The objections to dating the gymnasiarchy of Gorgias and the archonship of Archon in 148/7 B.C. are, accordingly, serious.

Let us, therefore, look at the list of gymnasiarchs a little closer. The title tells us that Phocion, son of Aristokrates, of Melite, the thirteenth in

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the catalogue, *γυμνασιαρχήσας ἀνέγραψεν τοὺς γυμνασιαρχήσαντας ἀφ' οὗ ὁ δῆμος διὰ Ρωμαιῶν ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν νῆσον.* "Il semble, d'après l'écriture," says M. Plassart, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a reprint—rather preprint—of his publication of the document in question, "que le début de la liste ait été gravé sous son successeur." The tribes of the first fourteen gymnasiarchs, numbered in terms of the official order, succeed one another as follows: 7, 1, 1, 6, 2, 11, 6, 3, 7, 8, 6, 1, 8, 5. That is as things should be when the names are listed in the order in which the gymnasiarchs, *χειροτονηθέντες*, held office. The nine gymnasiarchs who come next in the list, however, are arranged on the stone, which is less easily legible here than elsewhere, as follows:

| No. of Tribe | Name of Gymnasiarch |
|---|---|
| 2 | [Ἀ]ριστ[όμ]αχ[ο]ς Ανσίου (ἐγ) Μυρρινούττης |
| 3 | Ἄρευς Ἀ[ρέ]ως [Πρ]ασιεύς |
| 5 | . . . . . δης Ἀριστοκλέους Φλυεύς |
| 7 | . . . . Τ . ΑΣ Τιμοθέου Ἀχαρνεύς |
| 10 | [Πο]λύξενος Ἀν[τιό]χου Μαραθώνιος |
| 2 | [Γορ]γίας Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἰωνίδης |
| 11 | . . . . . ου Παλλη[ν]εύς |
| 12 | . . . . . Σ Θ[ρα]σέου Σ[ου]νιεύς |
| 12 | . . . . . Σ[ο]υ[ν]ιεύς. |

The point which M. Plassart has failed to note in regard to this lot of names —which, if the published plate does not mislead me, was added on the stone by the same hand, and therefore, in all probability, at a single point of time—is that with one exception the gymnasiarchs included in it succeed one another in the official order of their tribes. In other words, these nine names are not listed in the order in which the gymnasiarchs served. For it is inconceivable that the haphazard of election should have brought it about that the tribes to which the gymnasiarchs belong move steadily in one direction along the official order. Nor does any such progression exist elsewhere in the list where the order of the names is demonstrably the order of election to and tenure of the office (see below, p. 222). On the other hand, it was a well-established Athenian practice to arrange names according to the official order of the tribes even when some of the tribes were not represented and others were represented by several members (*IG*, II, 859).

The conclusion thus reached as to this lot of nine gymnasiarchs is not vitiated by the fact that one of the number violates the rule that the names are arranged in sequence according to the official tribal order. This one exceptional official is Gorgias himself. An examination of the stone may determine why his name appears out of its proper place, which is before or after that of Aristomachos, son of Lysias, of Myrrhinutta. In the plate (VI) the name stands out with exceptional clearness and looks as if it had been cut deeper than the others. Is it a correction made in the groove where an earlier name was excised? Such an excision was actually made in line 34 of the document.

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However that may be, the misplacing of a name in this way is not unknown in similar lists. Thus in the catalogue of the thesmothetae for 224/3 B.C. (*IG*, II, 859, frg. ab, l. 60; cf. Bates, "The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes," *Cornell Studies*, VIII, 3) the officer from the tribe Leontis appears out of his proper position, although, generally speaking, the official tribal sequence is followed in all the catalogues of thesmothetae cut on the stone. Another exception, however, occurs either in the catalogue for 228/7 B.C. (Frg. ab, l. 22) or in that for 222/1 B.C. (Frg. d, l. 9), unless it really be that the little deme Anakaia belonged at the same time partly to Hippothontis and partly to Demetrias (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Kirchner, *Rhein. Mus.*, LIX [1904], 298 f.). See also *IG*, II, 467, l. 143; cf. Bates, p. 52: *IG*, III, 1091; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, V, 38: *IG*, III, 1280; cf. P.-W., V, 58: *IG*, II, 469; cf. P.-W., V, 102, where in each instance a name appears out of its proper tribal group.

The rest of the gymnasiarchs in the list are distributed among the tribes in the following order: 8, 8, 4 (described as [χειροτονη]θεὶς ? ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλειφομένων, in regard to which specification M. Roussel (*BCH*, XXXVI, 436 ff.) has made the proper remarks), 2, 3, 11 (all three defined as χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου), 11, 6 or 11, 11, 5, 1, 7, 4, 8, 12, 10, 6, 10, 2, 2 or 12, 9, 2, 6, 2 or 8, 12, 6, 10, 2, 6, 5, 11, 10, 10. The irregularity of the succession shows that here, as in the case of the first fourteen, we have to do with a list arranged in the order of office-holding; and, in fact, the coincidences noted by M. Plassart between gymnasiarchs and archons in the years 127/6, 123/2, and 118/7 B.C. prove clearly that this is so.

It should be observed, moreover, that on my interpretation of the document, no less than on that of M. Plassart, the list gives us what it professes to give—"the gymnasiarchs from the time the island was received by Athens at the hands of the Romans." The purpose of the list was primarily to preserve the names of the officials, not to show in what order they held the position; to gratify the vanity and stimulate the generosity of those elected to preside over, and often to finance, the gymnasium and the various activities which centered there, not to construct a table for chronological determinations.

Hence all that the new catalogue proves in this connection is that Gorgias was gymnasiarch in some year between 154/3 and 145/4 B.C. That is to say, he must still be assigned to a precise year on the criterion of the tribal cycle of the secretaries; whereupon, however, he falls definitely into the year 151/0 B.C. This year must also be assigned to the Athenian archon Archon and 150/49 B.C. to his successor Epikrates. Since the new list of gymnasiarchs dates Timarchides in 136/5 B.C., Xenon in 133/2 B.C., and transfers Metrophanes and his successor Er-(?) from 133/1 to 145/3 B.C., its aid in straightening out the Athenian archon-list for this period is very considerable.

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## THE MINIMUM VOTE IN OSTRACISM

It is a much-vexed question whether the six thousand votes required to ostracize a citizen of Athens constituted a majority or a quorum. Plutarch's statement in his life of Aristeides (7) is explicit and conclusive in favor of a quorum: *οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταὐτῷ τῶν ὀστράκων πλῆθος· εἰ γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίων ἐλάττονες οἱ φέροντες εἶεν ἀτελὴς ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός· ἔπειτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τιθέντες τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον ἐξεκήρυττον εἰς ἔτη δέκα.* But Plutarch is the only ancient writer who states explicitly that six thousand votes constituted a quorum. Diodorus (xi. 52, 2) simply says that the man who received the majority of votes cast went into exile. The article in the Etymoligicum Magnum[1] mentions a minimum vote of six thousand without specifying whether it was a quorum or a majority. In favor of a majority the strongest evidence is a quotation from Philochorus in Pollux[2]: *διαριθμηθέντων δὲ (τῶν ὀστράκων) ὅτῳ πλεῖστα γένοιτο καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω ἑξακισχιλίων τοῦτον ἔδει . . . . ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις μεταστῆναι τῆς πόλεως ἔτη δέκα. ὕστερον δὲ ἐγένοντο πέντε.*

It is well known that quotations in ancient writers are frequently inaccurate. Even orators and historians do not always reproduce the exact wording of laws and treaties. Greater fidelity is not to be expected from the compilers of notes, lexicons, and handbooks. As it stands, the passage bears evidence of compression. It is entirely possible that in the process of compression and transcription the meaning was changed. This is not a gratuitous suspicion. For the statement in the last sentence that the term of banishment was subsequently reduced to five years is manifestly incorrect.[3] It behooves us, therefore, to be cautious in rejecting the clear statement of Plutarch on the strength of a lexicographer's report of the account of Philochorus which in at least one particular is incorrect.

It is now generally recognized that ostracism belongs to the class *νόμοι*,[4] or *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί*, for which a minimum vote of six thousand was required. But unfortunately here also the sources are ambiguous. The plaintiff in *Theomnestes* v. *Neaera* (Demos. lix. 89) recites the condition of a vote conferring citizenship in language that clearly implies a quorum. *οὐκ ἐᾷ (ὁ νόμος) κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσωνται κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενοι.*

[1] *S.v.* *Ἑξοστρακισμός: ἑξακισχιλίων δὲ γινομένων (τῶν ὀστράκων) φυγὴ δεκαετὴς ψηφίζεται τοῦ κρινομένου.*

[2] Appendix, p. 67, ed. Porson. Cf. *Lex. Cantabrigense*, *s.v.* *ὀστρακισμοῦ τρόπος.* The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Knights* 855 to the same effect has no independent value.

[3] Gilbert, *Griech. Alterthümer*, p. 346, n. 4; Martin, *Notes sur l'ostracisme dans Athènes*, p. 39.

[4] They are *ψηφίσματα* rather than *νόμοι*, and include votes conferring immunity (*ἄδεια*) and citizenship; cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Carcopino, *Histoire de l'ostracisme*, p. 156, seeks to differentiate ostracism from *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί*. But this technical differentiation does not alter the fact that the same principle is involved in both.

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But elsewhere Demosthenes (xxiv. 45) puts the restriction less clearly: *ἐὰν μὴ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἄδειαν πρῶτον μὴ ἔλαττον ἑξακισχιλίων, οἷς ἂν δόξῃ κρύβδην ψηφιζομένοις.* In the summary of the law which follows, he uses *μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑξακισχιλίων ψηφισαμένων* to express the condition. Andocides (i. 87) quotes the law in practically the same form as Demosthenes. Those who believe that the six thousand votes both in ostracism and in *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί* constituted a quorum rightly point out that the words *οἷς ἄν δόξῃ* do not imply a unanimous vote any more than the formula in decrees *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* implies a unanimous vote of the senate and the assembly.

Such is the material available for deciding this important question. Much ingenuity has been exhibited in adducing arguments on both sides; but the latest and most exhaustive discussion of the subject shows that on the basis of this material no final solution is possible.[1] There is, however, a phase of the question which has been strangely neglected. It is the relation between the minimum number of jurymen annually selected by lot and the minimum vote in ostracism and *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί*.

Though the dicasts commonly performed their functions in distinct sections they really constituted a single body under the chairmanship of the Thesmothetae. The heliastic oath was annually administered to them in a body.[2] On occasion the whole panel sat in judgment.[3] Under certain circumstances the ecclesia acted as a judicial body; under others it was represented by the dicasts sitting as a body or in sections.[4] The representative character of the juries is shown by the forms of address *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*. In joining the senate in the oath confirming the treaty with Chalcis the dicasts acted for the assembly.[5] Indeed Fränkel argues that "six thousand Athenians" and "all Athenians" are in certain connections equivalent expressions.[6]

The requirement that this representative body should number six thousand cannot be accidental. The number must possess some significance. The most natural explanation is that under certain circumstances a quorum of the assembly was required to be present. The notion of a quorum was familiar to the Athenians. In a decree of a deme occur the

[1] Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff., presents the strongest possible arguments in favor of the majority theory.

[2] Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 ff.

[3] Andocides i. 17. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 135, n. 3, points out that the reference is not to a meeting of the assembly as Fränkel argued.

[4] "Verisimilmente elisa non è stato in origine che un altro nome della *ἐκκλησία*, l'assemblea popolare. Poi il significato dei nomi s' è differensiato: l'uno è passato a significare l'assemblea popolare in quanto emana leggi e decreti: l'altro l'assemblea in quanto giudica e di qui, con facile passagio, i tribunali popolari."—De Sanctis, *Storia della Repubblica Ateniese*, p. 250.

[5] *CIA*, IV, 29*a*.

[6] *Die attischen Geschworenengerichte*, p. 16.

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words ὁ δήμαρχος . . . . διδότω τὴν ψῆφον ἐὰν παρῶσιν μὴ ἧλάττους ἢ ΔΔΔ.[1] And the phrase δῆμος πληθύων evidently describes a quorum.[2] There is no trace of a quorum in the case of the regular deliberative meetings of the ecclesia. But the practice in connection with ostracism and *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί* suggests that precautions to secure a representative vote were taken when the interests of an individual were at stake, i.e., when the assembly was exercising judicial or semijudicial functions. Direct proof of this theory is lacking; but Fränkel adduces, in support of his view that "six thousand Athenians" and "all Athenians" are synonymous expressions, some arguments that are of interest in this connection. He cites a passage from Demosthenes (xxiv. 46) dealing with ἄδεια in which the condition μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑξακισχιλίων ψηφισαμένων is repeated by εἰ πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐδόκει. Another instance of this technical use of "all Athenians" as the equivalent of "six thousand Athenians" occurs in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (i. 7, 9). Καλλίξενος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πάντας κατὰ φυλάς. It is only reasonable to suppose that the same care that was taken to protect the interests of a citizen in the case of ostracism or the interests of the community in the case of *ψηφίσματα ἐπ' ἀνδρί* should be taken to protect the interests of a citizen on trial before the assembly. It is true that this object could be achieved by the requirement of a fixed majority of six thousand. But the majority theory furnishes no explanation of the practice of selecting a jury panel of six thousand. If, however, a quorum of six thousand was required in an assembly performing judicial functions, it was entirely natural that when judicial functions were delegated to a smaller body of citizens their number should correspond to the quorum. The representative character of the dicasts accounts for their being regarded as a single body even though they were divided into sections.

The theory that six thousand constituted a quorum has the advantage of affording a single explanation of all occurrences of six thousand as a minimum requirement. When once it is recognized that a single principle is involved,[3] there can be no question of a majority. The conclusion that six thousand constituted a quorum is inevitable.

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[1] Haussoulier, *La vie municipale en Attique*, p. 7; cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[2] *CIA*, I, 57, cited by Glotz, *s.v.* "Ekklesia," *Dict. des antiquités*.

[3] Keil recognises this principle. "6000 Stimmen gelten als die die politische Gesamtbürgerschaft voll repräsentierende Stimmenzahl, wie sie für gewisse Beschlüsse (*νόμοι ἐπ' ἀνδρί*) gesetzlich gefordert war: 6000 ist die Gesamtzahl der Zahl der Richter. . . . . In der *ἐκκλησία* ist der gesamte *δῆμος* als politische, in der *ἡλιαία* als richterliche Körperschaft zusammengefasst.—Gercke and Norden, "Griechische Staatsaltertümer," in *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 362.

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## NOTE ON HORACE *ODES* i. 27. 21–24

**Quae saga, quis te soluere Thessalis**
**Magus uenenis, quis poterit deus?**
**Vix inligatum te triformi**
**Pegasus expediet Chimaera.**

The key to the interpretation of these lines hangs on *inligatum*. The stock explanation of its function here is "tamquam draconis flexibus."[1] Commenting on "Thessalis . . . . uenenis," Orelli utters the warning[2] that we are not to be influenced by *inligatum* into reading an allusion to *καταδεσμος*. But Kiessling (see n. 1) does read such an allusion in these words, and yet, strange to say, clings to the stereotyped explanation of *inligatum*. Our present contention is that throughout the quatrain Horace has clearly in mind the magic process rejected by the distinguished editors.

Although our knowledge of *defixio* and allied magic has greatly increased in recent years, yet we can find in that department only evidence of a collateral character to support our thesis. *Inligare* is not found in any extant *defixio; ligo*, however, and certain compounds other than *inligare* are found,[3] and also *implicare*,[4] a common synonym of *inligare*. Owing to the specialized manner in which these words are used in magical formulae, they are almost wholly denuded of their usual individual meanings, and all alike are invested with the single magical meaning "to bind" or "to detain with a spell against one's will." It would seem, then, quite accidental that *inligare* has not been preserved for us in a magic document. Even from this indirect evidence there emerges a reasonable probability that Horace, no mean authority on the ways and terms of the sorcerer,[5] intended to clothe *inligatum* with a magical connotation and thus to conclude the stanza in a manner that accords with its beginning.

We have, moreover, a Tacitean example of *inligare* where it has fundamentally the same meaning that we claim for the word in the Horatian line, viz., "ut Abdum specie amicitiae uocatum ad epulas lento ueneno inligaret"

[1] Orelli (Baiter-Hirschfelder), *ad loc.*; Kiessling, *Oden und Epoden*, *ad loc.*; Wickham, *Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Saeculare*, *ad loc.*

[2] "De *καταδέσμοις* propter seq. u. illigatum non cogitandum" (*loc. cit.*).

[3] The figures refer to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904.
*ligo*—103, 3; 219*a*, 3; 247, 10; 252, 38; 253, 12–13, 19; 268, 6; 303, i, 6; ii, 11, 12.
*adligo* and *alligo*—217*a*, 4; *b*, 2, 6; 218, 6–7; 250*b*, 10; 277, 11; 279, 20; 283*a*, 26; 284, 29; 303, II, 3, 11; III, 2; V, 5.
*colligo*—203, I, 6; II, 3, 11, 12; III, 2.
*deligo*—199, 6–7; 217*a*, 4; *b*, 6.
*obligo*—219*a*, 3, 12; 247, 9, 12, 15; 248*a*, 12; 250*a*, 2, 22; *b*, 12; 251, III, 2; 256, 36, 37, 41; 253, 18, 50, 58; 268, 1; 275, 29; 277, 11; 279, 20; 282*a*, 24; 283*a*, 26; 284, 29; 295, 11, 17; Wünsch, *Bonn. Jhbr.*, 1910, pp. 1 ff., No. 24.
*perobligo*—250*a*, 2, 22.

[4] *impli*[*co*] (*Aud.* 248*a*, 13–14).

[5] *Ep.* iii, v, xvii; *Sat.* i. 8.

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(*Ann.* vi. 32. 7). Here there is stated the cold, matter-of-fact, physiological effect of poison. The transition from this to the erotic and poetical sphere of the stanza of Horace is easy if we remember that "aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio, haec sunt uenena formosarum feminarum" (*Afran. ap. Non.* ii. 7.)[1] Horace therefore plainly but delicately tells his youthful and susceptible friend that he is "inligatum[2] Thessalis uenenis triformis Chimaerae," much in the same way in which Keats's knight-at-arms was made aware of the identity of his charming captor:

> . . . . La Belle Dame sans Merci
> Hath thee in thrall.

Moreover, so potent was the spell that only a professional trafficker in magic or some god could set him free. To enlarge further would be superfluous, as the charm of femininity has become a stock idea not only of all modern literatures but of daily speech. The word "charm" itself gives the idea a magical setting.

But let us consider for a moment the rejected interpretation—"tamquam draconis flexibus." At a glance it can be seen that this involves physical contact,[3] a suggestion quite unnecessary here,[4] and, in our judgment, destructive of the delicacy of the poem. To be sure, *inligatum* originally implies physical contiguity, but not so in the figurative sphere. Furthermore, it seems likely that Horace in his use of the word was influenced in large part by the Greek ἐνδέω, which occurs frequently in connection with magical practices, and therefore figuratively: as γάμων ἐνέδησεν ἄτᾳ (Soph. *Oed. Col.* 526); ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ (*Hom.* ii. 11. 111); Josephus *A.J.* IV. vi. 5; VIII. ii. 5 (where variant readings are significantly ἐναδόμενα and ἐνδούμενοι); ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεσμένοι (*Her.* ix. 16); ἐνδεδέσθαι ὅρκίοις (iii. 19); μεγάλοις ὅρκοις ἐνδησαμένα τὸν κατάρατον πόσιν (Eur. *Med.* 161–63).

But still another point demands our attention. Most editors happen to leave with the reader the impression that they and Lucian Müller[5] are single-minded in seeing in *deus* a reference to a major divinity only, as Apollo or Aesculapius, both of whom are credited with the use of drugs in healing. This arises, apparently, from regarding "Thessalis . . . . uenenis" as an

[1] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 688.

[2] *Inligatum* merely *seems* to be structurally absolute here; see next note.

[3] As adligare in "amplexa suo manus meas adligauit" (Sen. *Contr.* i. 4. 9); ["uirginem] uictam deus fluuialis alligat unda" (Val. Fl. v. 28). But this verb often has the figurative meaning allied to that which in our passage we attach to inligatum, as Ter. *Ad.* 844 (cf. Don. *ad loc.*); Apul. *Met.* vi. 23; Claud. xxxvi, 258; Buech., *Carm. Ep.*, 944. See further n. 4, *s.v.*

[4] This comes from needlessly linking together structurally *inligatum* and *triformi Chimaera*. In the other Horatian passages where *inligo* is used (*Ep.* i. 25; iii. 11) it is followed by forms that may be either ablative or dative; but the casual reader would probably feel them as datives.

[5] *Oden und Epoden*, II, 104.

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ablative of instrument rather than of separation. Now it is undoubtedly the latter if our interpretation of *inligatum* be correct. Granting, then, that it is a question of loosing from the spell of Thessalian potions, we are not restricted in *deus* to one of the drug-using healing divinities. On the contrary, we may draw virtually on the entire pantheon, for the magician, being no respecter of gods save so far as his own immediate ends are served, is likely to call summarily on any god, of high or low degree, to cast or to dissolve a spell.[1] In the light of this explanation the four lines appear in style and structure as more worthy of the artist Horace. If *deus* points to a major divinity only, then the strength of the climax "saga . . . . magus . . . . deus" is nullified by the sudden fall to the level of Pegasus, who is, according to Horace' own conception, not a thoroughbred *deus* but only a hybrid offshoot;[2] in short, the ladder would be broken at the topmost round. But with our interpretation the climax would produce the illusion of being heightened by the introduction of the name of Pegasus, for this would follow *deus* on the same level, as a "for instance" illustration.[3] From the point of view of fact the climax remains as it is, but from the point of view of effect, which is the chief concern here, the climax is most imposingly extended.

May we not now offer the following rendering of the stanza in question: "What witch, what sorcerer, what divinity can free thee from Thessalian potions? Even Pegasus will be greatly tasked to free thee, bewitched (with potions) as thou art, from the three-bodied Chimaera"?

W. SHERWOOD FOX

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November 22, 1912

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## 'ΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΣΥΝ 'ΑΝΤΙΘΕΣΕΙ

Prantl, in his *History of Logic* (I, 698), tells us that the technical expression *conversio per contrapositionem* occurs for the first time in Boethius. Martianus Capella describes it as *secunda conversio*, and Apuleius (*ibid.*, 585), though he has no technical term, explains that *omnis homo animal* is convertible as *omne non animal non homo*, which is also Boethius' example. Galen (*ibid.*, 569) uses the general term *ἀντιστρέφον* for the same form of conversion.

In all this Prantl and all the Greek lexicons known to me have overlooked the Greek technical term *ἀντιστροφὴ σὺν ἀντιθέσει* from which the

[1] Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, I, G, iii, 3, ind., p. 47; *Aud. op. cit.*, ind., pp. 460–70; Fox, "The Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum," *Am. Jour. Philology*, XXX, 1, suppl., ind., p. 66.

[2] *deorum sanguinem* (*Odes* iv. 2. 13–14).

[3] To object that Pegasus appears in no extant charm or counter-charm is idle, for Horace is here in a fun-making mood, a mood that brings to shape in poets' minds many stranger conceptions than this.

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Latin *conversio per contrapositionem* is plainly derived. It occurs in Olympiodorus on Plato's *Phaedo* 68B (Finckh, p. 88): *ὅτι εἰ φιλόσοφος, ἁδεὴς πρὸς τὸν θάνατον εἰ δὲ μὴ ἁδεής, οὐ φιλόσοφος· σὺν ἀντιθέσει γὰρ ἀντιστρέφει.* Before Olympiodorus the expression can be followed through the Aristotelian commentators as far back as Alexander; cf. Alexander in *Analyt. Prior.*, p. 29, 10 ff., p. 46, 6 ff., p. 327, 1; *idem* in *Top.*, pp. 191, 192; [Alexander] in *Sophist. Elench.*, p. 49, 5 ff., p. 178, 1 ff.; [Ammonius] in *Analyt. Prior.*, p. 68, 25 ff.; Philoponus in *Analyt. Prior.*, p. 42, 9 ff.; *idem* in *Analyt. Post.*, p. 174, 37; Anonym. Paraphrasis in *Sophist. Elench.*, p. 15, 23, 33; Elias in *Cat.* 179, 13. Alexander's own use of it as a technical term is quite clear and explicit. He writes, for example, in *Analyt. Prior.*, p. 46, 5 ff: *ἐστὶ γὰρ προτάσεως ἀντιστροφὴ κοινωνία προτάσεων κατὰ τοὺς δύο ὅρους ἀνάπαλιν τιθεμένους μετὰ τοῦ συναληθεύειν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν διαφέρωσιν, αἱ τοιαῦται ἀντιστροφαὶ γίγνονταί τε καὶ λέγονται τῶν προτάσεων σὺν ἀντιθέσει. ὅταν δ' αἱ αὐταὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν ὦσιν, αἱ οὕτως λαμβανόμεναι καὶ συναληθεύουσαι ἀντιστροφαί χωρὶς ἀντιθέσεως γίγνονται.* I have not found it earlier than Alexander but have no doubt that it was in use.

Its origin and the force of *ἀντίθεσις* in this connection may, I think, be derived from certain passages of Aristotle. Aristotle was not unacquainted with this form of conversion, though Prantl seems to have overlooked it and Zeller explicitly says (II, 2, p. 225, n. 3): "Die Conversio per Contrapositionem kennt er noch nicht." It is clearly described in *Topics*, II, 8, 113, *b* 15; *οἷον, εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷον, τὸ μὴ ζῷον οὐκ ἄνθρωπος*, which it will be remembered is the very example of Apuleius and Galen *supra*.

Elsewhere he employs the word *ἄντιθεσις* in a way that may well have suggested the use we are considering. In *Metaphysics* 1055 *b* 32 *ἐν ἀντιθέσει* is used of the alternative *λευκὸν ἢ οὐ λευκόν*. More to the point is the description in *Analyt. Prior.*, p. 32, *a* 32, of the equivalence of *ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι* and *ἐνδεχόμενον μὴ εἶναι*. Such propositions are said to be *ὅσαι καταφατικὸν ἔχουσι τὸ σχῆμα κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν*. In other words, as Alexander *ad loc.* explains at length, the propositions as a whole are both affirmative in spite of the negative *μὴ* accompanying *εἶναι* in one of them. That difference between *εἶναι* and *μὴ εἶναι* is indicated by the phrase *κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν*. Though affirmative as a whole they are internally antithetic in the opposition of *εἶναι* to *μὴ εἶναι*. It would only be a step further to speak of a conversion which required the addition of the negative as a conversion accompanied by antithesis, *σὺν ἀντιθέσει*. And this translated into Latin gives us the meaningless conversion by contraposition of the textbooks.

PAUL SHOREY

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## EMENDATION OF JULIAN *ORATIO* v 179C

*τίς οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν ψυχήν, ὃς οὐ συνίησιν ὅτι δὶ Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντη καὶ πάντως, ὃ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἴδιόν ἐστιν.* For *τὸ ἕνεκα τοῦ*, etc., read *τὸ ἑνεκά του* (cf. Ar. *Met.* 1065 *a* 26 and *De part. an.* 639 *b* 14).

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The text is translated by Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians*, p. 169, as follows: "Wer ist denn so stumpfen Geistes, dass er nicht begreife, wie durch Hermes und Aphrodite alles Werden überall aufgerufen wird, das den Zweck des Überall und Durchaus hat, der dem Logos besonders eigentümlich ist?" But this is quite impossible both in sense and grammar. I doubt if any parallel can be found for the expression τὸ ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντη, etc. On the other hand, it is familiar Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine that the things of generation, and especially the things of the organic world, are always purposive or teleological, have a final cause, a τέλος or ἕνεκά του (more frequently οὗ ἕνεκα), in Aristotelian terminology. The misunderstood πάντη καὶ πάντως is merely characteristic Platonic, and still more neo-Platonic, intensity and fulness of expression, like πάντα πανταχοῦ above. What Julian says, then, is that Aphrodite appropriately represents the things of generation, and Hermes (λόγιος) their purposiveness, which is a characteristic of λόγος.

In the same oration, 166A, for the meaningless συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλῃ, ἀλλ' οἷον αὐτὸ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποφερόμενον, we must read, I think, αὐτὸ εἰς ἑαυτό, or rather αὐτὸν εἰς ἑαυτόν. This yields the paradoxical or "Pickwickian" sense so dear to the neo-Platonic mind. The word συνιέναι is used, but we are warned not to take it in its normal meaning. God goes forth—yet abides. Gallus is united—yet not with another but with himself. For the phrasing cf. πρὸς αὐτὴν . . . . ξυνιέναι in Plato *Tim.* 58A. *Philebus* 32B: τὴν δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ὁδόν, and my emendation of *Tim.* 57B from εἰς αὐτὰ ἴῃ to εἰς αὐτὰ ἴῃ which may be further supported by Hermias *Irris.* 7: εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐπανιὼν ἀὴρ; and by Diogenes *Laert.* viii 4: εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν (of transmigration).

PAUL SHOREY

## EUMENÊS OR EUMÊNOS?

Sir Arthur Evans' argument (*Syracusan "Medallions,"* pp. 59–60 = *Numismatic Chronicle* [1891], pp. 263–64) for Eumenês as the true form of the Sicilian die-engraver's name seems to have carried more or less conviction to the minds of several numismatists. Mr. G. F. Hill, who, in his *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 194, impliedly commits himself to the form Eumênos, in his *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (pp. 60–62) and in his catalogue of the Ward collection (*Greek Coins and Their Parent Cities*, pp. 41–42) writes "Eumenes." Dr. Regling proposes (*Sammlung Warren*, under No. 369) to recognize Eumênos and Eumenês as two different artists. In the new edition of the *Historia Numorum* Dr. Head—or is it Mr. Hill?—gives us (p. 175; cf. pp. 116, 937) "Eumēnos or Eumĕnes," apparently declining to assume two persons, but leaving the name to the choice of the reader.

The name, when not abbreviated, appears in the two forms EYMENOY and EYMHNOY. Is it necessary to remind scholars that the genitive of

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Εὐμένης is Εὐμένους? To be sure, the name of Eumenes II of Pergamum does appear in the genitive on one group of his tetradrachms in the form EYMENOY, but this is much later. In Attic inscriptions such forms occur only after *ca.* 350 B.C. (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 3d ed., §53, 11). It is rash to assume this development at Syracuse in the fifth century B.C. If so, we must fall back on the simple old explanation, that Eumenos, living in a community which was only gradually adopting the Ionic alphabet, wavered between the older and the newer way of writing his name. Since the publication by Dr. Jacob Hirsch (*Auctions-Catalog* XIX, No. 252) of the tetradrachm with slow quadriga and the signature YONƎMYƎ, it is impossible to assert, as Sir Arthur Evans did, that the engraver at the beginning of his career used the Ionic letter, H, in the second syllable of his name.

It is true that the name Eumenos is not known to occur elsewhere. But, unique though it be, it is supported by the analogy of Εὐέτης and Εὐήμερος, as was pointed out long ago by Letronne. See Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, 2d ed., p. 207.

F. B. TARBELL

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# BOOK REVIEWS

*Plato's Phaedo.* Edited with introduction and notes by JOHN BURNET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Professor Burnet has given us the latest and best complete text of Plato, the best English treatise on the pre-Socratic philosophers, the best edition of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and to these he now adds the best annotated edition of the *Phaedo*. By "best" I mean not the fullest or the most erudite, but the soundest, most accurate, and least misleading. In this edition as in his edition of the *Ethics*, Professor Burnet shows himself a master of the art of practically helpful annotation. In the combination of pertinency, precision, and brevity, his notes are models. He quotes precisely the relevant passage needed to bring out a point or clear up a difficulty, and quotes no more. Without making the interpretation of the *Phaedo* a pretext for grammatical disquisition, he sums up the conclusions of syntactical specialists in happy and convenient working formulas. Above all he seems to possess the instinctive right feeling for Greek idiom, the lack of which is the fatal defect in so much brilliant and ambitious work of our day. If these qualities sometimes seem to suffer temporary eclipse in the interesting but unverifiable speculations of the introduction, this is an accident most incident to philologians when they undertake to argue a thesis in the Aristotelian sense of the word.

The detailed discussion of the questions raised by Professor Burnet's introduction exceeds the scope of a reviewer. His general drift is to emphasize the Pythagorean element in Socrates and to attribute to him the doctrine of Platonic ideas and much further metaphysics on the ground that Plato could not have misrepresented his master in so solemn and pathetic a work as the *Phaedo*. These theses have not won much acceptance as yet, and I find it difficult to believe that on reconsideration Professor Burnet himself will maintain that the use of φαμέν in Plato and Aristotle raises a very strong presumption that the speaker is professing adherence to a school, or that Aristotle is really contrasting Socrates with the "friends of ideas" in the *Sophist*, and not with Plato when he says that Socrates did not "separate" universals. Similarly I believe that his second thoughts would cancel the statement (p. xxxvi) that "the Strong Man which is the subject of the *Gorgias* . . . . is also the theme of the *Heracles* of Euripides." This is a momentary concession to the fallacy of the capital letter as practiced by a school of philology to which Professor Burnet does not belong. Surely the *Heracles* of Euripides is, in the words of Jebb (*Trach.* XI), "the strong



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man who secures peace to the husbandman and an open path to the sailor," while the strong man of the *Gorgias* is the Nietzschian superman who refuses to be bound by bourgeois morality. They are both undoubtedly "strong," but to identify them as a theme of fourth-century discussion and debate is pure equivocation. The *Cyclops* and the *Phoenissae* offer remote parallels to the Callicles of the *Gorgias*, but the only strong man of the *Heracles* in this sense is the tyrant Lycus, to whom, I presume, Professor Burnet does not intend to refer. But waiving further discussion of the introduction, I will conclude by submitting to Professor Burnet's consideration a few dissenting judgments from some of the statements of his admirable commentary.

61 A 3: φιλοσοφίας . . . . οὔσης μεγίστης μουσικῆς. The argument that this is distinctively Pythagorean doctrine is supplemented by Platonic parallels that will not bear scrutiny. In *Laws* 689D the "fairest harmony which would rightly be called the chief wisdom" is the harmony of belief and practice. And this so far from being "quite different from the metaphor" in *Laches* 188 D 3 is in moral effect virtually identical with it. There, says Professor Burnet, "the μουσικὸς ἀνήρ is he whose character is tuned in a noble key." But Plato is much more specific than that. The true musician is ἡρμοσμένος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τὸν βίον σύμφωνον τοῖς λόγοις πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, which is in substance the statement of the *Laws*.

In 65 D it is surely misleading to say that τῆς οὐσίας, "the reality," means the same thing as τὴν πάντων οὐσίαν in *Cratylus* 401 CD, which refers to the essence or nature of the world or things as a whole. In 69 AB, in the famous comparison of φρόνησις to the true νόμισμα, he brackets as interpolations the words καὶ τούτου μὲν πάντα and ὠνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα both for the sake of the sense and because "it is hardly credible that Plato should use ὠνούμενα as passive or πιπρασκόμενα at all." This requires him to pronounce πιπρασκομένην in *Sophist* 224 A 3, which Campbell retains, an interpolation also. I do not believe we know that Plato could not have used πιπρασκόμενα, but it would be easy to substitute ἀλλαττόμενα. At all events, these omissions destroy Plato's characteristic fulness of edifying expression and leave a curtailed sentence, the inadequacy of which is disguised by the rendering "When accompanied by this [i.e., wisdom] our goodness really is goodness." Where in the Greek do we find the first "goodness"? What Plato says is that πάντα (that is, all action and conduct) when so accompanied and so bought and sold (that is, exchanged, tested, measured) become true virtue. The meaning if not the precise syntax of this construction is repeated below in the words χωριζόμενα . . . . καὶ ἀλλαττόμενα . . . . μὴ σκιαγραφία τις ᾖ τοιαύτη ἀρετή. The objection then "that we are not supposed to buy and sell goodness for wisdom" falls to the ground; and in any case that kind of argument presses the image too hard. The passage is a characteristic Platonic protest against two ideas: (1) the idea that pleasure, not φρόνησις, is the measure or standard; (2) what is virtually the same thing, the idea

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that there is no absolute standard, but things or acts are weighed against one another in that mere Heraclitean relativity; which Plato combats in every department of thought. Cf. *Theaetet.* 160 B, ἀλλήλοις γίγνεσθαι 182 B πρὸς ἄλληλα. In 74 D he reads ἢ ἐνδεῖ τι ἐκείνου τῷ τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἷον τὸ ἴσον as the "dative of that in which one is deficient." This is very harsh with the articular infinitive. I would emend ἐνδεῖ τι ἐκείνοις τοῦ—they (i.e., τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις) lack something of being such as τὸ ἴσον. In 82 E he interprets δεινότης as "cleverness," "ingenuity": would it not be confined to persons in this sense?

The harmony passage (93) and the final proof of immortality (103–5) are too complicated for discussion in my space. Much qualification is required of the statement (93 A) that "Olympiodorus representing the school tradition is quite explicit" in affirming that Plato's argument rests on the hypothesis that harmony does not admit of degree. Olympiodorus gives also another interpretation incompatible with this which I think is more nearly right. Similar qualification is needed to the statement in 105 D that the assumption that the soul itself is a form or εἶδος is not required by the argument. Plato is not explicit; but the argument requires the soul to be an immaterial entity indissolubly associated with the idea of life. What save an idea can be thus indissolubly bound up with an idea? Cf. *Rep.* 476.

I am pleased to observe on 99 D the statement that ὄντα are things in the ordinary sense of the word; on 99 E that there is not any justification in Plato's writings for contrasting Socratic λόγοι with Platonic εἴδη [cf. my "Idea of Good in Plato's *Republic*," *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, I, 236; *A.J.P.*, IX, 304], and that it is not really the case that the λόγοι are mere images of τὰ ὄντα [cf. *A.J.P.*, IX, 304]; and on 101 E the note: "ἐπί τι ἱκανόν that is to an ἀρχή which no one will question." I had feared that the opposite doctrines were too firmly established in English opinion to be dislodged by argument. Professor Burnet discreetly eschews polemic; cf. my "Idea of Good in Plato's *Republic*," *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, I, 230–34;[1] and *A.J.P.*, X, 45.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Lucian, with an English Translation.* By A. M. HARMON. Vol. I. "Loeb Classical Library." New York: Macmillan. $1.50.

It required no little courage to undertake a new translation of Lucian so soon after the admirable work of the Fowlers. But to judge by this

[1] I cannot suppose that by the words "This is not necessarily an ἀρχὴ ἀνυπόθετος *Rep.* 510 *b* 7" Professor Burnet meant to imply that he differs from me on this point, though a careless reader might infer that he did. On p. 233 I explain both the ἱκανόν and the ἀνυπόθετον by willingness "to push the argument back until some common ground is reached," and on p. 234 I enter an explicit caveat against the supposition that I intend a literal and mechanical identification of expressions which I pronounce virtually equivalent in their logical function.

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first volume, the quality of Mr. Harmon's version will more than justify its existence. It is quite as readable and racy as that of the Fowlers, and, as befits a Loeb translation, follows the text more closely than their purpose required them to do. Mr. Harmon is generally very happy in rendering idiom by idiom, and technicality by technicality; his descriptions vie with the original in aptness and variety of phrase, and in the turning of scabrous passages he exhibits a periphrastic ingenuity worthy of a purer cause. The explanatory and critical notes, though brief, are helpful, to the point, and up to date, and will make this edition of value even to scholars. Mr. Harmon evidently knows his Lucian. Errors and oversights are very few. I give what I believe to be a nearly complete list of his mistaken or disputable renderings:

*Lapiths* 26: *πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ σύνεστιν* is not "likes to be with him" but is an indulgent (over-complaisant) tutor; cf. Demosthenes' *πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν*.

*Ibid.* 28: *οὐδ' ἂν ἐμπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τοιούτῳ τινί* does not refer to Aristaenetus but to Hetoemocles, and means not "he would not expose himself to any such treatment," but "he, the philosopher, would not condescend to [take part in] such [a festivity]."

*Ibid.* 30: *ὅπως πρεσβυτικαί*, not "how senile" but, ironically, "how worthy of an elder."

*A True Story* i. 32: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ἐθάδες τῇ διατριβῇ ἐγενόμεθα*, not "when we finally tired of this pastime," but rather "when we had become wonted to the place."

*Ibid.* ii. 1: *τῇ μονῇ* is, of course, not "loneliness" but "delay."

*Ibid.* ii. 7: *πιόμενον* is, of course, not aorist "after taking a dose of hellebore," but future. The hellebore is a part of the treatment to be given by Hippocrates.

*Ibid.* ii. 23: *καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἄτρεπτος ἦν*, not "kept his face to the front," but "did not change color or countenance."

*Phalaris* i. 4: *καὶ σὺν φθόνῳ καματηρόν*, not "when attended by jealousy; a burden," but "both burdensome and invidious."

*Dionysius* 7: *φωνή τε λαμπρά* is not quite "a splendid flow of language."

*Heracles* 4: *φιλόσοφος οἶμαι τὰ ἐπιχώρια* is rather "learned in local antiquities and mythology" than a "scholar from the native standpoint."

PAUL SHOREY

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*Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles.* Von DR. WERNER WILHELM JAEGER. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912. M. 5.

It is not certain that Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as it stands is more badly composed that the second part of *Wilhelm Meister*. But Goethe has told us how *Wilhelm Meister* was eked out and filled up to meet the demand for

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additional copy. For the composition of the *Metaphysics* we have no such revelations. We do not know how much of it Aristotle intended to make part of a consecutive treatise, how much he may have interpolated or added from earlier or later lectures, or lastly what detached papers his editors may have arranged under the comprehensive rubric τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά, the things after physics.

These are the problems which Dr. Jaeger undertakes to solve by sheer force of philological analysis. The little book A ἔλαττον is apparently an introduction to general physics, and its omission does not break the connection between Books A and B. Book Δ, a specimen of a lexicon of equivocal philosophical terms, could be easily spared, and the apparent cross-references to it in other books may, like other cross-references in the Aristotelian treatises, be kept or explained away according to the exigencies of the interpreter's thesis. There is, however, *pace* Dr. Jaeger, no necessity for dropping this book. Aristotle is at any time liable to digress on his favorite topic of πολλαχῶς λεγόμενα. And as all metaphysics is largely an abuse of equivocal terms, we need not scrutinize too closely the artistic relevancy of a special book on the subject in a metaphysical treatise. Wherever inserted, it would seem to interrupt the continuous argument. It would be an appropriate but very dry and unimpressive introduction to the whole work, and placed at the end it would be an anticlimax.

Similar considerations pro and con apply to Book I, which treats of the one and the many and the ideas of opposition and difference—traditional topics of metaphysics already in Plato. The first part of Book K reads like either a résumé or a preliminary sketch of BΓE. Doctor Jaeger accounts for the peculiarities of the style and the un-Aristotelian use of γε μήν by the hypothesis that it is a student's notes of an independent shorter course of lectures. "Wie oft wird Aristoteles über Metaphysik gelesen haben." Perhaps. But this chapter is a striking illustration of the superiority of negative over affirmative arguments in these uncertain matters. Dr. Jaeger's twenty-page refutation of Natorp's theory that K 1–8 is spurious and Platonic is the best piece of reasoning in his entire book. Nearly every point is well taken, and his interpretations of the text against Natorp are in nearly every instance, I believe, right, and are usually supported, I may add, by the excellent translation of Ross. The second part of K, chaps. ix to xii, is an extract sometimes almost verbatim from the *Physics*. Book Λ in its main content seems to crown the edifice by connecting the abstract ontology of the metaphysics with the prime mover of the *de caelo* on the one hand, and the self-thinking νοῦς of the *de anima* on the other. But the interrelations of these ideas are so confused and tentative in statement that, despite the immense historical influence of the book, it is quite possible to deny that Aristotle really intended to complete his system on these lines. Furthermore, the style of the book is in many places that of memoranda or excerpted notes, while in others it rises to religious eloquence. It is open to

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argue, then, that we have here notes of an early work never really intended for this place, or that, on the contrary, the book is the unfinished sketch of a final philosophy which Aristotle was either unable or unwilling to complete. In any case, if Λ as it stands concludes the main metaphysical argument, Books M and N, which deal minutely with the history of and the polemic against the doctrine of ideas and ideal numbers, must be either a gross anti-climax or an appendix.

Dr. Jaeger is certain that these last two books could not have been intended for their present place. He explains away the anticipatory references to them in 1037 *a* 10, and 1042 *a* 22, and sets up the thesis that together with Book I they belong in the main series of metaphysical lectures instead of ZHΘ, which have usurped their place. His thesis rests on an exaggeration of the degree and kind of consistency to be expected in a metaphysical treatise which I have no space to controvert. I can only test its application in this place. His first argument is that Books ZHΘ treat of *αἰσθητὴ οὐσία*, which Books MN regard as belonging to physics, not metaphysics. He writes (p. 110): "Dass Aristoteles M. 1, 1076 *a* 6 f. und M. 9, 1086 *a* 21 f. nicht so sprechen konnte, wie er es tut, wenn Z–Θ vorhergingen, bestreitet weder Brandis noch Bonitz, noch ist es überhaupt bestreitbar." Let us see. Book M begins (1076 *a* 1): "We have discussed the *οὐσία* of *αἰσθητά* in respect to their matter or potentiality in the physics and in respect to their energy [actualization-or form], later." What is meant by "later"? Translators and commentators generally refer it to ZHΘ, and they are probably right. At any rate, in Z 11, 1037 *a* 10 ff. Aristotle tells us that the purpose of his analysis of the relation of matter and form in *αἰσθηταὶ οὐσίαι* is to prepare the way for the discussion of the problematical existence of other kinds of *οὐσίαι* wholly beside and independent of matter. For, he adds, the study of *αἰσθητὴ οὐσία* belongs in a fashion to physical and secondary philosophy. Aristotle then recognizes this fact as clearly in Z as in M. The absolute separation of physics and metaphysics which Dr. Jaeger seems to demand was no more possible for Aristotle than it is for us, and there is no reason for postulating a main series of metaphysical lectures from which all consideration of *αἰσθηταὶ οὐσίαι* was excluded.

In 1086 *a* 21 the matter is still plainer. Dr. Jaeger overlooks the limiting word *μόνης*, with which cf. *μόνον*, in 989 *b* 22. Aristotle says in effect: "The opinions about first principles, causes, and elements of those who discuss only *αἰσθητὴ οὐσία* have partly been set forth in the *Physics* and in part do not belong to the present method." Those who discuss *only αἰσθητὴ οὐσία* are clearly the materialistic pre-Socratics, who are considered not only in the *Physics*, but in the historical review in the first book of the *Metaphysics*, where it is also said that they pertain properly to physics (989 *b* 21–3). They of course do not belong to a "method" especially reserved for the study of alleged immaterial ideas and numbers. But Dr. Jaeger is hardly justified in first referring the designation *τῆς μεθόδου τῆς νῦν* to the whole

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subject of first philosophy, and then assuming that the exclusion of pre-Socratic materialists from metaphysics here is incompatible with Aristotle's discussion elsewhere in the *Metaphysics* of the problem of matter and form in *αἰσθηταὶ οὐσίαι* or his treatment in Λ of the "divine" *αἰσθητὴ οὐσία* of the heavenly bodies and the spiritual powers that move their spheres. Aristotle himself tells us, on the contrary, that the aim of *σοφία* is to explain *τὰ φανερά*, and his chief objection to Platonism is that its assumption of immaterial *οὐσίαι* contributes nothing to such an explanation (992 *a* 24 ff.). More weighty is the casual suggestion that the topics of ZHΘ are rather the preparation for, than the main body of, a metaphysical system. But the answer to this is that all metaphysics and especially the metaphysics of Aristotle consist mainly of introductions and preparations and false starts and recapitulations.

A final proof of the impossibility of admitting ZHΘ in the same series with A and MN is said to be that Z regards the ideas as not yet refuted whereas they have been explicitly refuted in A 8–9. But every reader is aware that Aristotle always regards the ideas as sufficiently refuted for a sneer (*τερετίσματα*) and sufficiently an open question for a renewal of the assault upon them. Z regards the ideas as unrefuted only in the sense that it keeps returning to the attack, and this is almost equally true of MN. I am not arguing for the retention of MN in their present place, but only against the throwing-out of ZHΘ on insufficient grounds. I do not think that we have evidence enough to determine the history of MN; but what we have points to them as an appendix especially reserved for the more detailed discussion of ideas and numbers.

The numerous repetitions and awkward transitions in the *Metaphysics* supply Dr. Jaeger with material for a great many more ingenious minor combinations which it would require a volume as large as his own to test. There is a certain plausibility in the general assumption that variant doublets represent substituted or alternative lectures in repeated courses. But he often finds such doublets where we probably have nothing more than the natural self-repetition of a hurried metaphysician possessed of some fixed ideas, but uncertain of his goal. Twice in A 7 Aristotle triumphantly proclaims that the pre-Socratics had suggested no idea of cause not included in his own classification. There is nothing surprising, then, in the recurrence of this complacent remark in A 10. By *ἀπορίαι* Aristotle sometimes means objections to the systems he is criticizing and sometimes the problems which they suggest for his own thought. His use of the word supplies no basis for theories of the construction of the *Metaphysics*. He is at any time capable of using the same word in different senses in the same paragraph. There are few writers whose style will less bear pressing by the rigor of philological logic.

But though I am unable to share Dr. Jaeger's confidence in the power of pure philological analysis to reconstruct with certainty the composition of

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the *Metaphysics*, no student of Aristotle can fail to derive a great deal of instruction and stimulus from his close grappling with the many problems presented by the text as it stands. Especially interesting is the second part, entitled "Die literarische Stellung und Form der Metaphysik," which is elaborated, evidently under the influence of von Wilamowitz, into something like a systematic history of the delivery and publication of professional lectures in antiquity.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Sophistik und Rhetorik.* Das Bildungsideal des εὖ λέγειν in seinem Verhältnis zur Philosophie des V. Jahrhunderts. Von H. GOMPERZ. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. vi+292. M. 10.

The writer, who must be distinguished from his father, the author of *Greek Thinkers*, has chosen for his special domain the border-land of philosophy, rhetoric, and sophistic in the fifth and fourth centuries. The main thesis of the present volume is that sophistic was in its essence rhetoric—the theory and practice of the art εὖ λέγειν—and that all philosophic, scientific, or other special interests which modern historians of philosophy attribute by tradition to the fifth-century Sophists are to be taken in strict subordination to this dominant end. In confirmation of this presumption, he undertakes a broad and somewhat prolix survey of the extant tradition as conveniently collected in Diels. Gorgias' treatise on *Nature or the Non-existent* is not a serious exposition of critical skepticism, but the maintenance of a paradoxical thesis in the style and the logical divisions of his *Praise of Helen* and his *Defence of Palamedes*, the genuineness of which Gomperz defends at length. Thrasymachus did not teach the ethical nihilism attributed to him by Plato. The famous fragment to the effect that the gods do not concern themselves with human affairs since men obviously make no use of justice must have been a mere jest of one of the ὑπερβάλλοντες or exaggerating discourses. The Thrasymachus of the first book of the *Republic* is merely a dramatic representative of an unknown contemporary attacked by Plato—the author of the *Clitophon* which Gomperz thinks was written about 390. This unknown writer, after there exposing the negative and unsatisfactory character of all Socratic definitions of justice, probably went on in a lost supplement to the *Clitophon* to develop as his own definition the formula which Plato attributes to Thrasymachus—that justice is the advantage of the stronger.

Antiphon the Sophist is to be distinguished from the orator. Though a student of Empedocles, he is not properly speaking a philosopher; he is the rhetorician of the elevated commonplace, as Gorgias is the rhetorician of the paradox. The predominance of the merely formal over the substantive interest in Hippias, the Anonymus of Iamblichus, and the *Dialexeis* is easily demonstrated. Prodicus' advanced course in synonyms was not a scientific

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study of semasiology, but a practical guide to the use of the effective word in oratory and debate. His *Choice of Heracles* was doubtless an edifying discourse for young men to hear, and to that extent he, like other Sophists, "taught virtue." But this is not enough to constitute him either an ethical philosopher or a moral idealist of the Socratic or Platonic type.

Some twelve pages of Diels suffice for the collection of all that antiquity has told us about Protagoras. Gomperz' comment fills some hundred and fifty pages of his book. He is not the first and will not be the last to write at inordinate length about Protagoras, and I mention the fact, not by way of censure, but as one more illustration of the paradox that philologists tend to enlarge their treatment of a subject in the inverse ratio to available evidence—τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι. We have no means of reconciling the seeming contradiction between the dialectic helplessness of the Protagoras of the dialogue which bears his name and the subtle psychology of the apology attributed to him in the *Theaetetus*. The probabilities can be stated in a paragraph. The systematic exposition of a coherent doctrine of relativity and positivism, or pragmatism as the fashion of the day calls it, is probably a Platonic development of suggestions latent in isolated Protagorean paradoxes and epigrams. On this point Gomperz seems to agree with me against his father, as he does in maintaining that Protagoras would have hardly distinguished between the generic and the individual interpretation of *homo mensura*, though if option is forced, we must decide for the individual interpretation. But though he believes that the systematic form of the exposition is Platonic, he thinks it possible to prove that the main doctrinal content is Protagorean. In the details of this demonstration I cannot follow him. His conclusion is that Protagoras is the only Sophist who is at the same time an original philosophic thinker. Yet the philosophy even of Protagoras is merely an introduction to, or a by-product of, his rhetoric. The principle of relativity and the universal anthesis of the two *logoi* are symbols and reflections of the opposing theses and arguments in rhetorical debate.

Into this rhetorical world of beautiful plausibility Socrates enters with the questions: How is the thing really? What is the truth of the matter? The development of these questions by Plato and Aristotle opposed a new ideal of scientific education and culture to the purely formal ideal of the Sophists. Yet (p. 290) "so wäre Platon nicht Platon geworden, hätte er nicht die erfinderische Vielseitigkeit des Gedankens und die künsterlische Vollendung der Sprache von den Sophisten übernommen und sie in den Dienst der socratischen Postulate gestellt."

The style is readable and the book is full of interesting suggestions. It is, however, by no means free from the false point-making, straining of evidence, forced parallels and perverse ingenuity which are the bane of present-day philology. As I have harped perhaps too often upon this string, I will here confine myself to one example. On page 164 the author argues that

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the verbal coincidence of the *Dialexeis* and the pseudo-Platonic περὶ δικαίου in the expressions ἐν τῷ δέοντι and καιρῷ prove beyond a doubt that both used a common fifth-century source, and further justifies the conclusion that the περὶ δικαίου belongs to about the first decade after Socrates' death, and that its doctrine of καιρός is derived not from Gorgias but from Protagoras. Now as a matter of fact (1) almost any Greek writer could use those innocent expressions and καιρός is one of the earliest of Greek commonplaces; (2) they are not found together in the *Dialexeis*, but καιρῷ occurs in number 2, and ἐν δέοντι in number 4; (3) the περὶ δικαίου is steeped in Platonic reminiscences, and if its author required a source for ἐν (τῷ) δέοντι he could have found it in *Rep.* 414B, as he could have found his similar application of ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ in *Rep.* 389B and 334B, and as he could have found in *Symp.* 181A the entire thought (though not the words) of the argument that no act is good or bad in itself, but only through the manner of its performance.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Luciani quae feruntur Podagra et Ocypus.* Praefatus edidit commentatus est JOHANNES ZIMMERMANN. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCMIX. Pp. 82.

These two short pieces in verse have led a shifting existence, now accepted by some editors as legitimate Lucianic offspring, now rejected by others as supposititious twins, while by a smaller number of commentators their claims have been differentiated and the *Tragopodagra* alone admitted to the list of the author's genuine writings. Few, even of seasoned Lucian students, have cared to give them much more than cursory attention. Most readers are well content to reject them as spurious or to accept them apologetically as indicative of the advanced senility of the ex-rhetorician, dropping into verse as he shuffled into his grave.

M. Croiset, however, after admitting (*La vie et les œuvres de Lucien*, p. 84) that these two dialogues alone would never have won immortality for the writer, adds: "Mais il y a de l'esprit, du trait, et ce genre d'enjouement ironique et moqueur qui lui était propre. Nous n'avons donc pas de raison suffisante pour les déclarer apocryphes." A verdict based upon such grounds from a writer usually so keen to detect the true Lucianic hall-marks would have greater weight were it not that an attentive reading of the two pieces brings out so clearly the jejune banality of the *Ocypus*, both in matter and manner, that it would seem probable that M. Croiset has transferred the merits, belonging to the *Tragopodagra* alone, to his estimate of both on the ground that they must stand or fall together.

It is just here that Zimmermann's monograph forms a real contribution. He dissociates the two, claiming that the *Tragopodagra* is genuine and the *Ocypus* spurious, and proceeds to examine them with somewhat meticulous Teutonic detail and occasional over-emphasis of nonessentials.

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In the preface Zimmermann gives an account of the nine codices upon which he mainly relies. Then follow: the Greek text of the two pieces, with critical notes; a general commentary; statistics and analysis of the meters; analysis of the vocabulary employed; literary reminiscences and imitation; discussion of authorship.

The choice of readings and the emendations of the text are, as a rule, well considered (though on *Pod.* 19 πάθος for πόρους seems hardly warranted).

The general notes contribute items of interest, especially the observations on the meters of the chorals in the *Tragopodagra*, which may well be Lucian's handiwork, either as reminiscent of Anacreontics or as mocking imitations of the curtailed anapaests—"Hinkanapaests," i.e., ending in an iambus—current in the second century after Christ, or of the so-called dactylic "hexametri miuri"—i.e., with an iambus substituted for the last foot.

In the case of the parody of the conventional tag appended to four plays of Euripides (which Zimmermann somewhat carelessly speaks of as an imitation of Euripides himself), it might have been some slight reinforcement to his contention for the genuineness of the *Tragopodagra* to cite the conclusion of Lucian's *Symposium*.

Zimmermann's notes on the *Ocypus*—a composition denuded of any choral charm, marred with false syntax, late forms and vocabulary, and devoid of any suspicion of humor—prepare us for his subsequent verdict against its genuineness. The use, however, of ποῖ for ποῦ (line 68), establishing, as it does, Euripidean reminiscence, need hardly be cited as a "notable" slip.

The minute discussion of metrical details not only establishes greater carelessness on the part of the author of the *Ocypus* but indicates that the metrical habits of the writers of the two pieces were divergent.

Although in summing up the vocabulary of the *Tragopodagra* there is given a somewhat formidable list of Ionic[1] forms (justified, however, by tragic coloring) and of words not elsewhere used by Lucian, yet Zimmermann's contention is not unreasonable that this would be quite in keeping, in verse composition, with Lucian's well-known characteristic of employing a special vocabulary for a specific purpose. Both the bad syntax and the inane repetition of dull expressions present in the *Ocypus*, are at least inconspicuous in the *Tragopodagra*. The conspectus of reminiscences from the Tragedians is not very convincing but the tragic coloring of the vocabulary in the *Tragopodagra* is evident.

The argument from the order observed in the various codices is ingenious and adds weight to the rejection of the *Ocypus*. Lucian's satire of his contemporaries is perhaps responsible for the Orphic suggestions and perhaps

[1] τῶν, *Tragopod.* 10, is ignored. Compare Lucian's experiment with imitating Ionic in *de dea Syria* if this, as is at least possible, be accepted as Lucianic contrary to the general opinion.

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for the further use of the current fashion of unusual metrical schemes. As Zimmermann suggests, the *Carmen Diophantis* also employs the "cholanapaests" in introducing a sufferer with the gout.

One phase, as it may seem, Zimmerman develops insufficiently. While he does emphasize the mocking satire upon the orthodox gods in the claims put forth by *Podagra*, and in one sentence briefly remarks: "Nec sane *Podagra* fabula tam facete composita Luciani ingenio indigna est," yet he might well have supplemented the more obvious suggestions of vocabulary and meter by a fuller discussion of the delicate criteria of Lucian's humor which may, perhaps, be detected in the *Tragopodagra*.

Although the argument that Lucian would not have repeated this same theme in a second piece seems hardly cogent in view of the many instances to the contrary in the Lucianic canon, the inferior character of the *Ocypus* itself is made out well enough.

Zimmermann, finally, tries to prove that the *Ocypus* was written in the year 364 A.D. by Acacius the friend of Libanius. This is based on a reference in one of Libanius' letters to a "witty" piece on this theme which Acacius had sent him. Since Acacius and Libanius were both at this time victims of the disease, it would perhaps be only charitable to think of them as already sufficiently punished without attributing to the one the authorship or to the other the commendation of this jejune piece.

If the *Ocypus* was really written by Lucian, and not by Acacius or some other unknown author, we must assume that the gout had by this time attacked him in both feet. In the *Tragopodagra* he limps, indeed, but can still bustle about like Hephaestus with his cup of humor not wholly emptied.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

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*Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei den Griechen und Römern, und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden.* Von KARL JAISLE. Dissertation. Tübingen, 1907.

This dissertation is divided into two parts: a good collection chronologically arranged of the references in Greek and Latin literature and inscriptions to the Dioscuri as protectors on the sea, and a discussion of the supposed survival of these gods in Christian saints. The former has considerable value as a collection of material; the latter is of little worth.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as every reader of Homer knows, Castor is only a master-driver and Polydeuces a master-boxer. But in the Homeric hymn 33, which probably belongs to the sixth century B.C., the brothers appear (vss. 6 ff.) with their later function fully developed: they are σωτῆρες . . . . ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν. Thenceforth they have this office clearly defined in Greek literature and in Latin poetry influenced by the Greek, without losing their general character as horsemen who assist men in time of battle or of other need. This specialization of function can

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hardly be explained in the simple way suggested by Jaisle (p. 4). It is quite possible that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in this matter, as elsewhere, show us only one phase of current thought, and that the belief in the Dioscuri as general protectors and helpers may have developed at a period anterior to the Homeric epics, although it was hardly inherited from the "Indo-european period." On this point Jaisle should have consulted not Myrianthus, but Charles Reuel, *L'évolution d'un mythe, Açvins et Dioscures*, Paris, 1896—a book from which he could have learned much. Nor should he have neglected Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 50, 207–15.

The paucity of dedications to the Dioscuri in their special office is striking. Jaisle gives three Greek inscriptions (*IG*, IV, 1279; VII, 1826; XIV, 2461), all of the Roman period; the two Latin (*CIL*, VI, 413; XIII, 3026) are not certainly to the point.

So far as the second part of this dissertation is concerned it had better not have been written. There is no proof that the martyrs Castor and Pollux, or the saints Castor of Coblenz, Polyeuctus of Melitene, and Phocas of Sinope (who is related to Priapus!) have anything to do with the Castor and Pollux of pagan legend and belief. On the other hand, Peter and Paul in Naples inherited certain functions of the Dioscuri with their temple—Peter opening, Paul closing the floodgates of heaven.

The long delay in noticing this dissertation has been due in large measure to an oversight on the part of the reviewer, for which he would express his regret.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

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*Xenophontis Scripta minora.* Fasciculus posterior opuscula politica equestria venatica continens post Ludovicum Dindorf edidit FRANCISCUS RUEHL. Accedunt Simonis De re equestri quae supersunt. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.

Of the six essays of Xenophon contained in this volume we now have three at least, the *Hipparchus*, the *Cynegeticus*, and the *De re equestri*, in a much less corrupt form than when the first Teubner edition appeared. This is due to the rediscovery by Ruehl of the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 989 (V), which contains all three and is far superior to those previously used, and to the finding of Codex Vindobonensis iv, 34 (W), containing the *Cynegeticus* and the *De re equestri*, an authority reckoned superior even to V. On the basis of these two codices, together with the inferior class, a group of Italian scholars, Cerocchi, Tommasini, and Pierleoni, have published in the Weidmann press separate editions of the *Hipparchus* (1901), the *De re equestri* (1902), and the *Cynegeticus* (1902), which have received the unanimous praise of the reviewers. Pierleoni has also given us an excellent edition of the *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* (1906). The *De vectigalibus*, then, is the only one of the six which has not recently been given the dignity of a separate

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edition,[1] the *Respublica Atheniensium*, of course, having received abundant attention, the last edition being that of Kalinka (1898).

The present volume gives us all six together in handy form and adds the *De re equestri* of Simon. The editor, Fr. Ruehl, has been known as a student of Xenophon for more than thirty years. He has made new collations of the principal MSS and many others have been placed at his disposal. His own labors, aided by the editions just referred to, have given us a reliable critical apparatus and as satisfactory a text as we are likely to have. A full and well-selected list of conjectural emendations accompanies the variant readings.

In the *Respublica Atheniensium* Ruehl has gone farther than Kalinka in inserting emendations in the text. This course is defensible where, as is so often the case here, it is perfectly clear what the writer intended to say, and the text is unreadable without the insertions. It is perhaps unfortunate that the same brackets are used for insertions (1) that merely restore the sense, without the exact words being attainable, for those (2) where the exact words are supplied by the context, and for those (3) which are given by Codex Mutinensis, though Ruehl is no doubt right in denying to that Codex the authority given it by Kalinka.

As between V and W, Ruehl does not hold the latter so highly as Pierleoni and Tommasini. It is difficult to approve his course in the proemium of the *Cynegeticus*, which is lacking in V, and in which the inferior MSS contain several passages not found in W. Ruehl does not here follow W. However, a decision based upon one's critical judgment of the inserted sentences rather than upon the relative value of the MSS is particularly difficult in a chapter of such peculiar style as this one. Ruehl, by the way, nowhere in this edition expresses his opinion upon the Xenophontine authorship either of the *Respublica Atheniensium* or of the first and last chapters of the *Cynegeticus*. Elsewhere he has taken the conservative point of view.

A. G. LAIRD

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*M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* (*Cum senatui gratias egit; Cum populo gratias egit; De domo sua; De haruspicum responso; Pro Sestio; In Vatinium; De provinciis consularibus; Pro Balbo*). Recognovit brevique Adnotatione Critica Instruxit GVLIELMVS PETERSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Pp. 306. 2*s*. 6*d*., paper; 3*s*. 6*d*., cloth.

*M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes* (*Pro Tullio; Pro Fonteio; Pro Sulla; Pro Archia; Pro Plancio; Pro Scauro*). Recognovit brevique Adnotatione Critica Instruxit ALBERTVS CVRTIS CLARK. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Pp. 188. 2*s*., paper; 2*s*. 6*d*., cloth.

Principal Peterson gives in the short introduction to his volume a very brief history of the critical battle that has raged about the four orations—

[1] Pierleoni has included this with two or three of the others in an Italian edition.

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*Post reditum in senatu, Post reditum ad Quirites, De domo sua ad Pontifices,* and *De haruspicum responso* (*-is*)—and an equally short discussion of the Codex Parisinus (P) and the relation of the rest of the manuscripts (B, Σ, G, E, H, *b*, *b*², *c*, *k*, *s*) to it. He argues in favor of the genuineness of the controverted four speeches and bases his text, with but few conjectures, on P.

With the publication of Mr. Clark's small volume the Oxford edition of Cicero is completed. This editor's scholarship has contributed much to establishing the text of Cicero, and this latest contribution will be welcomed by all students of the great orator.

He devotes a considerable part of his introduction to the interesting story of Petrarch, his Ciceronian studies, his zeal in copying and diffusing manuscripts of his works. He establishes two families of Cicero manuscripts—a German and a French. The former, including T, E, G, ε, π, is at almost every point superior in quality, though the latter family boasts a larger number.

In keeping with the general plan of the series, a brief critical apparatus with the most important variant readings is found at the bottom of each page.

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*Ausgewählte Komödien des T. Maccius Plautus für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Julius Brix.* Zweites Bändchen: *Captivi.* Sechste Auflage bearbeitet von MAX NIEMEYER. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1910. Pp. 117. M. 1.40.

Niemeyer has now thrice revised Brix's well-known edition of the *Captivi.* Formerly, he was restrained, he says, by *Pietät;* now the revision "ist . . . . gründlicher gewesen." He is still, however, profoundly impressed by Brix's acumen and scholarship, and gives generous attention, in the *Anhang,* to his views.

In this revision the *Einleitung* has been entirely rewritten, and the commentary has been brought up to date. Thus, there are references in the commentary to the recently discovered fragments of Menander. Again, much space is given to the views set forth in S. Sudhaus' *Der Aufbau der Plautinischen Cantica,* published at Leipzig in 1909. To the cantica of the *Captivi* Niemeyer has enthusiastically applied Sudhaus' schemes; in his brief *Vorwort* he exclaims: "Und siehe da, ich fand sein Gesetz über den Stollenbau durchaus bewährt." He sent his results for the *Captivi* to Sudhaus, and found, to his delight, that Sudhaus had reached the same conclusions; in all this he sees striking confirmation of Sudhaus' theories. Attention may, however, be called here to Leo's objections to these theories, voiced in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* for 1911.

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The *Einleitung* covers only 10 pages. There is no discussion here of the meters; in this respect the book is far less valuable, even when reinforced by the treatment of the meters in Niemeyer's edition of the *Trinummus*, 14–25, than Lindsay's *editio maior* of the *Captivi* (London: Methuen, 1900), with its masterly survey of the meters, 12–102, which gives control to tyro and scholar both of all the work done on Plautine meters up to that time. The comparison of the two books here is not unfair, since "Bücher für den Schulgebrauch erklärt," such as Brix's editions of the plays of Plautus and Dziatsko's of those of Terence, are in reality works of high scholarship, making real contributions. In his brief outline of the plot, on p. 1, Niemeyer tries, unsuccessfully, I think, to meet one criticism of the plot of the *Captivi*. He asserts that such exchange of identity as we have in our play must have been common enough: "Ein vornehmer Gefangener war ein Kapital. Da galt es zu überlisten; solche Verabredungen zwischen Krieger und Waffenträger mochten wohl vorkommen." But, I ask, assuming that our captives could have foreseen Hegio's proposal, where lay the profit of such *Verabredung* for them? Here we have no effort whatever at *Ueberlistung:* Philocrates keeps his bargain faithfully. We had better accept the device of the exchange of identities as one that leads to very pleasing results, however little it will bear coldly logical examination. Niemeyer rates the *Captivi* highly; he does not refer to Professor Morris' suggestion (Introduction, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii) that Plautus had sadly misconceived his original, and had in particular vulgarized the character of Hegio. On pp. 4–5 Niemeyer discusses Plautus' disregard of geographical accuracy; he might have referred to my remarks in *Classical Philology*, II, 14, note 1. There are, further, interesting remarks on the relation of Plautus to his original; the genuineness of the prologue to the *Captivi* is defended, in particular against Ritschl's arguments based on the theory that there were no seats in the theater in Plautus' time. In the account of the editions of the *Captivi* there is one very curious omission: no reference is made to Lindsay's text ("Oxford Classical Text Series"), published in 1903.

There is not space here, unfortunately, to discuss the notes throughout in detail. A good commentary has been improved; there is a long array of excellent notes, and an equally long array of notes that, whether they command assent or not, will stimulate thought. I shall confine myself, in the rest of this review, to the passages of which Niemeyer has made special mention in his preface.

In 201 Niemeyer reads (CA. *Oh Oh Oh*) LO. *Eiulatione haud opus est: oculis aciem minuitis.* Brix had read *oculis multam iram editis.* The MSS give *multa oculis multa miraclitis.* Evidently palaeographical considerations do not trouble Niemeyer. Because in *Aul.* 795 *ei mihi* is followed by *cur eiulas?* and in *Mer.* 624 *heu me miserum!* is followed by *omitte flere,* Niemeyer concludes "also ist bei *eiulatio* wohl auch an Tränen gedacht." But a reference to weeping by our captives comports ill with their bearing

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throughout the play; see especially 262. The phrases cited by Niemeyer in support of his *oculis aciem minuitis* do not help him at all. That Plautus' phraseology must be respected in emendation even Professor Lindsay needed to learn; in *Truc.* 804, following Kampmann, he reads a form of *dono donare:* Plautus' phrase, as Professor Lodge's *Lexicon Plautinum* has shown, is invariably *dono dare* (20 examples). In *Cap.* 201 the reading in Lindsay's *editio maior, oculis multa mira aitis,* is less bad than Niemeyer's, though I cannot believe it Plautine.

In 215 B–17 Niemeyer reads TY. *Obnoxii ambo vobis sumus propter hanc rem, quom, quae volumus nos, copiast, ea <fide> facitis nos compotes.* Lindsay (*editio maior,* Oxford Text) had all this except *fide;* Goetz-Schoell mark the last line as corrupt. Here again I cannot follow Niemeyer, who merely says: "ea fide, quam concedendo, abeundo praestatis." Why insert words so freely? Further, how does the notion of good faith find an entrance here? The captives have been in no position to strike bargains or exact promises.

In 772 Niemeyer reads *Nec quoiquam homini supplicare <nec deo> nunc certumst mihi.* Editors have long sought to alter this line, in accordance with their theories of the meter. Brix, after Geppert, had changed *nunc* to *nunciam;* Lindsay, *editio maior,* has proved this change inadmissible. I do not think any change needed. Certainly, Niemeyer's is inadvisable; it imports into the parasite's words a defiance of heaven he shows nowhere else in the play, and which is not justified by the context. If the MSS gave *nec deo,* then indeed we could readily see with Niemeyer a fine *Steigerung* and a contrast to the thanks just given to *Iuppiter supremus.* But, as the text stands, we get an even finer contrast, that between the helpful *Iuppiter supremus* who has so substantially aided Ergasilus—and *mere man,* to whom he surely bowed the knee before (see his long lament on that subject in 461–97) but to whom hereafter he will render no homage.

In 880–82 Niemeyer reads HE. *Et servolum (sc. vidisti) meum Stalagmum, meum qui gnatum surrupuit?* ER. Ναὶ τὰν Κόραν. HE. *Iam <ho>die.....* ER. Ναὶ τὰν Πραινέστην. HE. Venit? ER. Ναὶ τὰν Σιγνίαν. HE. Certon'? ER. Ναὶ τὰν Φρυσινῶνα. HE. Vide sis. The MSS give *iam diu.* Editors commonly supply with *iam diu* the verb *venit.* But this can have no meaning. If *venit* is to be supplied at all, then Professor Morris was right in declaring the text corrupt. Niemeyer's text means (he too supplies *venit*), "Is he come back so soon?" By "he" Niemeyer understands Philocrates! On this arbitrary and wrong procedure he bases the following comment: "So fragen wir alle mit dem beglückten Vater, doch—den Poeten bindet keine Zeit." He might have referred to the short passage in the introduction (p. 3), in which he declares that he emended in 882 to make it plain that Plautus himself was aware of the one downright impossibility in the play—the return of Philocrates on the same day: "Das wird auch durch die Ungläubigkeit des Hegio und durch einen überreichen Schwurapparat des Bearbeiters prächtig und gründlich unterstrichen." To all this

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there are many answers. Plautus cared nothing at all about such matters. His indifference to matters of art everybody knows; if illustration of it must be had, see e.g., my remarks in *Classical Philology*, II, 14, note 1, II, 6, note 1. Further, after 880–81, *Stalagmum meum qui gnatum surrupuit?* the only possible subject of the verb *venit* in 882, as read by Niemeyer, is, not Philocrates at all, but *Stalagmus*. Between Philopolemus and his father's thoughts two other personalities have come—Stalagmus and the boy lost twenty years before. *Iam hodie <Stalagmus venit>*, "Has Stalagmus come back so soon?" is wildly absurd. To the father's heart the twenty years of Stalagmus' absence had been a long, long time (compare the implications of the prologue and of 759 ff.). There is also a grievous psychological flaw in Niemeyer's text and introduction. Plautus knew humanity, if he did disregard art; he knew too well the soul of a father bereft to make him think, when face to face with a great and unexpected joy, the recovery of a long-lost son, of the trifling and irrelevant question of the possibility or impossibility of making a given journey in a given time.

It is, moreover, entirely possible to keep the manuscript reading. Professor Elmer nearly saw the truth. He gave the traditional text, but had the acumen to connect *iam diu* with the preceding *surrupuit*. Let us bring this out by proper punctuation, by putting a dash after *surrupuit*, instead of a question mark; Ergasilus cuts in while Hegio is speaking. The effectiveness of the passage could be brought out far more easily in acting than on the printed page. What Niemeyer has to say about the *Schwurapparat* applies equally well to the manuscript text, as just interpreted.

On 912 A (912 B in Niemeyer), which is given only in A, in a sadly corrupt state, Lindsay, *editio maior*, remarks that Studemund showed that in this part of the *Captivi* A had many more verses, perhaps forty more than appear here in the other manuscripts. In 911 ff. Niemeyer inserts two whole verses; in 912 (912 B in his numbering) he inserts several words, making the verse readable. In 912 B his text strikes me as unhappy, in that it produces a very ineffective hysteron proteron. The insertion of verses to fill up the gap in A in this part of the play is an entertaining exercise for those who like that sort of thing, but the results are not likely to carry conviction to others. If anyone doubts this, let him compare the readings of *Cap.* 907, before the Ambrosian palimpsest was clearly deciphered here, with the text of that verse as now given in all the editions!! See Halledie *ad loc.*

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*Études sur le style des Discours de Cicéron.* Avec une esquisse de l'histoire du "Cursus." Par L. LAURAND. Paris: Hachette. Pp. xxxix+388. Fr. 7.50.

In the first of the three books into which this work is divided the author examines the language of Cicero's speeches; in the second, his use of clausulae;

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and in the third, the different types of oratorical style. He has evidently made a careful study of Cicero's rhetorical treatises, especially of the *Orator*, and in his analysis of the speeches compares practice with theory, repeatedly demonstrating how Cicero, in some point of style or choice of diction, has adhered strictly to principles expounded in his rhetorical writings.

While the work is based on an original investigation of the speeches themselves, Laurand has made himself familiar with the results of the innumerable monographs and articles that have been published on various phases of the subject. He examines conflicting views with a nice discrimination. He is fair in judging other men's work, and for the most part his decisions are sound. The range of his studies may be inferred from the elaborate bibliographies (more than thirty pages in all) with which the volume is equipped. Where he has not been able to get any of the books or articles listed, he says so. This fact in itself makes his bibliography unique.

The Introduction discusses the question whether the form of the orations when published adhered to or differed from the form in which they were originally delivered. Laurand believes (p. 12) that there was, for the most part, but little change. He denies the story related by Dion Cassius,[1] and regards the changes that undoubtedly were made in the *Pro Milone* before publication as exceptional. His reasons for rejecting Dion's story are sound, but it is extremely doubtful whether the modifications in the *Pro Milone* constitute a unique case. They are probably exceptional in their extent, rather than in their kind. Laurand does not establish his point here. He does not of course dispute the fact that most of the speeches were written after delivery.

In chap. i the author speaks of the care which Cicero exercised in the choice of the words used by him in the orations. To demonstrate the purity of the orator's vocabulary, he gives a series of lists: one containing the words occurring in quotations made by Cicero, but not used by him in his own speeches; another giving the words used in his poems, but not in his speeches; and others comparing the vocabularies of the letters and the rhetorical writings with that of the orations. These lists are carefully compiled, and will be found useful in some forms of lexical study, but they only bear upon the question of Cicero's discrimination in the choice of vocabulary in a general way. They do not prove anything except that Cicero recognized the fact that different departments of literature have to a certain extent their own vocabularies; and this point is too patent to require so elaborate an array of evidence.

The second book deals with the quality of *numerus*, under which term are included all those elements which are intended to contribute to harmony of speech. In the section on alliteration (p. 113) it is shown that Cicero,

[1] *Hist. Rom.* xlvi. 7. 3, where Calenus addressing Cicero in bitter invective in the Senate says: ἢ οἶει τινὰ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι μηδένα τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου τούτων λόγων οὓς ἐκδέδωκας εἴρηκας ἀλλὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα συγγέγραφας.

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realizing that he had used this device too frequently in his early days, employed it but rarely in the period of his best speeches. In regard to hiatus Laurand points out that there is no inconsistency between Cicero's theory as set forth in *Orator* xliv. 150, in which he urges the avoidance of hiatus, and his practice as exemplified by such passages as *De Imperio Pompei* 51, where in the course of eight lines there are thirteen examples of a final followed by an initial vowel. For it was the orator's custom to blend the sounds of the two vowels (*vocales coniungere*). He did this in delivering an oration as regularly as in reading a poem. But the chief element in oratorical harmony was the clausula, and Laurand's discussion of this constitutes the most important part of his book (pp. 143–218). He shows that Cicero's use of clausulae accords with the principles laid down in the *Orator*. He does not set forth any new theories, but by his analysis and criticism of the work of Zielinski and others succeeds in bringing out forcibly the elements of truth that lie at the base of all the theories proposed. The treatment, which is characterized throughout by a sound common-sense not often found in discussions of this question, is easily the best introduction to the study of clausulae that we have.

The third book, which deals with the different kinds of style, is inferior to the other two; the material collected is less important and the treatment is sketchy.

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*Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur.* Von DR. EDWARD STEMPLINGER. Preisgekrönt von der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (März, 1911). Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Pp. vi+293.

The book was written, as we may say, to order; that is to say, to obtain the prize offered by the Munich Academy for a treatise on the following theme: "Plagiarism in Greek literature, investigated with regard to philological research, rhetorical and aesthetic theory, and the literary practice of antiquity." Agreeably to instructions the successful treatise falls into three parts: I, Ancient Philological Research Relative to Plagiarism; II, Rhetorical and Aesthetic Theories Respecting Plagiarism; III, Ancient Literary Practice.

Part I treats (1) of the sources of the literature dealing with κλοπαί, discussing in some detail the contributions of commentaries on individual authors, of books dealing with εὑρήματα, of personal polemic, of scholia and compilations, and of pseudepigraphic literature; (2) of the treatises περὶ κλοπῆς, whether referring to special authors or having a general scope, giving the texts of the well-known sections of Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria, and considering them with reference to their sources and their classifications. Part II discusses (1) the development of literary technique,

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relating the theoretical evaluation of φύσις and τέχνη and the practice of the schools with the *traditio* (παράδοσις) of form and matter; (2) rhetorical training and the influence of rhetoric, reading, and paraphrase; (3) literary imitation (μίμησις) with its emphasis on form and relative indifference to matter, and the requirement of bettering one's instruction and the rules of stylistic μίμησις; (4) plagiarism in the strict sense. Part III treats (1) of the manner of indicating authorship or sources, (2) *verbatim* quotations, (3) free rendering, (4) unconscious borrowing. The upshot of it all is that, since there was neither a legal nor a clear moral recognition among the Greeks of rights of property in literary matters and since above all anything published was considered as thereby made *publici juris*, there really was no plagiarism; such reprobation as was felt toward the κλέπτης was that which one accords to the bungler, and the charge of plagiarism was generally prompted by animosity or by some other ulterior motive.

The book as a whole is useful, but there is much in it which is well nigh useless. Perhaps one ought in charity to phrase it differently, and say that the author did what seemed to be required of him, his not to reason why. If the subject had been treated in not to exceed one-third the number of pages, leaving the first part very much as it is (though that also might have been curtailed) and reducing the other parts to a bare outline statement with a few particularly interesting or illuminating instances or points by way of illustration thrown into footnotes, the service of the author would have been quite as great and the appreciation of the reader would certainly have been enhanced. As it is we receive elaborately spread before us morsels for the most part already tasted, with not enough that is fresh added to serve as an appetizer.

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*Kleine Schriften.* Von HERMANN USENER. Erster Band: Arbeiten zur griechischen Philosophie und Rhetorik. Grammatische und text-kritische Beiträge. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Pp. vi+400.

This volume, edited by Professor K. Fuhr, is according to the prospectus the first of a series of four destined to contain Usener's opuscula and originally projected by the author's son-in-law, Professor A. Dieterich. Since the latter's premature death the execution of the plan has devolved upon others, pupils and friends of Usener's. Of the remainder, Vol. II is to contain the *Latina;* Vol. III, publications concerned with literary history, epigraphy, chronology, and book reviews; Vol. IV the lesser contributions to the study of religion. It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes will be promptly forthcoming.

In a brief preface Professor Rademacher sets forth the plans of the editors with regard to the publication of the opuscula and pays a warm tribute to the character, scholarship, and inspiring instruction of Usener,

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and Professor Fuhr speaks of his editorial procedure in this volume, drawing attention in particular to the numerous additions derived from the author's own copy and inserted in the text in square brackets. One article, "Epikureische Schriften auf Stein," was omitted because superseded by later and more careful readings of the inscriptions on the monument of Diogenes of Oenoanda. The contents, arranged under twenty-one heads, each—excepting the last, which unites a half-dozen reviews—presenting a single essay or article, are printed in the main in chronological order beginning with the *Quaestiones Anaximeneae* (1856) and closing with *De Stobaei Loco* (1900). Five ample indices facilitate reference to matters and passages discussed and give an ocular demonstration of Usener's phenomenal versatility and knowledge in detail.

There are scholars of undeniable light and leading, whose labors as teachers and authors contribute appreciably to the volume and direction of the current of thought in their time without producing anything worthy to be set definitely apart in collected form as a milestone of human progress and a monument of individual achievement. But there are others, and assuredly Usener was one of the number, whose impact is so solid as to mark beyond question the force of a great personality and give rise to movements the understanding of which imperatively demands the study of their originator's life and works as a whole. With all his exemplary command of the technique and fundamental material, which constitutes the ideal equipment of a classical scholar, Usener, however devoted to the mastery and quest of detail, was essentially a pathfinder and guide bent on the conquest of new ground with a broader outlook. This bent, pursued with the inerrancy of instinct, bore perhaps its most characteristic fruitage in studies which in accordance with the editorial scheme are assigned to the later volumes of his opuscula; but it may be seen likewise in the first. His *Quaestiones Anaximeneae*, written before he had attained the doctorate, carried him deep into a complex problem not yet determined; but, whatever the final issue, it is conceded by all that he made a lasting because solid contribution to its solution. Again, his dissertation, *Analecta Theophrastea* (1858), opened a large question and led directly to the dissertation of Diels and the *Doxographi Graeci*, with the consequent revolution in the evaluation of nearly all secondary sources of information respecting the lives and opinions of Greek philosophers. The volume presents also the aftermath of Usener's rich harvest of research into the works of Epicurus published in his *Epicurea* (1887), which directly or indirectly occasioned the editions of Stoic and other philosophers and indeed of Diels's *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. But it is needless to go into further details. Suffice it to express our thanks to the painstaking editor for presenting in thoroughly satisfactory form a work which has been a desideratum of every classical scholar.

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*Le Credenze d'Oltretomba nelle Opere Letterarie dell'Antichità Classica.* By CARLO PASCAL. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1912. Pp. xii+263+262.

This work, in two volumes, is divided into chapters as follows: Vol. I: I, "The Fate of Death"; II, "The Under-World"; III, "The Sovereigns of the Under-World and Their Minister"; IV, "The Death-God"; V, "The Religion of the Tomb"; VI, "Dei Manes"; VII, "The Cross-Roads of Fate"; VIII, "Immortal Death and Second-Death"; IX, "The Last Judgment"; X, "Eternal Punishment and the Rest of the Damned"; XI, "Sin and Its Punishment on Earth"; XII, "Homeric Eschatology"; XIII, "The Tradition of the Homeric Eschatology in Religious Belief and in Literature"; XIV, "The Mystic Apotheosis"; Vol. II: XV, "Mythical Departures to the Under-World and the Descriptions of Hades"; XVI, "Visions of the Other World and the Narratives of Revenants"; XVII, "The Vergilian Inferno"; XVIII, "The Other World in Greater Imitators of Vergil"; XIX, "The Pains of Hell in Popular Tradition"; XX, "The Elysian Fields"; XXI, "The Purification of Souls"; XXII, "The Vergilian Purgatory"; XXIII, "Destruction and Restoration"; XXIV, "The Lot of Great Souls after Death"; XXV, "The Deification of Caesar and Augustus."

The general title and the chapter-heads sufficiently indicate the scope of the book. Non-literary sources are excluded from consideration; but the data of literature, primary and secondary, are well digested. The work is essentially a compilation, but withal a very useful one for the student who desires a general survey of the field and the necessary references to enable him at need to prosecute his own researches in detail. This does not imply a full bibliography, but only sufficient for an introduction to the subject. It would be unjust to exact more than the author has chosen to offer; the book is unpretentious and semi-popular, but well serves its purpose.

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*M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute Liber.* Recensuit CAROLUS SIMBECK. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. 60.

The text of this edition of the *Cato Maior* takes into account all the MSS mentioned by Moore in his edition (1903) and, in addition, two Laurentian MSS, Mc (S XII) and Mb (S XIV), one at Milan, D 13 (S XIV), and one at Cornell University, C (S XV). These, however, as well as all the other late MSS, the editor considers of no independent value and their readings are rarely cited. Complete collations are given for the five early MSS, P, V, b, L, A, which are described at length in the introduction: especial

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attention is given to b (Bruxellensis 9591), a MS used by Moore and others, but first cited in full in this edition. In attaching great importance to b Simbeck follows Vollmer, to whom he dedicates his work. These five important MSS are divided into two groups, P, V (from the same original), and b, L, A: L and A are derived from a lost MS copied from the same original as b. Each group has been corrected from the other. In support of these conclusions the editor gives lists of parallel readings which serve their purpose adequately, although the effect of the readings which are decisive is weakened by the insertion of many which are not.

The later MSS, of which the most important is K (Vaticanus Reg. Suec. 1762), are derived from b or A, but they have been cross-corrected from one or more additional MSS, and in these corrections Simbeck finds their value, since they sometimes show the origin of the readings of the good MSS. The exact relationship of most of the minor MSS is shown by a stemma which differs materially from that constructed by Tomanetz in articles (Vienna, 1883 and 1886) mentioned by Simbeck, which I have not been able to obtain.

The text itself is conservative, with few emendations admitted. I have noted only three by the editor, of which the most important is *Karthagini quom* (K. cui MSS), § 18. This is natural, since the nearly equal value of several MSS and the elaborate cross-correcting that has taken place makes the construction of the text of the *Cato Maior* a choice between readings rather than a field for original conjecture. In common with most editors Simbeck regards P as of chief importance. He holds that Mommsen and Mueller gave too much value to L, though the difference between his edition and that of Mueller is not primarily due to that opinion. He inclines to accept the consensus of several good MSS against any one MS, even against P or against P+minor MSS. To this tendency are due in a considerable degree the differences between this edition and those, for example, of Reid and Mueller. On the whole the text most nearly approaches that of Moore, though it is somewhat more conservative in adopting conjectures.

Readings of other editors and conjectures are rarely cited.

The editor is consistent in writing *-undus* in the gerund and gerundive, *o* after *u* and *v*, and *u* before labials (*libidinum*, p. 22. 2, § 7, is apparently a slip). Misprints are rare, e.g., *ataque* for *atque*, p. 31. 6, § 29; *necutiquam* for *neutiquam*, p. 38. 1, § 42. If *artium* in the phrase *bonarum artium magistri*, § 29, is not omitted by mistake, the reading given is peculiar and unsupported.

The ancient *testimonia* and references for quotations in the text are printed at the foot of the text. There is an index of proper names.

The value of the edition lies in the critical apparatus, particularly the collation of b, and in its convenient arrangement.

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*Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern.* Von HUGO BLÜMNER. Erster Band. Zweite, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Pp. xii+364. M. 17.

After an interval of nearly forty years Professor Blümner is issuing a revised edition of his authoritative work on the arts and trades of the Greeks and Romans, the first volume of the first edition of which appeared in 1874. The new archaeological material which has come to light since the first compilation of his work has afforded much more information along certain lines than we possessed then, and the studies of experts in various fields, embodied in such works as the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie* and the Daremberg-Saglio *Dictionnaire*, to say nothing of almost countless scattered articles, have claimed the author's consideration. On the other hand, little that is new has been added to our knowledge of some few of the topics treated by Professor Blümner. The second edition, then, in some sections presents an entirely new and rewritten text, in others the words of the original edition are repeated with additions, and a few sections are kept practically unchanged.

Vol. I contains eight subheads: the preparation of bread; the manufacture of fabrics; sewing, embroidering, and felting; dyeing; the preparation of animal skins; the making of plaited wares; paper (papyrus) manufacture, and the production of oils and unguents. The greatest improvement over the first edition, aside from the fact that it has been brought up to date, lies in the additions to the illustrations, which number 135 against 53 in the old edition. Most of those formerly used are retained, but the new cuts are far superior in clearness and pertinence. Half-tones from photographs of terra cotta figures and groups, reliefs, vases, and ruins comprise the majority of these additions.

The more important supplements to, and revisions of, the text come in the sections on bread-making, spinning and weaving (the latter of which is practically new), paper manufacture, and the making of olive products. A new classification of varieties of wheat into πυρὸς σητάνιος and πυρὸς σεμιδαλίτης, summer and winter wheat, is adopted (pp. 52 ff.), and is carried out in distinguishing the varieties of meal and bread (pp. 74 ff., which are practically new) among both Greeks and Romans; and in the classification of peeled grains the fundamental distinction is pointed out between the true and false varieties, χόνδρος over against χίδρα and κρίμνα. Such enumerations and classifications of technical terms are an especially valuable feature of the new edition, as they were of the old, and their present greater exactness enhances their value.

In the chapter on spinning and weaving the most important changes come in the discussion of κάταγμα, looms, and the technique of weaving. In the first edition (p. 106) κάταγμα is mentioned as wool already spun, but no

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account was given of it as the product of a special process, the preliminary rolling of the wool against the bare or clothed leg to prepare a rough yarn that could be more readily spun. In the new edition (pp. 112 ff.) the process is described and illustrated; the passage is based largely on the article of Hauser in the *Jahreshefte d. Österr. archäol. Instit.* XII (1909), 80 ff.

In the discussion of the loom and weaving, Professor Blümner now accepts and incorporates in his text (pp. 148 ff.) the theory that the making of the "natural" and the "artificial" sheds for the introduction of the shuttle was accomplished, respectively, by means of the κάλαμος, dividing the odd and even threads of the warp, and by the κανών, to which the alternate threads were fastened, and which the weaver, like the woman in *Iliad* xxiii. 760 ff., draws toward the breast to change the relative position of the two sets of warp threads and to form the "artificial shed." This was adopted, after discussion, in the first edition (p. 130, note 1). The illustrations and description of a loom from the Faroë Islands (pp. 155 f.) add much to the clearness of the exposition.

The discussion of purple manufacture and dyeing has been retouched; one of the most interesting additions is the mention of the photochemical changes that occur in the making of the dye-stuff (p. 242), which have been investigated by De Lacaze-Duthiers. On the preparation of papyrus, too, Professor Blümner, in view of recent investigations, has added to the material presented in his first edition. In some cases he has taken advantage of the opportunity to insert material available at the time of his first edition but not found therein—e.g., p. 315, n. 3, on the first occurrence of the word χάρτη and the illustrations of the monument of the baker Eurysaces (pp. 39 ff.).

There are a few typographical errors in the book, of which the most serious is the dropping of a line between pages 308 and 309. A self-contradictory statement is made in the description of Fig. 51 by printing "Spindel" instead of "Wocken" in p. 133, line 7.

As it now stands, Professor Blümner's treatise is the best repertorium of technical terms of Greek and Roman handicrafts, and of the *loci classici* bearing thereon, and its account of the manufacturing processes leaves little to be desired. With the addition in the present edition of adequate pictorial illustrations and extremely careful explanations of them, this exhaustive collection of information on ancient trades and arts may well continue to be the standard handbook of scholars for another forty years.

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*Conditional Statement in Livy.* By R. B. STEELE. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1910. Pp. 61.

This work belongs to the class of those which are valuable chiefly as a collection of data. It is essentially a catalogue of the conditional sentences

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in Livy, designed apparently to be complete. The material is arranged for the most part under a purely formal system of classification with the following main rubrics: I, Direct Discourse: A, Indicative Protases, (*a*) Indicative Apodoses (hereunder the grouping is by tense, thus: *present-present; present-perfect; present-future; present-future perfect; perfect-present; perfect-perfect*, etc.); (*b*) Subjunctive Apodoses (with subclassification by tense as above); (*c*) Imperative Apodoses (tense as above). B, Subjunctive Protases (with (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) as above, and corresponding subgrouping by tense). At this point are interpolated the clauses introduced by *sin* (and *sin minus, sin autem*), in both direct and indirect discourse. II, Indirect Discourse (with subgrouping by tense). III, A, Parenthetic Conditions. Under this rubric the author combines the formal categories of classification with other forms of description, such as "a sort of causal interjection giving the piously or politely assumed basis of action" (*si dis placet, si videtur, si vultis, si licet*, etc.), and "polite substitutes for direct relative clauses," as *iniurias si quae forte fuerunt*. Here he groups separately conditions introduced by *nisi* and especially *nisi quod*, adding as a pendant to them the frequently occurring clauses introduced by *praeterquam quod*. Sec. III, B, Comparative Conditional, is again formally subdivided (*quasi, tamquam, velut, ut*). The enumeration concludes with III, C, Concessive (1 *quamquam*, 2 *etsi*, 3 *etiamsi*, 4 *quamvis*, 5 *modo dummodo*). Some statistical tables are given. The work appears to bear clear evidences of the influence of the method of investigation elucidated in Morris' *Methods and Principles of Latin Syntax*. The work of collection and collation appears to be done carefully and conscientiously. Although the author has here and there interspersed comments and observations, most of those who use the book will value it chiefly as presenting a broad panorama of Livy's usage of conditional sentences.

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*Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship: A Lexicographical Study Based on Vol. VI of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* By SAMUEL GLENN HARROD. Princeton Dissertation. Princeton, N.J.: The Falcon Press, 1909.

The purpose of this dissertation is "to gain from a study of the Latin inscriptions additional information in regard to the use and meaning of two groups of words: terms of endearment and names of family relationship." It is based upon inscriptions from the city of Rome, over 36,700 in number, covering a period from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.

The words *merens* and *meritus* occur with such frequency that the author has not thought it advisable to collect all the instances, but he estimates that they occur 8,000 times. *Carissimus* is found 1,713 times, *dulcissimus* 1,634. Nineteen other adjectives are listed, ranging from *pientissimus*, 907 instances,

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to *praestantissimus* with 21. One hundred and twenty-eight others are of still rarer occurrence. In most cases the author gives full lists, showing (1) spellings and abbreviations (a brief discussion of the latter is found on p. 51); (2) collocation, including word order, phrases, nouns and other adjectives used with the epithet; (3) meaning. All this is followed by deductions, such, for instance, as these: "The average age of the son to whom the epithet *carissimus* is applied is 11⅞ years, the average age of the daughter, 9⅞" (p. 6). "Everything points to the conclusion that *dulcissimus* is the particular epithet, not only of children, but of younger children" (p. 10). "*Sanctissimus* is distinctively the epithet of women" (p. 22).

A statistical tabulation (p. 49) yields, by a simple method of calculation, results showing "normal frequency of application" and "actual frequency," thereby indicating "with accuracy the preferences shown in the use of the various terms of endearment" (p. 48).

As was to be expected from the usage of prose literature, superlatives predominate over positives. Under *pius* it is stated that "there is a noticeable tendency to heap up the positive forms. There appears to have been an attempt to compensate for the omission of superlative forms by the use of a greater number of positive forms" (p. 26).

Chap. ii deals with terms of family relationship, and the material is handled in much the same way as in chap. i. *Genitor* (p. 52), *genetrix* (p. 54), *natus* (p. 75), *nata* (p. 78) are found chiefly in metrical inscriptions. "We are probably safe in saying that *coniunx* designates husband three times as often as all other words put together" (p. 64). "*Coniunx* is used by high and low alike" (p. 64), both as masculine and as feminine (p. 67). *Maritus* is used for husband in about 12 per cent of the cases (p. 65). "*Uxor* stands second [to *coniunx*, p. 67] in point of frequency among the words used to designate the wife" (p. 69). "No epithet of endearment is applied to the uncle," who is mentioned 28 times (p. 58). "Only once [out of 11 occurrences] is an endearing epithet applied to the stepfather" (p. 59; per contra, see Pliny *Ep.* ii. 13). "The only expression of love for a mother-in-law [*socrus* occurs 4 times and circumlocutions 8 times] is found in [*CIL.* VI] 5,570. . . . . Here the wife not only calls her husband's mother *carissima*, but also speaks of her as *mater*" (p. 60).

We gather from the author's silence that several words do not occur at all in the whole bulk of 36,700 inscriptions: *fratria*, *glos* (8 circumlocutions occur, for three kinds of sisters-in-law), *leuir* (10 circumlocutions are found for three kinds of brothers-in-law); the rare *ianitrices* and terms for remote relationships were not to be expected.

Glaring misprints are only too common in the expository part (e.g., 3,600 instead of 36,000, p. 1; *exopatissimus* followed by a quoted *exoptatissimo*, p. 44; illigetimate, p. 74; inscriptives, pp. 76, 85; aprentice, p. 83); these raise at once the more serious question of the accuracy of the proofreading in the mass of quotations from the inscriptions themselves. *Mellitissima* is

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quoted, p. 45, as in *CIL.* VI 28, 720, and again, p. 61, correctly as in 28,120. On p. 60, line 5, the husband's age is given as LXV, and that of the mother-in-law as XXXXI, exactly interchanging the numerals as given in *CIL.* VI, 5,570. It is also to be regretted that the author of a dissertation of this sort is not surer of himself in his use of "shall" and "will."

In pleasant relief from the statistical part of the dissertation stand certain striking expressions of human interest, such as are inevitably brought out by any extended investigation of Latin inscriptions, in strong contrast to the more perfunctory or stereotyped formulae (cf. Cagnat, *Revue de philologie*, XIII, 1899, 51 ff.). *Dulcis anima* = father (p. 55); *pater et filius* = père et fils (p. 53). "The words *senior* and *iunior* appear in contrast 7 times"; in six of these the father and son are probably meant, and in the seventh the older and the younger son is referred to (p. 53). *Causa uitae* stands for father (p. 53) or for mother (p. 55). "A wife is styled *anima* 7 times . . . . *uita* once" (p. 70). *Parentes* occurs frequently with "a wider meaning than parents" (p. 56), as in all Romance languages today. *Unanimis* describes both husband and wife (p. 46; cf. Catullus, 9. 4). A son is called *liber*, once certainly (18,611), a second instance (21,412) being more doubtful (cf. *pater conscriptus*, Cic. *Phil.* 13. 28). He is also called *amor* (p. 76), *issulus* (p. 76), *refrigerium* (= "comfort," solace, p. 77—used also of a daughter, p. 78). "The alumna is called *domina; anima innocentissima;* and *anima incomparabilis*" (p. 86). A brother is styled *anima innocens* (p. 61).

The epitaph of Minicia Marcella (*CIL.* VI, 16,631) affords no material for Dr. Harrod's dissertation. That of the "sightly dame" Claudia (I, 1,007; VI, 15,346) is cited only for the sake of the spelling *gnatos;* but it is recalled (p. 43) by 11,602 and 34,045, both of Amymone, daughter of Marcus, wife of Barbarus, who was

*lantfica, pia, pudica, frúgi, cásta, dómiseda.*

The *Laudatio Turiae* (VI, 1,527) yields only scanty material. It scarcely seems necessary or right to discount the meaning of *obsequentissimus*, as the author appears to do (p. 45, cf., p. 76) in 20,158: *P. Iulio. P.* [*f*] *Nomaeo* | *filio . optumo* | *reuerentissimo* | *obsequentissimoq* | *huius . q. loci . totius* | *domino* | *uix . ann . xv . m . x . d . xxiv* | *P. Iul. L*[*y*]*s*[*i*]*ponus* | *pat.*

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# Classical Philology

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## TRAGEDY AND THE SATYRIC DRAMA

BY ROY C. FLICKINGER

Could Dionysus have foreseen what contentions were to be provoked by the dramatic element in certain of his festivals, he would surely have taken to heart his own advice to Euripides in the *Frogs: ἀπὸ τῶν χαλαζῶν ἄναγε σεαυτὸν ἐκποδών, τυφὼς γὰρ ἐκβαίνειν παρασκευάζεται.* The origin-of-tragedy mongers are abroad in the earth, and their theories are promulgated with bewildering frequency. My present excuse for participating in the controversy is threefold: in the first place, I have a few small bits of evidence or of new interpretation to add to the discussion; secondly, I am convinced that proper solutions for most of the points at issue have already been proposed by others and need only to be assembled into a composite whole which will itself be new, though its constituent members are old; and thirdly, I wish to protest against some recent methods of procedure. Of course, our evidence is far from being as complete as we could wish, and must therefore be supplemented at many points by conjecture pure and simple; but this fact does not justify us in throwing all our data overboard and in beginning *de novo*. In this matter we have been too prone to follow a practice which the late Professor Verrall characterized, in a different connection, as follows: "We are perhaps too apt, in speculations of this kind, to help a theory by the convenient hypothesis of a wondrous simpleton, who did the mangling, blundering, or whatever it is that we require."[1] Now,

[1] Cf. *Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 243.



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whatever may be true in other cases, Aristotle at least was no "simpleton," competent only to mangle his sources of information; and furthermore, apart from certain ethnographic parallels, which are of only secondary importance after all,[1] our fund of knowledge is in no wise comparable with his. In fact, except for the extant plays, our information is largely only what we derive, directly or indirectly, from him. Since this is so, what can be more absurd than to reject his conclusions and have recourse to unhampered conjecture? It has been counted a reproach to German scholarship that this is their favorite mode of procedure, but in the present line of inquiry it has remained for certain English scholars to leave their Continental confrères far behind.

But if we are to hold fast to Aristotle, one precaution is necessary —we must be sure that we do not make him say more or less than he does say. He wrote for a very different audience from that which now reads his words and for a very different purpose from that to which his book is now put; and these facts often render him enigmatical. This is due in part to the esoteric nature of his teaching, as Professor Margoliouth has set forth so brilliantly in the introduction to his recent edition;[2] but it is also due simply to his assuming a familiarity with some things which cannot now be taken for granted. As Professor Bywater expresses it: "It is clear from Aristotle's confession of ignorance as to comedy that he knows more of the history of tragedy than he actually tells us, and that he is not aware of there being any serious lacuna in it."[3] Thus, Aristotle says (*Poetics* 1449*a*11) that tragedy arose *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον*. Though this expression unfortunately lacks precision, the main item, that the dithyramb is the parent of tragedy,

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXIX (1912), 474: "Eins ist allerdings für die Gesamtauffassung der dramatischen Spiele von grosser Bedeutung, was erst durch die Beobachtung anderer Völker kenntlich geworden ist und in dem griechischen Kultus weithin zutage liegt . . . . aber so wichtig das ist, es geht die Vorstufen der Tragödie (und Komödie) an, allenfalls die *τραγῳδοί* von Phleius, kaum die des Arion und ganz gewiss nicht die des Thespis," and pp. 282 f. below.

[2] Cf. his *Poetics of Aristotle* (1911), pp. 21 ff. I cannot, however, accept all the instances which he cites to prove this contention.

[3] Cf. his *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (1909), p. 135. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that men of such importance as Thespis and Phrynichus are not so much as mentioned in the *Poetics*.

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emerges from any interpretation. Let Professor Ridgeway[1] and the others proceed to derive the dithyramb from ceremonies at the tombs of heroes, if they choose—that would be at least logical. But to ignore this statement of Aristotle's and to seek, as they do, to trace tragedy back to such *δρώμενα* by another line of development transgresses good philological practice.

There is an unfortunate facility in such attempts. Tragedy embraced many diverse elements in its material and technique. Accordingly, whatever anyone wants, he can be almost certain of finding there. Thus Dieterich[2] with his theory of the development of tragedy from *θρῆνοι*, the Eleusinian mysteries, and various *αἴτια*, Ridgeway with his tomb theory, Miss Harrison[3] with her Eniautos-Daimon and sympathetic magic, and Professor Murray[4] with his attempt to reconcile and expand the Dieterich-Harrison theories, all find confirmation for their views in the same body of dramatic literature. But the very facility of such analyzing is its undoing.

On the other hand, it is no less important to read nothing into Aristotle's language. In the immediate context with the above, he declared that the diction of tragedy became dignified only at a late date *διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν*. This has generally been taken to mean that tragedy developed from the satyric drama—an interpretation which has involved several difficulties and has been pronounced inconsistent with Aristotle's other statement just

[1] *The Origin of Tragedy* (1910). At many points, Ridgeway was anticipated by Wilhelm Schmid, *Zur Geschichte d. gr. Dithyrambus* (1901), who developed an old idea of Welcker's (*Nachtrag zu d. Schrift über d. Aeschylische Trilogie nebst einer Abhandlung über d. Satyrspiel*, Frankfort, 1826, pp. 248 ff.) and supposed a fusion of the democratic Dionysiac dithyramb and the aristocratic *Heroënkult* to have taken place about 600 B.C. under the auspices of tyrants (p. 26 f). He would thus explain the introduction of non-Dionysiac themes (p. 25). But in Attica political conditions were not ripe for such an amalgamation before 560 B.C. nor staple enough until Pisistratus' third reign, and we have no evidence of Pisistratus' interest in such matters previous to 535 B.C. Schmid anticipated Ridgeway also (p. 19, n. 2) in advocating the dual origin of tragedy and satyric drama. Ridgeway is only willing to concede that the latter was Dionysiac from the first.

[2] "Die Entstehung der Tragödie," *Archiv f. Rel.-Wiss.*, XI (1908), 163 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 414 ff).

[3] *Themis* (1912).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 341–63.

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discussed. But Dr. Emil Reisch[1] has proposed another interpretation: "Gewiss ist es nicht berechtigt, ἐκ σατυρικοῦ kurzweg mit 'aus dem Satyrspiel' zu übersetzen. Aristoteles spricht vielmehr—wie Theodor Gomperz in seiner Übersetzung es zutreffend wiedergibt—nur von dem 'satyrspielartigen Ursprung' und von der 'satyrhaften Dichtung,' woraus zunächst nur eine Verwandtschaft, nicht eine Identität von primitiver Tragödie und Satyrspiel sich folgern lässt." In other words, early Attic tragedy never received the name of "satyric drama"—in fact, as I believe (cf. p. 282, below), its choreutae were silenoi, not satyrs—but it bore so many points of resemblance to the contemporaneous performances of σάτυροι in the Peloponnesus and to Pratinas' satyric drama in Athens at a later period that it could truthfully be said, in untechnical language, to have passed through a "satyric stage," to have had a "satyric" tinge which it was slow to lose. This interpretation is equally as possible as the old one and in my opinion is more fully in accordance with other data.[2]

[1] Cf. "Zur Vorgeschichte der Attischen Tragödie," p. 472, in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (1902). This exegesis has now been accepted by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 53. Gomperz' translation (1897) reads as follows: "Was das Wachstum ihrer Grossartigkeit anlangt, so hat sich das Trauerspiel im Gegensatze zur ursprünglichen Kleinheit der Fabeln und der zum Possenhaften neigenden Artung der Diction ihres satyrspielartigen Ursprungs wegen erst spät zu höherer Würde erhoben. . . . . Ursprünglich hatte man sich nämlich, da die Dichtung satyrhaft und mehr balletartig war, des trochäischen Tetrameters bedient."

[2] Ridgeway has recently proposed still another interpretation of διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν (cf. *Class. Quarterly*, VI (1912), 244): "The word ὀψέ makes it plain that Aristotle was not referring to the first beginnings of tragedy in the sixth century or earlier, but to something which had occurred between 500 B.C. and 450 B.C., since not many lines farther on (1449b2) he uses ὀψέ of the period when the Archon first granted a comic chorus. But as it was only toward the latter part of the first half of the fifth century B.C. that comedy got this recognition, there seems little doubt that τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν must fall somewhere within the same period. But this is the very period when tragedy was beginning to get free herself from the satyric drama, which was finally supplanted by the melodramas, such as the *Alcestis* which in 438 B.C. took the place of a satyric drama, in the tetralogy of which the other plays were the *Cressae*, *Alcmaeon*, and the *Telephus*. To the Greek the term *tragoedia* included both serious tragedies and 'sportive tragedy,' the satyric drama. So long as the truly tragic trilogy was followed by a coarse satyric drama, tragedy had not got free from ludicrous diction and attained to her full dignity." It will be noted that Ridgeway arbitrarily adds some thirty years to the first instance (the *Alcestis*) which he can cite of a substitution of a quasi-tragedy for the satyric drama. In order to equate this innovation with the epoch date of comedy, however, Ridgeway would have to go back still twenty years farther, for Wilamowitz' dating of the first comic chorus (*circa* 465

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A bit of new evidence, first published almost five years ago, has only recently received the attention which it deserves. Joannes Diaconus' *Comm. in Hermogenem*[1] contains the following: *τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας πρῶτον δρᾶμα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος εἰσήγαγεν, ὥσπερ Σόλων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἐλεγείαις ἐδίδαξεν. Χάρων*[2] *δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς δρᾶμά φησι πρῶτον Ἀθήνησι διδαχθῆναι ποιήσαντος Θέσπιδος.* Of course, there is nothing surprising about these contradictory notices—Epigenes was also mentioned in the same connection. As Professor Morris says: "Properly understood, no form of art was ever invented."[3] Who should be considered the founder of tragedy mainly depended upon the stage of development to which one was willing to apply that term. Living in the days before real (Aeschylean) tragedy and before the importance of Thespis' innovations was understood, and incensed at that playwright,[4] it was but natural that Solon should both take an interest in the matter and

B.C.) is no longer tenable. This event happened in 487/86 B.C. (This date was proposed by Capps; cf. *Univ. of Chicago Decennial Publications*, VI, 286 f, [1904] and it has since been accepted by Wilhelm, *Urkunden dram. Aufführungen in Athen*, p. 175, n. 1.) It need not be said that Ridgeway has no warrant for adding either thirty or fifty years to 438 B.C. But even this procedure would not free him from his difficulties, for his main argument (pp. 242 f.) is the contention that the eight *μεταβολαί* which Aristotle enumerates in the history of tragedy "fall into two distinct classes, (*a*) external—actors, chorus, and scenery, and (*b*) internal—plot, diction, and meter," and that the items in each of these are arranged chronologically. The details of (*a*) do not now concern us. In (*b*) the separate items are: "(1) the short plot was succeeded by those of greater length, (2) it was only late that tragedy got free from grotesque diction by getting rid of satyric drama and became completely dignified, and (3) the meter changed from tetrameter to iambic, 'for at the outset they used the tetrameter owing to the style of composition being satyric and more suitable for dancing.'" Therefore, (3) must be later than (2); but we are expressly told that the tetrameter was employed "at the outset," and whatever interpretation we choose to give these words, the extant dramas show unmistakably that this metrical change did not take place after 438 B.C. or 465 B.C. or even after 486 B.C. The occasional use of the trochaic tetrameter in fifth-century tragedy does not, of course, discredit Aristotle's general statement that the iambic supplanted it. On the other hand, under Ridgeway's hypothesis, tragedy would not become "completely dignified" until the substitution of "melodramas" for satyric dramas became not only spasmodic or occasional but customary; and we have no reason to suppose that this ever happened even in the fourth century.

[1] Cf. Rabe, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXIII (1908), 150.

[2] Wilamowitz' conjecture for Δράκων of the MS.

[3] Ad Hor. *Epist.* ii. 3. 276.

[4] Cf. Plut. *Solon* xxix and Diogenes Laert. i. 59.

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award the place of honor to another.[1] The question immediately arises as to exactly what language Solon employed; the words *τῆς τραγῳδίας πρῶτον δρᾶμα* are, of course, only a paraphrase, for no form of the word *τραγῳδία* could be used in elegiac verse. This objection does not lie against the word *δρᾶμα*, however, and it will be remembered that the Dorians based their claims to tragedy partly upon this non-Attic term.[2] Thus, we obtain an explanation of the cumbersome circumlocution *τῆς τραγῳδίας δρᾶμα*. In Solon, Joannes (or his source) found only the ambiguous term *δρᾶμα*;[3] a desire to retain the terminology of the original prevented his frankly substituting *τραγῳδία*. Accordingly, he kept *δρᾶμα* but inserted the defining genitive *τῆς τραγῳδίας*. This explanation is more probable than to suppose that Solon wrote *τραγικὸν δρᾶμα*, which is also possible metrically but fails to account for Joannes' circumlocution and is less probable on other grounds (cf. p. 269, below). I do not understand that Aristotle either indorses or rejects the Dorian pretensions with regard to this word, but in view of our present evidence I am of the opinion that Arion called his performances "dramas" and was the first to use the word in this sense and that there is so much of justice in the Dorian claims.

At the very least, Joannes' words prove that the tradition of Arion's connection with tragedy is as early as the first half of the sixth century. They are also in accord with Aristotle's phrase *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον*, for Herodotus (i. 23) characterizes Arion as follows: *Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον . . . . διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα*

[1] These considerations answer Nilsson's objections, *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXVII (1911), 611, n.: "Was hat Solon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des VI. Jahrh. über die Tragödie sagen können, da Thespis, der Begründer der Tragödie nach einer Überlieferung, die nun einmal wohl urkundlich ist, erst lange Jahre nach dem Tod Solons bei dem ersten Agon in der Stadt siegte? . . . . Solon wird sich für die Urgeschichte der Tragödie noch nicht interessiert haben." Cf. also Wilamowitz, *ibid.*, XXIX (1912), 470: "Die Anführung des Buchtitels garantiert noch besonders die Zuverlässigkeit des Zitates."

[2] Cf. *Poetics* 1448b1: *καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ [sc. οἱ Δωριεῖς] μὲν δρᾶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν.* In referring to this passage, Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 467, n. 3, says: "So viel wahr ist, dass *δρᾶμα* in der Tat ein Fremdwort ist; man redet im Kultus nur von *δρώμενα*."

[3] I cannot accept Richards' dictum (cf. *Class. Rev.*, XIV, 388 ff.) that the word *δρᾶμα* cannot be used of comedy in Attic Greek, but in any case Joannes could not be expected to observe such distinctions.

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καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. It is customary nowadays to seek to explain such notices as arising from the rival claims of jealous cities; but be it noted that here are two Attic sympathizers, Solon and Herodotus, granting full recognition to the literary achievements of a neighboring city. In fact, Herodotus is apparently too generous, for Arion could not have been the inventor of the dithyramb, broadly speaking. In an extant fragment Archilochus, who must have antedated Arion by half a century, declared:

> ὡς Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
> οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας (Fr. 77, Bergk³).

But this must be interpreted in the light of Aristotle's full statement: γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς καὶ αὐτὴ [sc. τραγῳδία] καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον ἡ δὲ κτλ. (*Poetics* 1449*a*9 ff.), and it should be observed that Archilochus does not say that he knows how to write a dithyramb but how to take part in one as a drunken ἐξάρχων. Such a performance was doubtless largely improvisation, perhaps coupled with the rendition of some ritual chant (καλὸν μέλος). Διθύραμβος in this sense lived on side by side with the more developed meaning, being found (for example) in the fragment attributed to Epicharmus:

> οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίῃς (Kaibel, *Com. Gr. Frag.*, p. 115).

Now Pindar (*Ol.* xiii. 19) called Arion's dithyramb "ox-driving" (βοηλάτης), and this epithet is most plausibly explained by reference to the practice of an Arcadian community, the Cynaethaens, of whom Pausanias speaks as follows: "What is most worthy of note is that there is a sanctuary of Dionysus here, and that they hold a festival in winter, at which men, their bodies greased with oil, pick out a bull from a herd . . . . lift it up, and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice" (viii. 19. 1, Frazer).[1] Arion must have taken such rude beginnings and developed them into a literary composition—ἐξέφανεν χάριτες (Pindar, *loc. cit.*). Now Herodotus' words are capable of meaning just this, for ποιεῖν denotes not only "to compose" but also "to poetize."[2] In regard to ὀνομάσαντα

[1] Cf. Crusius, Pauly-Wissowa, V, 1206, and Kern, *ibid.*, 1041, who anticipated Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 6, in this explanation.

[2] This distinction is so trite as scarcely to be deserving of comment, had it not recently escaped Professor Ridgeway's attention (*Class. Rev.*, XXVI [1912], 135).

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I agree with those who think that in Herodotus' opinion Arion was the first to give names (titles) to his performances.[1]

Herodotus' statements are repeated and amplified by Suidas *s.v.* Arion: *λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὑρετὴς γενέσθαι καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στῆσαι ⟨κύκλιον⟩ καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.*[2] All this is merely a rephrasing of Herodotus, except the last four words. In these the emphatic word is *ἔμμετρα*, for in the Peloponnesus the dithyrambic choreutae must usually (*pace* Ridgeway) have been thought of as satyrs, and their improvisations[3] must always have engaged the speaking as well as the singing voice. The use of meter marked the coming of artistic finish and the passing of a performance largely extemporaneous. Some idea of the technique of Arion's productions may be derived from *Bacchylides* xvii, a dithyramb in dialogue form and doubtless influenced somewhat by mature tragedy. The chorus of Athenians, addressing Aegeus (*βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν*), inquires why a call to arms has been sounded (vss. 1–15), and the coryphaeus replies that a herald has just arrived, and summarizes his account (vss. 16–30). The chorus asks for further details (vss. 31–45), and once more the king's reply is borrowed from the herald (vss. 46–60). Such a treatment exemplifies the original function of the "answerer."[4] Here the coryphaeus is given a dramatic character, that of Aegeus, but this was doubtless a later development; even so, Aegeus says practically nothing for himself but merely reports a herald's observations.

[1] Cf. Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, p. 17, n. 1, and Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 54. Is it possible that *ὀνομάσαντα* refers to Arion's employing a new generic term (*δράματα*) for his dithyrambs? Herodotus may have taken it as a matter of course that everyone knew what this new name was and consequently failed to mention it, thus leaving the passage ambiguous.

[2] I cannot agree with Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, p. 471, and Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 54, in thinking that this notice refers to three separate types of performance, not one.

[3] These did not involve *μίμησις*, since they would not say what was appropriate to satyrs but to themselves *in propria persona* as revelers and worshipers.

[4] Cf. Pollux iv. 123; *ἐλεὸς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἷς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο.* The first part of this notice is probably due to a false inference from a scene in some comedy, cf. Hiller, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX (1884), 329, and *Athen.* I. 21F: *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἡ περὶ τῶν τραγικῶν ἀπόκειται πίστις.*

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In the Hermogenes commentary Wilamowitz finds "die Bestätigung dass die τραγῳδοί vor Thespis bestanden."[1] This development could scarcely have taken place at Corinth in Arion's time, for there was no need of coining a new word to designate the performers, so long as they consisted of σάτυροι. And if a term had then been derived from the choreutae to designate their performance it must have been *σατυρῳδία and not τραγῳδία. Neither could the new term have been derived at this period from the *prize*, for then the goat was only the third award.[2] Let us therefore turn to Sicyon.

But first it will be necessary to pause for a digression concerning the meaning of the words τραγῳδοί and τραγῳδία. Most authorities, both ancient and modern, have agreed that these terms were derived from τράγος ("goat") and ᾠδή ("song"), but the explanation of this etymology is mooted. It will be best to catalogue the different theories.

1. A goat was the prize in the tragic contests. This view had great vogue in antiquity,[3] and concerning it Bentley wrote: "All the other derivations of the word 'tragedy' are to be slighted and exploded."[4]

2. K. O. Müller considered that the eponymous goat was offered in sacrifice.[5] This view will not appear necessarily inconsistent with

[1] *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXIX (1912), 470.

[2] Cf. schol. Plato *Rep.* 394C: εὑρεθῆναι μὲν τὸν διθύραμβον ἐν Κορίνθῳ ὑπὸ Ἀρίονός φασι. τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ βοῦς ἔπαθλον ἦν, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἀμφορεύς, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τράγος, ὃν τρυγὶ κεχρισμένον ἀπῆγον. This notice is too circumstantial to be merely an aetiological explanation of βοηλάτης.

[3] Cf. *Marmor Parium*, ep. 43; *Anthol. Pal.*, VII, 410 (Dioscorides); Eratosthenes, *Erigona* (=Hyginus *Astron.* ii. 4 and Maass, *Analecta Eratosthenica* [=*Philol. Untersuch.*, herausg. von Kiessling u. Wilamowitz, VI], p. 113); Eusebius and Jerome *s. Ol.* 47. 2; Diomedes *Gram.* iii. 487K; Hor. *Epist.* ii. 3. 220; Porphyrion, Acro, and pseudo-Acro, *ad loc.*; Philargyrius and Probus ad Verg. *Georg.* ii. 382; schol. Plato *Rep.* 394C; *Etym. Magn.*, p. 764, 2; schol. in Dionys. Thrac., p. 747 b; Evanthius, *De Comoedia* (Wessner, I, 13); Joannes Diaconus, *Comm. in Hermog.* (*Rhein. Mus.*, LXIII, 150, ll. 21 ff.); and Tzetzes, *Prol. ad Lycoph.*, I, p. 254, 15M. These references, of course, do not furnish cumulative evidence, and are merely the outcropping of the same tradition. But at any rate they possess the merit of carrying this tradition back almost without interruption until at least the third century B.C. In this respect no other tradition can be compared with it.

[4] Cf. *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 295; a similar sentiment likewise on p. 292.

[5] *Hist. of Lit. in Anc. Greece*, I, 385, Eng. ed. Cf. also Diomedes *Gram.* iii. 487K, and Plut. *De cup. divit.*, p. 527D.

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No. 1, if we remember that in the later dithyrambic contests the prize (a tripod) was not regarded as a personal possession of the victor, but was customarily consecrated in some temple or other public place. Cf. also the story in Herod. i. 144.

3. The Latin grammarians seem to have evolved the theory that the prize was a goat-stomach sack filled with wine.[1]

4. The satyric choreutae resembled and were called "goats."[2] This explanation was accepted by Welcker, *Nachtrag zu d. Schrift über d. Aesch. Tril. nebst einer Abh. über d. Satyrspiel* (1826), p. 240, and has met with favorable consideration from most later authorities (cf. especially Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in d. gr. Tragödie* [=Heracles' vol. 1], pp. 81 ff., and Wernicke, *Hermes*, XXXII [1897], 290 ff.).

5. The early choreutae danced in honor of a goat-god, Διόνυσος Μελάναιγις (cf. Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, p. 468; Farnell, *Jour. Hellenic Stud.*, XXIX [1909], p. xlvii, and *Cults of the Gr. States*, V, 234 ff.; and Nilsson, *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXVII [1911], 685–90). Schmid suggests the equation τραγῳδός = ὁ τὸν τράγον ᾄδων (cf. Christ-Schmid, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*[6], I, 260, n. 2). This theory ignores the fact that tragedy and its choreutae antedated 535 B.C. But its connection with Dionysus Eleuthereus (Μελάναιγις) did not. Is there any reason to suppose that Dionysus of Icaria, Sicyon, or Corinth was τραγοειδής?

6. The choreutae were called (and assumed the appearance of) τράγοι, just as devotees were called ἵπποι, ἄρκτοι, ταῦροι, etc., in various other cults (cf. Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 468, and Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 688–90).

7. Wilhelm Schmid, *Zur Geschichte d. gr. Dithyrambus* (1901), p. 12, n. 2, and p. 19, n. 2, suggests that the early performers were *Hirten* dressed in the usual rural costume (a διφθέρα) and consequently humorously dubbed τράγοι.

8. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 91, points out that goat skins were the ordinary costume in primitive Greece and supposes that by religious conservatism they were retained in these performances until they assumed a sacred significance.

[1] Cf. Evanthius, *De Comoedia* (Wessner, I, p. 13).

[2] The ancient authorities will be quoted, pp. 280 f., below. Is not Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 72, mistaken in attributing this view to Bentley?

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Several abortive attempts have recently been made to abandon the τράγος = goat etymology. Thus, (9) Miss Jane Harrison, *Class. Rev.*, XVI (1902), 331, and *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 416, 421 ff. (1903), proposed that τραγῳδία = "speltsong," but has now withdrawn the suggestion (cf. her *Themis* [1912], p. xxxi).

10. Professor Margoliouth in his edition of the *Poetics*, pp. 61 ff., derives it from τραγίζειν, "to be cracked," used of the voice at puberty. Τραγῳδία would then be a "song of irregular pitch."

11. L. H. Gray, *Class. Quarterly*, VI (1912), 62 f., would derive it from an Indo-Germanic base **tereg*, of which τράγο- would be the second "full grade" but for which he can cite no other derivatives in Greek, meaning "mighty" or "terrible." In that case, τραγῳδία would be the "singing of bold [or terrible] things" in contradistinction to κωμῳδία the "singing of revelrous things."[1]

Of these explanations No. 4 has now held the field almost without challenge for nearly a century. Yet the evidence for it, which will be considered in detail on pp. 278 ff., below, was never really strong and in recent years has slowly crumbled away, as different parts of it have been critically studied. This fact is partly responsible for the appearance of so many new explanations within the last decade. Of these it may be said at once that none of them rests upon adequate foundations and that some of them are demonstrably false. We are therefore brought back to No. 1—or its variant, No. 2—which in my opinion has been most unjustly abandoned in modern times, and I think a reaction in their favor has already begun. They are spoken of respectfully by Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, pp. 467 f; and Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 59, mentions them exclusively. Of course, the line from Eratosthenes' *Erigona*, Ἰκάριοι τόθι πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο is frankly aetiological, but it presupposes a belief in the goat prize of early tragedy, to account for which it was invented. Is the goat prize itself a mere aetiological invention? Certainly nothing could be more staid than the Parian Marble's entry: ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς [ὑπεκρινα]το πρῶτος, ὃς

[1] Later authorities among the ancients also proposed fantastic derivations from τρύξ; cf. Diomedes *Gram.* iii. 487K; Joannes Diaconus, *op. cit.*, ll. 9–20; Tzetzes, *op. cit.*, p. 254, 15M; *Etymol. Magn.*, p. 764, 3; and Evanthius, *De Comoedia* (Wessner, I, p. 13); τραχεῖα, cf. schol. in Dionys. Thrac., p. 747 *b*, and Tzetzes, *op. cit.*, p. 254, 18M; and τετράγωνος; cf. *ibid.*, p. 254, 17M and *Etymol. Magn.*, p. 764, 4.

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ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει καὶ ἄθλον ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος, κτλ., every other detail of which is unquestioned. The anonymous author of the marble consulted the best of authorities, so that also this notice must go back to the fourth century at least and may not be branded as irresponsible.[1] What was the banquet to which the priest of Dionysus used to invite the victorious poet, actors, etc., (cf. Tucker ad Arist. *Ranas* 297), but a survival from the time when the victor sacrificed his prize and feasted his associates? This form of prize was for some reason abandoned, probably at the end of the sixth century, when the festival arrangements seem to have undergone several modifications; and this fact explains the absence of literary allusions to the custom during the next century. It should also be observed that we possess no fifth-century evidence for the tripod prize, the historicity of which is beyond dispute.

After this digression, we may return to a consideration of early performances at Sicyon. In a well-known passage (v. 67) Herodotus tells us how the Sicyonians honored their former king, Adrastus, both in other ways and τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, and how their tyrant Clisthenes in anger at Adrastus χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίππῳ (whose bones Clisthenes had brought over from Thebes and who had killed Adrastus' brother and son-in-law). In this passage the meaning of the word τραγικοῖσι has provoked much discussion. Perhaps the most common view is that Herodotus employed a term of his own day retrospectively, i.e., "at an early date in the sixth century there were solemn choruses in honour of Adrastus at Sicyon, which, so far as Herodotus (over a century later) could judge, were sufficiently like the choruses in the tragedies of his contemporaries to be called 'tragic.'"[2] Though this interpretation is certainly possible, I do not deem it correct. It is my opinion that Herodotus called these choruses τραγικοί because the Sicyonians themselves called them

[1] Cf. Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 468: "An der Thatsache, dass in älterer Zeit dem Tragödenchor ein Bock als Preis (der als Opferthier und Opferschmaus dienen sollte), gegeben wurde, wie dem Dithyrambenchor zu gleichem Zwecke ein Stier, daran zu zweifeln ist kein Grund."

[2] Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 55. This was also Bentley's view (cf. *Dissert. upon Phalaris*, p. 293). But Bentley had an ax to grind.

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that. It is therefore immaterial, for our present purpose, what meaning he gave to the word, or whether he understood by it the same thing as the Sicyonians did or not. In fact it is quite possible that in his day even the Sicyonians used the word in a secondary sense. But the fact remains that *originally* their choruses were "goat" choruses, and it is our object to inquire why this came about.

The transfer of the Sicyonian dances from Adrastus to Dionysus would probably happen early in the reign of Clisthenes (*circa* 595–60). Now for this very period Eusebius (*Ol.* 47. 2 = 591/0 B.C.; Armen. version, *Ol.* 48. 1) preserves the following notice: *τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις παρ' Ἕλλησι τράγος ἐδίδοτο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τραγικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν* (Jerome: "his temporibus certantibus in agone (de voce *add.* R) tragus, id est hircus, in praemio dabatur. Unde aiunt tragoedos nuncupatos"). Furthermore, some regarded Epigenes of Sicyon as the first of fifteen tragic poets before Thespis; cf. Suidas *s.v.* Thespis: *Θέσπις . . . . τραγικὸς ἐκκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου τραγῳδιοποιοῦ Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τιθέμενος· ὡς δέ τινες, δεύτερος μετὰ Ἐπιγένην· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον τραγικὸν γενέσθαι φασί.* It is therefore only natural to suppose that Herodotus, Eusebius (Jerome), and Suidas all refer to the same event, and that Clisthenes employed Epigenes to initiate his innovation. The neatness with which these notices fit together to produce this result renders them comparatively secure from the critical assault which might more successfully be directed against them individually. In any case, it is incumbent upon any skeptic, not merely to reject the later authorities, but also to provide a more satisfactory explanation of Herodotus. But there still remains another bit of testimony which ought to be considered in connection with the foregoing. Several explanations are preserved of the proverb *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον.*[1] These are somewhat vague in details and need not be taken too seriously; but at least they are valuable as showing the general periods in which their authors thought that the proper situation for the rise of such a proverb existed. One of these explanations concerns us here (cf. Suidas *s.v.*): *Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τραγῳδίαν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ποιήσαντος, ἐπεφώνησάν τινες τοῦτο· ὅθεν ἡ παροιμία.* In just what

[1] Cf. Plut. *Symp.* 615A; Suidas *s.v.* (= Photius *s.v.* and Apostolius xiii. 42); pseudo-Diogenianus vii. 18; and Zenobius v. 40.

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particular Epigenes' performance seemed alien to the worship of Dionysus, Suidas does not indicate. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 58, supposes that Epigenes "did not confine himself to Dionysiac subjects." But surely that development came much later. In my opinion, the explanation is simpler. We have no information as to the costume which the choreutae wore in honoring the sorrows of Adrastus. There was, of course, no reason for their appearing as satyrs. But were satyric choreutae introduced at the same time that the dances were given over to Dionysus? If we answer this question in the negative, the situation becomes clear. The audience, or part of it, was sufficiently acquainted with the performances instituted by Arion at Corinth to expect a chorus of satyrs in the Sicyonian dances after they were transferred to Dionysus; and when Epigenes brought on his choreutae in the same (non-satyric) costume as had previously been employed, they naturally manifested their surprise with the ejaculation: *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*. By this they meant: "Why, these *χορευταί* are just what we have had all the time; there is nothing of the *σάτυροι* about them. They have nothing to do with Dionysus!"

If this series of conclusions is accepted, we have an answer to the question under consideration—the occasion of the term *τραγῳδοί*. We must conclude that honoring Adrastus with choruses either did not involve the giving of a prize or that the prize was other than a goat. With the introduction of Dionysus, a goat, for some reason, was chosen as the object of competition (and was doubtless immediately consumed in a sacrificial feast). We have seen (p. 269, above) that at Corinth, where the choreutae were satyrs, there was no reason to coin a new term to designate them. But at Sicyon the situation was different. What more natural than that from the new prize should be derived new names (*τραγικοὶ χοροί* and *τραγῳδοί* respectively) for the new-old performances and their choreutae.[1]

[1] This interpretation still involves an anachronism (a negligible one) in Herodotus, inasmuch as he has assigned to the choruses in honor of Adrastus an adjective which came into use only after they were transferred to Dionysus. Of course, it is possible to argue that goats may have been sacrificed to Adrastus and that *τραγικός* and *τραγῳδός* were consequently older terms than is maintained in the text; this would also explain why the goat was continued as a prize after the sacrifice proper was given over to Melanippus. Cf., however, Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, 233 and note *d*.

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It is not enough to pass this tradition of Sicyonian tragedy by in silence or to brand it as aetiological or as arising from the partisanship of rival cities. It must first be shown either to be inconsistent with itself or with other established facts.

Though the sort of performances from which tragedy developed existed in Attica from time immemorial,[1] yet they did not emerge into prominence or literary importance until the time of Thespis and in Icaria. Evidently Thespis' innovations were partly borrowed from the Peloponnesus and partly his own. Included among the former would be the use of meter, the goat prize, and such terms as *δρᾶμα* and *τραγῳδός*. Most distinctive among the latter was his invention of the first actor. To this it would be unnecessary to devote more than a passing reference, had not Ridgeway recently called the matter into question. The innovation is expressly attributed to Thespis only by Diogenes Laertius iii. 56: *ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραμάτιζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορόν*, though it may be inferred in several other connections. But in Ridgeway's opinion, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 60, "this cannot mean, as is commonly held, that Thespis first separated in some degree the coryphaeus from the chorus and made him interrupt the dithyramb with epic recitations," 'for *πρὸ Θέσπιδος* (*μήπω τάξιν λαβούσης τραγῳδίας*, *Etym. Magn.*, *s.v. θυμελη*) *εἴς τις ἀναβὰς* [*sc. ἐπὶ τράπεζαν*] *τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο* (Pollux iv. 123).' These late notices are manifestly vague and inexact references to rudimentary histrionicism among the choreutae themselves or between them and their coryphaeus (cf. p. 268 and n. 4, above). Evidently the matter is largely one of definition. Ridgeway himself concedes all that is important, when he says: "There seems no reason to doubt that Thespis in some way defined more exactly the position of the actor, especially by the introduction of a simple form of mask" (*op. cit.*, p. 60).

Ridgeway considers that Thespis made the "grand step" in the evolution of tragedy when he

detached his chorus and dithyramb from some particular shrine, probably at Icaria his native place, and taking his company with him on waggons gave

[1] Cf. Plato, *Minos* 321A: *ἡ δὲ τραγῳδία ἐστὶν παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, οὐχ ὡς οἴονται ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη οὐδ' ἀπὸ Φρυνίχου, ἀλλ' εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι, πάνυ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ εὑρήσεις ὂν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εὕρημα.*

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his performances on his extemporised stage when and where he could find an audience, not for religious purposes but for a pastime. Thus not merely by defining more accurately the rôle of the actor but also by lifting tragedy from being a mere piece of religious ritual tied to a particular spot into a great form of literature, he was the true founder of the tragic art. This view offers a reasonable explanation of Solon's anger on first seeing Thespis act. A performance which he would have regarded as fit and proper when enacted in some shrine of the gods or at a hero's tomb, not unnaturally roused his indignation when the exhibition was merely "for sport," as Thespis himself said (and doubtless also for profit), and not at some hallowed spot, but in any profane place where an audience might conveniently be collected (*op. cit.*, p. 61).

For all this there is not only not a single shred of evidence, but it is highly improbable as well. It is true that after long neglect Thespis' *plaustrum* (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 3. 276) seems to be enjoying a recrudescence of favor. Dieterich[1] and Wilamowitz[2] refer to it in all seriousness. There is nothing improbable about the tradition nor any cogent reason for supposing it borrowed from the history of early comedy. It is natural to suppose that Thespis did not restrict his activities to Icaria but extended them to such other demes as were interested or found them appropriate for their festivals. In that case, means of transportation for performers and accessories became imperative. The use of such a vehicle in the *Prometheus* shows that it need not necessarily have served also as a stage, as has sometimes been thought. But to suppose that Thespis entirely dissociated his performances from shrines and festivals not only rests upon no evidence, as I have said, but is too revolutionary to be credible.

I am also inclined to think that the innovation of treating non-Dionysiac themes was also due to Thespis, but the suspicion[3] thrown upon the extant titles attributed to him renders the point incapable of proof. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the recognition given to tragedy at the city Dionysia in 534 B.C., except to protest against a not uncommon tendency to assume that terms like *τραγῳδός* and *τραγῳδία* were not in use before this date. Of course, the matter cannot be definitely proven, but the developments which I have been tracing at Sicyon and Icaria distinctly favor the other view.

[1] Cf. *Kleine Schriften*, p. 422.

[2] Cf. *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXIX (1912), 474.

[3] Cf. Diogenes Laert. v. 92.

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We have seen that (p. 264, above) according to a natural and plausible interpretation of Aristotle *all* the early Attic performances were "satyric," though *none* of them was called a "satyric drama," and that (p. 274) non-satyric τραγῳδοί were the choreutae of Sicyonian performances early in the sixth century. Presently (p. 282, below) we shall find reasons for believing that the early Attic choreutae were not satyrs but silenoi. What, then, was the origin of the performance which in the fifth century constituted the final member of tetralogies? Such tetralogies cannot be made out for any playwright before Aeschylus; and the number of plays attributed to Pratinas, eighteen tragedies and thirty-two satyric dramas, throws additional doubt upon the probability that the early poets were required to present four plays together.[1] There is accordingly not a little in favor of Suidas' account of Pratinas of Phlius, which expressly states that he πρῶτος ἔγραψε σατύρους. The meaning of all this is quite clear. After tragedy had lost its exclusively Bacchic themes and had considerably departed from its original character, Pratinas introduced, from the same general region and literary *genre* as had provided the germ of tragedy, a new manner of performance which more closely resembled the pre-Thespian drama and which continued, at least for a while, the Bacchic subjects so appropriate to the god's festival. We must admit the probability, however, that the Peloponnesian dances had developed somewhat since the days of Arion and Epigenes and also that Pratinas borrowed something from the contemporaneous tragic performances at Athens.[2]

[1] In a letter Professor Capps suggests "that Pratinas may have done pretty often what he did in 467 (provide a satyr-play for somebody's else trilogy, cf. arg. Aesch. *Septem.*). It may be that in this way we may account for the excessive number of tragedies in other poets' lists." The *Palaestae* may also have been a repeated or a posthumous piece.

[2] That Pratinas was familiar with satyric performances at Phlius and did not get his knowledge of the subject merely after he came to Athens is the most natural implication from *Anthol. Pal.*, VII, 707; ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ἀνὴρ (*sc.* Σωσίθεος) ἄξια Φλιασίων, καὶ μὰ χορούς, Σατύρων (Dioscorides).

For the dual origin of tragedy and satyric drama cf. p. 263, n. 1, above; Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, pp. 451 ff.; and Pickard-Cambridge, *Class. Rev.*, XXVI (1912), 53. Confirmation for the view that satyric drama was later than tragedy might be sought in Hor. *Epist.* ii. 3. 221 (cf. Acro, *ad. loc.*, and most editors). But in my opinion Horace refers merely to the transition from the third to the fourth play of a tetralogy. *Satyros* is a factitive accusative—"the poet stripped his <choreutae so as to represent> satyrs."

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The series of conclusions adopted up to this point considerably lessens the importance of the much-mooted question relative to the caprine or equine appearance of satyrs in the sixth and fifth centuries. Notwithstanding, the recent emergence of one or two new bits of evidence will perhaps justify a summary, which will fall into three parts: (*a*) archaeological, (*b*) the extant dramas, and (*c*) other literary evidence.

*a*) Fortunately, the identity and appearance of silenoi[1] in Attica in the early sixth century are fixed by the inscription ΣΙΛΕΝΟΙ and the representation of three figures with equine tails, legs, and hoofs on the François vase.[2] On the other hand, toward the close of this century a Würzburg cylix[3] shows an ithyphallic creature with equine tail, and underneath the inscription ΣΑΤΡΤΒΣ, a manifest mistake for *σάτυρος*. At first glance, this seems to substantiate the supposition that either term was applicable to such horse-men without distinction.[4] But in my opinion this situation did not obtain, except for a short time and only in Attica, cf. p. 282, n. 2, below.

Further progress is blocked by two difficulties: (1) the absence of inscriptions prevents certainty in naming such equine and caprine creatures as appear upon fifth-century vases; this objection affects

Perhaps I ought to mention that Professor Murray has proposed another interpretation of Suidas' notice concerning Pratinas: "I take this to mean that Pratinas was the first person to *write words* for the rout of revelling masquers to learn by heart. Thespis, like many early Elizabethans, had been content with a general direction: 'Enter Satyrs, in revel, saying anything'" (incorporated in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, p. 344). Nevertheless, he adds that he "does not wish to combat" the other view.

[1] For first drawing the distinction clearly between the equine silenoi of Asia Minor, Northern Greece, and Attica and the caprine satyrs of the Peloponnesus we are indebted to Furtwängler, *Der Satyr aus Pergamon*, 40th *Berl. Winckelm. Prog.* (1880), pp. 22 ff.

[2] Cf. *Baum.*, Fig. 1883. An enlarged detail is given in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Gr. Rel.*, p. 376.

[3] Cf. Urlichs, *Verzeichniss d. Antikensammlung d. Univ. Würzburg*, I, 50, No. 87. The head is broken off; also part of the tail, but enough remains to show that it is equine. The feet are human. For two photographs of this figure I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Heinrich Bulle, who also kindly expressed the following judgment with regard to the inscription: "Ich kann nicht mit Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (Bonner Dissertation, 1912), S. 35, der Lesung von Schuls (*Göttinger Gel. Anz.*, 1896, S. 254) ΣΙΒΤΡΤΑΣ zustimmen; denn die Inschrift ist ja rechtsläufig. Man kann übrigens auch deutlich an dem Kleinerwerden der Buchstaben sehen, dass der Zeichner von links nach rechts geschrieben hat. Ich glaube mit Urlichs, dass es eine einfache Verschreibung aus ΣΑΤΤΡΟΣ ist."

[4] Cf. Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 389, and Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, p. 459.

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most of the material collected by Wernicke;[1] and (2) the lack of inscriptions would not matter, if we could be sure that certain scenes were derived from the satyric drama. But in most cases we cannot even be positive that they reflect any kind of theatrical performance at all. Thus, Duris' psykter (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, III, E 768) and Brygus' cylix (*Baum. Supplementtafel*, Fig. 7), belonging to the first third of the fifth century, depict horse-men which Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 459, claims represent at least the indirect influence of the satyric drama.[2] On the contrary, the Pandora vase of about 450 B.C. (*Jour. Hellenic Studies*, XI, Pl. XI) shows us creatures with goat hoofs, horns, and tails, and the flute-player would indicate some theatrical performance. But Reisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 f., rightly objects that there is no necessary connection between the frieze of goat-men and the Pandora scene, and that some such comedy as Eupolis' Αἶγες might equally well have been the source of the design. In all these instances the only verdict possible is *non liquet*.

The only certain instance is afforded by a Naples vase of about 400 B.C. (*Baum.*, Fig. 422). These satyrs are without hoofs and horns, have horses' tails, and wear a sort of loin band which is supposed to be of goats' skin. It is customary to maintain that this goat skin is the sole survival of the original goatlike aspect of the dramatic satyrs, who were becoming more and more assimilated to the silenoi. For such a development no indisputable evidence has been cited. At least, there were no further developments subsequently (cf. *Baum.*, Fig. 424).[3]

*b*) From the extant dramas it has been usual to cite Eur. *Cyclops* 80: *σὺν τᾷδε τράγου χλαίνᾳ μελέᾳ*. Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 458, n., supposes that this part of the satyrs' costume is due to their acting as herdsmen in this play, a suggestion to which Wilamowitz demurs.[4] But in any case, the point is not very important.

[1] Cf. *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), 297 ff. Reisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 457 f., would call the goat-men Pans.

[2] The possibility of direct borrowing had already been denied by Wernicke, *op cit.*, pp. 302–6.

[3] Cf. Körte in Bethe's *Proleg. zur Gesch. d. Theaters im Alt.*, p. 343, n. 2; Haigh, *Greek Theatre*,[2] p. 293, n.

[4] Cf. *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXIX (1912), 465 f. Wilamowitz assigns the words altogether too much importance. Cf. also Dion. Hal. vii. 72 (p. 1491): *σκευαὶ . . . . τοῖς δ' εἰς Σατύρους <sc. εἰκασθεῖσι> περιζώματα καὶ δοραὶ τράγων κτλ.*

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Proof of the caprine appearance of satyrs has been sought also in Aesch. fr. 207 (Nauck), from his satyric play entitled *Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαιεύς*: *τράγος γένειον ἆρα πενθήσεις σύ γε*. But Professor Shorey has pointed out[1] that this passage exemplifies the common Greek idiom of omitting *ὡς* in comparisons, and should be translated: "[If you kiss that fire], you'll be the goat (in the proverb) who mourned (lost) his beard, you will," and consequently may not be cited upon the point here at issue. This interpretation, moreover, is strengthened by a similar simile (with *ὡς* expressed) in the new fragments of Sophocles' satyric drama, the *Ichneutae*:[2]

*νέος γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ*
*πώγωνι θάλλων ὡς τράγος κνήκῳ χλιδᾷς.*

Upon this passage Mr. Arthur Hunt, properly comments[3] that it "does not imply that the person to whom it was applied was habited as a goat, though it might gain point if he were."

Furthermore, in the fragments of the satyric drama which Hunt[4] and Paul Maas[5] attribute to Sophocles, the chorus, being suitors for the hand of Oeneus' daughter and being asked for their qualifications, include "horse-racing" (*ἱππική*).[6] This bit of evidence finds support in the identity of nature between satyrs and silenoi implied in the fact that not only in Eur. *Cyclops* but also in Soph. *Ichneutae*[7] the former are sons of the latter. By itself, of course, this fact has no great importance, but it at least helps to substantiate other bits of evidence.

*c*) The literary evidence largely depends upon the following notices: Aelian *V.H.* iii. 40: *οἱ συγχορευταὶ Διονύσου Σάτυροι ἦσαν, οἱ ὑπ' ἐνίων Τίτυροι ὀνομαζόμενοι*; Hesych. *τίτυρος· σάτυρος*; *ibid.*: *τράγους· σατύρους διὰ τὸ τράγων ὦτα ἔχειν*; Eustath. *ad Il.* xviii. 495; *τίτυροι γὰρ Δωρικῶς οἱ σάτυροι*; schol. Theocr. vii. 72: *Τίτυρος*

[1] Cf. *Class. Phil.*, IV (1909), 433 ff., where the literature is cited.

[2] Cf. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IX (1912), 59 [=*Trag. Gr. Frag. Papyracea Nuper Reperta* I, l. 358].

[3] Cf. *Ox. Papyri*, IX (1912), 34.

[4] Cf. *Ox. Papyri*, VIII (1911), 61.

[5] Cf. *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, XXXII (1912), 1429.

[6] *Trag. Gr. Frag. Papyr.*, VII, l. 10.

[7] Cf. *Cyclops* 13, 27, 36, 82, 269, 272, 431, and 587; and *Trag. Gr. Frag. Papyr.*, I, 147, 163, and 197.

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. . . . τινὲς δὲ παρὰ Δωριεῦσι τοὺς σατύρους ἀποδεδώκασι λέγεσθαι; *ibid.*, iii. 2: Τίτυρος κύριον ὄνομα, τινὲς δέ φασιν ὅτι τις Σιληνός, οὐ Σικελιώτης· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγους, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς Σατύρους (cod. Ambros. 222); τὸν Τίτυρον οἱ μὲν κύριον, οἱ δὲ Σάτυρον εἶναί φασι . . . . τοὺς τράγους τιτούρους λέγουσι; Servius *ad* Verg. *Ecl.* prooem.: *Laconum lingua tityrus dicitur aries maior.* These passages manifestly relate to undramatic satyrs, especially in the Peloponnesus; there is nothing to indicate that they have any bearing upon the representation of satyrs in theatrical performances, certainly not in those at Athens.

On the other hand, *Etym. Magn.*, *s.v.*: τραγῳδία: ἢ ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ σατύρων συνίσταντο, οὓς ἐκάλουν τράγους σκώπτοντες ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δασύτητα ἢ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια σπουδήν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ζῷον. ἢ ὅτι οἱ χορευταὶ τὰς κόμας ἀνέπλεκον, σχῆμα τράγων μιμούμενοι indisputably refers to the dramatic satyrs but does not prove all that is expected of it. It is customary to ignore or even omit the words between σκώπτοντες and ἀνέπλεκον. But it is necessary to interpret the phrase σχῆμα τράγων μιμούμενοι in terms of the details stated in the context. So far as we are now concerned, the only point of resemblance mentioned is their δασύτης. This and Horace's *nudavit* . . . . *Satyros* would be entirely suitable in describing the satyrs on the Naples vase. No more is stated or implied, whereas the goat-men theory demands very much more than this. Furthermore, it will be noted that this interpretation occurs only in a late Byzantine authority and that no earlier source is mentioned. The only way in which a respectable antiquity can be claimed, by means of literary evidence, for this etymology consists in maintaining that it is implied in the theory that tragedy developed from satyric drama. But we have already seen (pp. 263 f., above) that Aristotle's phrase need not, and probably does not, support this view. The only other passage which can be cited in this connection occurs in three other Byzantine writers, Photius, Suidas, and Apostolius.[1]

[1] Cf. *s.v.* οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον and *Apost.* xiii. 42: βέλτιον δὲ οὕτως, τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἠγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ Σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγῳδίας γράφειν, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες, ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν. καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ. The word παραπλήσια leaves it doubtful for how much of this notice Chamaeleon (Aristotle's pupil) should be held responsible. But at the most, his accountability cannot extend beyond explaining the introduction of non-Dionysiac themes; the side remarks are Byzantine.

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The conclusion is irresistible that both the goat-men explanation of the word *τραγῳδία* and the supposed development of tragedy from satyric drama are due to "reconstructions" of literary history by Byzantine scholarship.

Eagerness to establish an explanation for the term *τραγῳδία* has prevented a dispassionate judgment upon the three groups of evidence just considered. The presence of satyrs at Corinth in the time of Arion or at Phlius in that of Pratinas does not justify us in supposing that satyrs were the attendants of Dionysus also in Thespian Icaria. In fact, these are much more likely to have been silenoi.[1] The choreutae were silenoi in Icaria, and silenoi they continued to be in Athens until such time as the choruses were no longer attendants of Dionysus. When Pratinas introduced the satyric drama, he naturally, for purposes of differentiation, had to introduce the Peloponnesian term as well; but in order to acclimatize his performance as far as possible, he transformed his satyrs so as to approximate the contemporaneous *τραγῳδοί*.[2] How exactly the Naples vase reproduces the type then adopted cannot now be determined, but in my opinion, there were few or no important changes in the representation of dramatic satyrs at Athens during the fifth century.

I need not enter upon a lengthy destructive criticism of recent theories of the origin of tragedy; that matter has received ample consideration from Wilamowitz.[3] In conclusion, I wish merely to touch upon one phase of the subject—the value in this connection of present-day carnivals in Thessaly, Thrace, and Scyrus. Most of the recent theories assume that these ceremonies are survivals of the primitive rites from which drama developed. A priori, the possibility that these carnivals should retain their essential features unchanged through two and a half millenniums amid all the vicissitudes which

[1] According to Attic tradition Dionysus and Silenus came to Athens together; cf. Paus. i. 23. 5: *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* [*sc.* a stone on the Athenian acropolis] *λέγουσιν, ἡνίκα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιληνόν.*

[2] Such a development would naturally result in a certain ambiguity for a while in the popular use of these terms; cf. the passages cited by Reisch, *Festschrift Gomperz*, p. 455.

[3] Cf. *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXIX (1912), 471 ff.

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have come upon these regions must be pronounced infinitesimal.[1] An examination of details confirms this impression. Certain ceremonies are parodies of the Christian rites of marriage and burial (Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 19). Not only an Arab (*ibid.*, p. 22) but also a Frank (p. 24) appear in the cast of characters. Though Phrynichus was the first to represent female rôles,[2] such rôles abound in these modern plays (*ibid.*, pp. 17, 18, 22, and 24). But there is another feature still more serious: if there is one well-authenticated fact in the history of Greek drama, expressly stated by ancient tradition and fully substantiated by the extant plays, it is that tragedy arose from a choral performance and only gradually acquired its histrionic features. On the contrary, these carnivals are predominantly histrionic; there is either no chorus or its rôle is distinctly secondary. Had Aristotle been guilty of such a *faux pas*, we can easily imagine the derisive comments in which modern investigators would have indulged at his expense.

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[1] Cf. Nilsson, *Neue Jahrbücher f. kl. Altertum*, XXVII (1911), 683, n. 1: "Da man sich allgemein scheut das Fortleben eines ursprünglich heidnischen Festes aus der antiken Zeit bis in die moderne anzunehmen," etc.

[2] Cf. Suidas, *s.v.* Phrynichus.

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# THE "CONTINUATION" OF THE *ODYSSEY*

By A. Shewan

## A. THE LANGUAGE AND VERSE

On ψ 296 Dr. Monro notes, "the question whether the continuation [of the *Odyssey* from that line on] was needed in order to bring the story to a satisfactory close is one that can hardly be settled by discussion. The issue depends rather upon the evidence afforded by language and metre." Dr. Monro decides against the "Continuation." I venture here to give my reasons for believing that the evidence has been misappreciated on some points, and that, on others, that learned and greatly respected commentator was in conflict with scholars whose opinions are entitled to weight.

The length to which this paper will run must be my excuse for plunging *in medias res*, and leaving introductory matter to papers which will deal with other aspects of the question. Materials have been collected from (so far) some forty discussions, commencing (not to mention the Alexandrians) with Spohn in 1815–16, and ending with Belzner (*Komposn. der Od.*), 1912. It is a remarkable fact that the linguistic element, which to Dr. Monro was of such prime importance, has received the scantiest attention.

I will classify the phenomena under certain heads, and I begin with

1. *The ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.*—Time was when these were considered good serviceable ammunition in a Homeric encounter, but nowadays no critic of standing would rely on them unless they were of a very special character. For the "Continuation" Monro disregards them; they are neither striking nor more numerous than in other books. Friedländer gives them in his *Zwei Wörterverzeichnisse*, and they are set out by Spohn. More than half are massed in the third hundred lines of ω. One or two will have to be noticed below.

2. *Forms.*—ἑταρπήτην, ψ 430, a dual of a historical tense with the augment. Dr. Monro refers to *J. Phil.*, XXIII, 205: "the dual of the historic tenses is not as a rule augmented, and *never* by the poet of the *Odyssey*" (Platt). The proposition cannot stand. "There is nothing against the augmentation of duals as such"



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(Mr. Drewitt in *C.Q.*, VI, 110). The dual had certainly no influence on the augment (Schmidt in *Philologus*, IX, 428). The grammarians give uncertain sounds.

I count 149 instances in the *Iliad* (Mr. Platt makes 151; I must have overlooked two) and 44 in the *Odyssey*. Of 18 of these (as *ἠγησάσθην*) we cannot say whether they are augmented or not; in 28 cases (*ἀέκοντε βάτην* and the like) we cannot say what the original form was; in 28 the augmented form is impossible in the hexameter; and 16 are initial in the verse, and the augment was barred. Of the remainder 79 are unaugmented and 24 augmented, and of the latter many can *not* be amended away.

These duals are in similar case to the iteratives (*C.P.*, VII, 400 f.). Many were loaded with two long syllables (*-ητην*, *-εσθην*) at the end, and there would be an objection to forms with a succession of long syllables, and to lengthening such words still further by the augment. The idea that these duals *could* not be augmented goes back to the Alexandrians, and it is possible enough that the augment has been omitted in some cases (*μῦθον μυθείσθην*, *ἀρνύσθην*, *προσαυδήτην* and other compounds) in deference to the prejudice. And, if Mr. Platt is to be allowed to emend the augment away, we must be allowed to restore it where we can.

The prejudice was assisted by the fact of the smaller number of the duals in the *Odyssey*. It is assumed to be the later poem; and, just as it has been argued that the simile became "atrophied" (Mr. Drewitt in *C.Q.*, II, 107), so it has been contended that in decadent Odyssean days the dual had become a mere archaism. I believe this theory to belong to the large category of Homeric mare's nests. The paucity of the occurrences in the *Odyssey* can be explained much more simply. Grouping the instances in the *Iliad*, we find that 69 are due to the association of heroes in the fight (as Diomede and Odysseus, 11, the Aiante, 6), of heralds, competitors in the Games, etc.; 28 to gods acting in company (Hera and Athené, 8, Hera and Hypnos, 4, Poseidon and Athené, 3); and 22 to pairs of horses. These account for 119 out of 149. In the *Odyssey* there is not association of individuals in the same way; the gods do not act in pairs; horses give but four duals. So it is a question of subject-matter again; fewer duals are used because fewer are required. There is no degeneration.

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The "Continuation," which ought to show the greatest aversion to, if not absolute avoidance of, the dual, has four to itself, or twice the average in the rest of the poem; and there is nothing against it or the *Odyssey* generally, in this matter.

ἤην, ψ 316 and ω 343; and also Λ 808 and τ 283, all four occurrences being of a type—ἤην the initial word, with a distinct pause after it. Dr. Monro remarks that the form is "clearly not Homeric," and cures Λ 808 by reading ἦεν, and τ 283 with ἦειν or εἴη. The latter he thinks probably right, but some think that optative (κεν εἴη = "would have been") inadmissible (*Lay of Dolon*, 241 ff.).

The form has been the subject of much controversy. The original Homeric forms are said to be ἦεν and ἔεν (Monro, p. 464, quoting *K.Z.*, IX, 386). Schulze (*Q.E.*, 418) accepts ἦεν in all the three Odyssean passages, but at the heavy cost of an initial trochee. Cf. *H.G.*², 13 f., van Leeuwen, *Ench.*, 520, Curtius, *Verb* (Eng. tr.), 119, Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³, 274, and other participants in the discussion named by these. It may perhaps be accepted that ἤην is a false form—"a form in the bards' dialect due to false analogy" (Mangold, *De diectasi Homca.*, 178, approved by Rzach, *Der Dialekt des Hesiodus*, 456); so Kühner-Blass, II, 225, n. The authorities generally receive the form as of the vulgate, and do not attempt, by special treatment of some of the passages, to differentiate them from the others. The point of interest here is, what evidence ἤην is of the lateness of a passage in which it occurs. If it is only due to false analogy, it may still be quite ancient. It may have been in the text all the time, and it is mere slinging of mud to say it is not "Homeric," or "anomalous." *Irrationalität und Anomalie sind sehr precäre Begriffe* (Ludwich, *Ar.*, II, 264 ff.). *Prima facie* it *is* Homeric, and the burden of proving it is not can hardly be discharged till a legitimate origin for the form has been ascertained and dated. Had it been a form that continued to appear in later writers, the case would have been different. But it did not. Hesiod and others do not know it. Mr. Agar amends in ψ 314 and excises ω 343, and the reasons in each case are unusually good. But the fact of the family likeness in all four occurrences of ἤην gives one pause.

ζώννυνται, ω 88 f., ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποφθιμένου βασιλῆος ζώννυνταί τε νέοι καὶ ἐπευτύνονται ἄεθλα. Curtius (*op. cit.*, 319)

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accepts the form as a conjunctive, but that is "against all analogy" (Monro). But Faesi and others follow Curtius. Monro adds that *ζωννύονται* might be read with "violent synizesis" (though he compares *Ἐνυαλίῳ*), the fact that the form cannot otherwise come into the hexameter being a partial excuse. Van Leeuwen holds that there is corruption in 88, and Merry suggests *ὅτε περ* —both taking the verbs as indicatives. Cauer and Platt read *ζωννῦνται* and *ἐντύνωνται*. Hayman refers to *δαινῦτο* (opt.), Ω 665, and to the indicative after *ὅτ' ἄν* in *κ* 410 ff., where, however, *σκαίρωσι* may be read. No one suggests that a late date for the author is to be inferred from this word.

*ξενίη*, used as a substantive only *ω* 286 and 314. An objection of the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* kind. Monro (notes on *ω* 286 and *ξ* 389) thinks *ξεινίη* (*ξενϝjη*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, 85) may be right. In the only other place where Homer requires to use the abstract noun, he uses *ξεινοσύνη* (*φ* 35), and Mr. Agar would read it, with a little manipulation, in both places in *ω*. It seems unnecessary. The adjective *ξένιος* occurs 6 times in the *Odyssey*.

*δαί*, *ω* 299. A doubtful form for Homer; perhaps in K 408, and in *α* 225, where it was Aristarchus' reading. In our passage *τοι* (comparing 308) and *δ'αὖ* have been proposed, and *δή* has some MS authority. Any of the four may be right.

*ἐκεῖνος*, *ω* 288, 312, 347, is said to be rare in Homer. It occurs 29 times, and in a number of cases it resists removal.

*φιλίων*, *ω* 268 (and *τ* 351), has strange treatment. It is said to have "crept into" *τ* from *ω*, "where it is doubtless one of the post-Homeric words" of that book. This is not argument. *τ* 351 may stand on its own legs; there is nothing against *ω* 268. Comparatives and superlatives which are *ἀ. λλ.* are not uncommon. Comparatives in *-ιων* are even more common in Homer than in Attic (Seymour, *Language and Verse*, 59). Blass (*Interpol.*, 220) defends the form against Kirchhoff and Bekker.

3. *Meanings and uses.*—*ἠριγένεια* (without *ἠώς*) = "the Dawn," *ψ* 347. "Not found in Homer." But see *χ* 197. It is hardly necessary to refer to the parallel cases of *ἐννοσίγαιος*, *ἐκάεργος*, *κελαδεινή*, etc.

*φόβος*, *ω* 57. "It is perhaps not a mere accident that this is the

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only place in the *Odyssey* in which the word occurs" (*φοβέω*, *π* 163). It is enough to say that there is hardly a passage in the poems in which it can be said that the word has more indisputably what the critics would call its purely "Homeric" sense.

*φάτις*, *ψ* 362, "story about the Suitors." Usually the phrase means "the talk of men." The difference may be allowed—for what it is worth. The objections based on the various shades of the meaning of *φῆμις* are of the same kind and equally micrological.

*ἡγεμόνευε*, *ω* 155, "should mean 'led the way,' not merely 'went first (in *time*),' as it must do here." This is from Sittl, and again we might allow it, *quantum valeat*. But it seems pertinent to add that *ἡγεμόνευε* is here preceded by *πρόσθε*. The combination recurs in *χ* 400.

*ἄλλος* in *ω* 128, *ἀλλὰ δόλον τόνδ' ἄλλον . . . . μερμήριξε*. Sittl again; he is a bad guide. His book, of which more in a later paper, is the worst of all books on the *Wiederholungen*. Following him, Monro seems to forget his own principles when he says, "*ἄλλον* has no clear meaning here, as no *δόλος* has been spoken of. In *β* 93"—same wording—"it refers to the preceding sentence, *ὑπίσχεται ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ*." That is, in *β* 93, "she made promises to us all" precedes, and in our passage two lines, the first of which means "she shilly-shallied." Is this enough to quarrel about? But surely the critic forgets his own interpretation of *ἄλλος* elsewhere, as on *o* 407, where he notes, "*ἄλλη νοῦσος*, 'disease as well,' according to the familiar idiom." Why not in our passage, "and devised the trick of the web *besides*"? We cannot bind Homer, in his much-maligned and much-misappreciated repetitions, to use every identical word and in the identical sense. Hayman, in his very helpful commentary, even renders "special."

*αὐτοῦ*, *ω* 241. "The use of the oblique cases of *αὐτός* where no emphasis is intended seems to be post-Homeric; cf. l. 80 and l. 282." It is not so stigmatized in *H.G.*[2], 219, and I do not think it necessary to quote the opinions of other grammarians. Certainly a very drastic expurgation of the poems will be necessary to get rid of all cases. The usage is a "moot point," as Mr. Agar says (*Homerica*, 25; cf. 174, 218). He emends 12 cases in the first 12 books with what appears to be varying success. He follows Monro in our pas-

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sage, and proposes τοῖό γε, which hardly seems to be an improvement. This use of αὐτός cannot, for the present, be considered evidence against a passage.

ἀδινάων (Σειρήνων), ψ 326. The epithet should, it is said, be understood of the *voices* of the Sirens (cf. κ 413, π 216, etc.), and is wrongly applied to the Sirens themselves. "The author *probably* had in his mind B 469, μυιάων ἀδινάων, and *may have* understood the word there of the ceaseless humming of the flies." The word occurs frequently, it has been much discussed, and it is admittedly difficult. One thing seems certain, that in the two Odyssean passages quoted above it means, in its adverbial form, *clara voce*. How then it cannot mean here "the Sirens of clear voice," it is not easy to see. φθόγγον points to that meaning. There is an exact parallel in the uses of λιγύς—κλαίειν λιγέως or λιγὺ πνείοντος, and λιγέων ἀνέμων and λιγὺς ἀγορητής. I will not add Μοῦσα λίγεια, as that is in ω 62.

ἐπιχειρέω occurs only ω 386 and 395. It is true, as remarked, that χεῖρας ἰάλλω is the phrase used elsewhere, though only twice outside the very common formula for attacking food.

So far, there is nothing serious in the usages impugned. There remain three in which affinity with later Greek is imputed.

εὖ ἔχει, ω 245, "the only instance of this phrase, afterwards so common"—that is, with the verb in the intransitive sense. The whole sentence is ἀλλ' εὖ τοι κομιδὴ ἔχει, and one need go no farther afield than to 244 (οὐκ ἀδαημονίη σ' ἔχει) and 249 (αὐτόν σ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει), both common usages in Homer, for support to the view of Butcher and Lang that ὄρχατον, the last word preceding our clause, is to be supplied in it as object to ἔχει. It may also be suggested that the use of the *abstractum* κομιδή as subject of ἔχει in the intransitive sense would not be good. Monro has the support of other commentators, but their interpretation does not seem to be the best possible. One might suggest εὖ κομιδή ῥ' ἔχει.

ὑπάρξῃ, 286, "takes the first step," a use which is "distinctively Attic." "In Homer the simple ἄρχω sometimes has this sense," as B 378, ἐγὼ δ' ἦρχον χαλεπαίνων. But, if La Roche is correct (on ὑπό, p. 47) in accepting as probable Ameis' interpretation, *zuallererst anfangen*, ὑπάρχω seems decidedly better here. ὑπό in

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composition has some delicate shades of meaning. But the fact that the usage occurs only here remains.

*πρῶϊ*, ω 28, is said to mean "too early" or "prematurely." Its ordinary sense, in the phrase *πρῶϊ δ' ὑπηοῖοι* is "early," and one might so translate it in ω 28. So Butcher and Lang. The admittedly better vouched reading is *πρῶτα*, which Monro says would not give the meaning "too early." L. and S. say it would.

But, admitting that both *ὑπάρχω* and *πρῶϊ are* here used in later senses, and only here, of how many books in the poems can it be said that they do not contain instances of the kind? In A we have *ἐπευφημέω* and *ἐπαίτιος*, in Λ, *ῥύσια*, *τί πάθω* and *τί παθόντε*. Most of the Homeric language persisted into later Greek, and one reads every day of one's life discussions in periodicals and commentaries in which Homer is referred back to as good authority for uses in Attic. That is to say, there are in Homer many usages which afterwards became "Atticisms." Is it reasonable to marvel at the fact that the Homeric text does not present frequent instances of every one of these?

4. *Syntax.*—ψ 345, of Athené, *ὁππότε δή ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐέλπετο δν κατὰ θυμὸν εὐνῆς ἧς ἀλόχου ταρπήμεναι. δν* is taken as referring to Odysseus, "not Athené as the place of the clause leads us to expect." Other editors, as Faesi, Düntzer, Hayman, and Ameis-Hentze, differ from Monro here. N 8 is a close parallel. And it is surely not good to take *δν κατὰ θυμόν* with *ταρπήμεναι*. But this alleged ambiguity, "and also the awkwardness of *δν κατὰ θυμόν* and *ἧς ἀλόχου*, in the same clause, indicate a non-Homeric authorship." That is too large an inference, even if awkwardness be admitted. But the very words *ἧς ἀλόχου* seem to make it impossible for a reader or hearer to feel any. The poet may surely trust to the context to some extent, as in Γ 386 ff., where we have *μιν* thrice and *οἱ* once in four lines; or σ 91–94, where *ἐπιφρασσαίατ' Ἀχαιοί* makes it clear that the third *μιν* has a new reference. The difficulty here is made out of flimsy materials.

ω 235–37, *μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα . . . . κύσσαι καὶ περιφῦναι ἑὸν πατέρ' ἠδὲ ἕκαστα εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἔλθοι καὶ ἵκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.* "The optative in *oratio obliqua* is a post-Homeric construction," and it has been pointed out that the first instance of it is in

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*Hym. Ven.* 212–14. This is taking ὡς = "that." But ἕκαστα is against that, and other editors differ. Indeed Monro himself, in *H.G.*², 281, translates, "to tell *how* he had come." The authorities distinguish the case from that in the Hymn, and Monro seems peculiar in his view. See Kühner-Gerth, I, 255; Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Class. Gk.*, 130; Goodwin's *M. and T.*, 261; Urtel, *Der Hom. Gebrauch des Optativs der abhängigen Rede*, 3; Brugmann, *op. cit.*, 508 f., and Mein, *De Optativi obliqui usu Homco.*, I, 22 f. *Frage- und Relativsätze* are separated from *Aussagesätze*, and reference is made to E 85, Φ 608 ff., η 14 ff., ι 89, 402, κ 101, 110, ν 415, ο 423, ρ 368 and 539 = σ 384 (the words of our passage, ἔλθοι κτλ., after εἰ), and τ 463. These instances are after verbs of "inquiring"; ours is "telling how," but Gildersleeve even calls that an interrogative use, and Goodwin explains the development of the uses of ὡς. And all the authorities differentiate our case from the later one in the Hymn. It may be added that it is possible enough that the optatives are due to ρ 359 = σ 384, and that we ought to read ἦλθέν τε καὶ ἵκετο πατρ. γ., but there is no need to amend.

ω 340 ff. The optative, ἐπιβρίσειαν, in 344 is said to be difficult owing to the intervention between it and the preceding past tenses of the clause with a present verb, ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν, in 343; and, if we regard this clause as parenthetical, the arrangement of clauses is deemed unsatisfactory. Mr. Agar, as already stated, excises the line, as one of a number inserted (in the view of many authorities) in the poems in order to supply a verb with an object or a subject, or vice versa—here ἦην as a verb for ἕκαστος in 342. But other editors (as Faesi, Platt, Ameis-Hentze, and the Leyden editors) mark off the clause with dashes, and find no difficulty. And see Merry, *a.l.*, and Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang*. I had thought of ἔησαν (which Homer does not happen to use), and see that Bekker had already made the conjecture. With ἀνά taken "distributively, 'in the different rows'" (Merry), ἐπῆσαν might do. The ἔασσιν and ἔστασαν of the MSS seem to point to corruption.

Enclitics are said to be misplaced in four lines of ω,—247.οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή τοι ἄνευ κομιδῆς, 332.τὴν ἐν Παρνησῷ μ' ἔλασεν σῦς, 335.δῶρα, τὰ δεῦρο μολών μοι ὑπέσχετο, and 337.ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν

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σε ἕκαστα. The subject is discussed in *H.G.*², 335 ff., where a very doubtful set of cases is collected to show "a less strict usage" in the *Doloneia*, but where not one of our present cases seems to be quoted. Invariability of usage is not, however, asserted, and it is admitted that the subject needs more detailed investigation. I have not discovered that any such has ever been made. Editors generally are not strict to mark exceptions, as they do not lay down rules or refer to those stated by Monro. Mr. Agar (*Homerica*, 2) remarks how easily a deviation occurs, and any extensive examination of the poems will confirm that; exceptional cases are numerous. And one must bear in mind how frequently enclitics, short monosyllables especially, have been inserted or transferred. We know that the desire to cure hiatus that was deemed illicit was an active cause. Among other references to the point, Kühner-Blass, I, 337 ff., may be quoted, and for the influence of the meter, an important consideration, Giseke's *Hom. Forschungen*, 57 ff., and Hoffmann, *Quaestt. Hom.*, I, 10. In the *H.G.* it is stated that the usage in the poems is stricter than in later Greek, but the apparent difference may be due in no small measure to the constant recurrence in the poems of standing epic commonplace and fixed phrases.

The objections in the four cases are not specifically stated. In the first, how is τοι to be taken? If it is an ordinary dative, it is much like I. 142, γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι, and many other instances. If with Ebeling, and as seems preferable, we take it as the ethical dative, something between the ordinary dat. and the particle, parallels are plentiful, as ξ 508, αἶνος μέν τοι ἀμύμων, ν 34, or θ 195. If it be the position of τοι relatively to οὐ that is bad, I do not think another occurrence of οὐ . . . . οὐ with τοι is to be found. One might compare γ 27 f., οὐ γὰρ οἷός οὔ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι. But in fact the position of τοι, like that of other particles, varies considerably—even in the same line (as ο 81). There are even exceptions to the general rule that it follows οὐ, as in μ 118 and σ 230 (cf. Ω 538). And, finally, if regard be had to the quite unusual concatenation of οὔ's in the two lines preceding 247, it is difficult to see how the τοι could be better placed.

In the next two cases, ω 332 and 335, qualifying words come before the enclitic. One would like to see exact parallels with the

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enclitic otherwhere. But it seems enough to refer to cases sufficiently similar, as ν 359, *αἴ κεν ἐᾷ πρόφρων με . . . .*, Π 8 ff, *ἦ . . . . δακρυόεσσα δέ μιν ποτιδέρκεται*, A 520 f., *ἡ δὲ καὶ αὔτως μ' αἰέν . . . . νεικεῖ*. See also η 261, δ 618 f., μ 297, Ω 779 f. In 332 μ' may have got misplaced. But it appears in strange places, as in Σ 189, 432. And as to ω 337, parallels seem to abound—*πέμπε δέ μ', φιλεῖ δέ ἑ, κέλεαί με*, and, with double accusative, *ἕσσω μιν χλαῖναν*. It is difficult to find a case against the book on these materials. And observe this—three of the alleged faults are within 6 consecutive lines. In the remaining 618 lines in the "Continuation," the poet, living in the later period of decadence which we are to suppose was characterized by this particular laxity, has "floundered" (almost) without a tumble. Surely we should "greet him not without a welcome," like Tennyson after his "metrification of Catullus."

Here may be mentioned a matter over which commentators have boggled—*χαρίεσσαν*, ω 198, after its noun, *ἀοιδήν*, in 197. "If an epithet is added in the following line it regularly begins the line" (Monro). Not *regularly;* exceptions are numerous. A few from the Iliad are X 408 f., Δ 477 f., Π 367 f., Ω 4 f., N 709 f. The syntax of the sentence seems as natural as that of γ 58 f., and on the whole it may be said there is as little against the Continuator in regard to syntax as there is in regard to the individual words he uses and the way he uses them. I now turn to his verse.

5. *Meter, with synizesis and contraction.*—First, two cases of improper lengthening: ψ 361, *ἐπῑτέλλω*. "This scansion is indefensible by Homeric rules," which probably means that the lengthening is not justifiable by any consideration. The mere effect of the ictus will not be deemed sufficient. An exact parallel will be demanded. *Δῑΐ* and *ἔτεῑ* will be scouted as not near enough. In *ἐπῑλίγδην*, P 599, the ι gets the benefit of the following λ; in *ἐπίηλεν*, χ 49, it is said the ῑ may be due to the augment, though no other occurrence of a past tense of *ἰάλλω* is augmented; and in *ἐπὶ κακόν*, μ 209 (where *ἔπει* is read, but rejected by M. and R. as a dodge), the words are separate. *πᾰρέχει*, τ 113, is a good parallel, but **σέχω* is postulated, and Homer *may* have felt the *σ*.[1]

[1] But see Solmsen, *Untersuchungen*, 9 f.

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ἐπεί is explained by ἐπϝεί, ὄφιν by ὄπφιν or οὖφιν, and of διά it has even been said that it is due to the influence of δῖα—so hard are the authorities pushed to explain every one of the swarming "peculiarities" of the text. In our case there is a *v.l.* ἐπιστέλλω, which Schultze (*Q.E.*, 469) accepts, but only to fling it in the face of the "Continuator"; as it would mean in ψ what it meant afterward in Attic, it is of course a sign of lateness. The compound does occur, Δ 384, *in tmesi*. But it is better to keep ἐπιτέλλω, and, if something must be said to justify an ictus-lengthening, one might suggest the effect of an initial σ, as in πᾰρέχει—if τέλλω and στέλλω are forms of the same word (L. and S., comparing στέγω, τέγος, *tego;* τρέπω, στρέφω; and στέρφος, τέρφος).[1] But the etymological lexica leave the connections of the word obscure, and we may suspend judgment till they are clear. If we avail ourselves of the privilege of emending, we have Mr. Agar's σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα, γύναι, τέλλω, where the ταῦτα, however, if not indefensible, is not so good as the τάδ' of the vulgate.

ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι, ω 240 (final): a breach of Wernicke's law. We may for present purposes accept the law, and hesitate to believe with Mr. Agar (in the discussion in *C.R.*, XI, 28, 29, 151–54, to which Monro refers) that "Wernicke" was imposed on the text in late days. But there are exceptions in plenty. In our case we can claim indulgence; the two words constitute a "syntactical unit" (Leaf, *Iliad*, Vol. II, 638). It *may* be the case, though it sounds odd, that the origin of "Wernicke" was that hearers were apt to think a hexameter closed when they had heard only two-thirds of it. But no reader that ever existed could have imagined that at ἐπέεσσιν in our line. Another word *must* come. The statement that our case is "the only real exception" is one which I cannot understand. See Leaf, *loc. cit.*, and for the *Odyssey*, e.g., β 330, ζ 93, θ 377(?), 530, λ 338, ρ 573 and τ 576. And the fault cannot be considered worse than another which is not uncommon in both poems in the 4th thesis—a long vowel or diphthong retaining its length though followed by an initial vowel. Mr. Agar (*C.R.*, *loc. cit.*) would restore ν ἐφ. in the 4th thesis in a number of cases.

But there is another objection. It is "the only instance in the

[1] ἐπιτέλλειν *wohl nur aus* ἐπιστέλλειν *verkürzt* (Schmidt, *Synonymik*, p. 55.)

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*Odyssey* of *ν ἐφ.* forming position in the fourth thesis," which sounds horrific, till one examines the statistics. These are given by Isler, *Quaestt. Metricae.* If there is a fault, the *Iliad* keeps the "Continuation" in countenance, not with M 55 alone (*ὕπερθεν δέ*), as usually stated, but also with *κέν τοι* (Δ 353, I 359). The *productio* is common in the 1st thesis, rarer in the 3d, while the 4th gives only the cases mentioned. But Isler's statistics show that this was not a vice coming into fashion at the supposed late date when the *Odyssey* was completed by the "Continuator." On the contrary, it had vanished from epic poetry before that time. There is not a case in Hesiod or the Hymns, or in the later epics. As to the vice itself, one might ask if it differs in gravity from the numerous cases of the type *Τείκης ἐξ ἱπποβότοιο*, Δ 202, or *θεῶν ἐξ ἔμμορε τιμῆς*, ε 335. It only remains to add that the blot has been removed by emendations so light—*ἔπεσίν ἑο* (Gerhard), and *-οισι ἔπεσσί τι* (Agar)—that outside a condemned tract no one would hesitate to admit one or the other.

In addition, there are several cases of synizesis and contraction. To begin with what is deemed the worst case of the former, *οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή*, ω 247. "The synizesis is hardly to be paralleled in Homer." Is it not paralleled in the common *ἦ οὐ, ἐπεὶ οὐ*, or *δὴ αὖ*? On *ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν σε ἕκαστα*, ω 337, Monro has no note, but on *τ* 34 we are told that *χρύσεον* is "not Homeric." The same language is used by Leaf of *Πηλέος* (on A 489). How is "Homeric" employed here? What does it mean? Not that the synizesis does not occur elsewhere in Homer, for there are a number of examples—*ἄφρεον, ἠρίθμεον*, etc. And lastly, *τεύχεα*, final in ω 534. Again, "the use of such a form as the final spondee is not Homeric." It recurs in X 322 and H 207. Must one be satisfied with an arbitrary dictum of this description?

And contraction. *προὔπεμψα*, ω 360, "the only Homeric instance of a compound of *πρό* in which we cannot write the uncontracted *προε-*." The author happens to use in the first foot a form which others use in other parts of the verse. He does so himself in ω 82, 319, but he will get no credit for it. Ludwich (*Aristarchus*, II, 262, n.) and Cauer (Preface to *Odyssey*, school ed., xxx) make ω 360 ground for objecting to the resolution of the forms elsewhere. Agar

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would read *πέμψ' ἐγώ*. *θάμβευς*, ω 394, "not Homeric. See *H.G.*, § 105, 3." Turning to the *H.G.*, we find that in *θάμβευς*, *Ἐρέβευς* and the like, "it is probably better to write *-εος* and admit synizesis." But the synizesis *εο* is, we have seen, not Homeric either. What are we to do? Mr. Agar reads *τάφοιο*, but that is surely simply a substitution to evade a supposed difficulty. And does not *τάφος ὁ* mean "funeral"? *Ὀδυσεῦς*, ω 398, "is certainly not a Homeric form." If this means that it does not occur elsewhere, it is correct. *Ὀδυσῆ*, τ 136, is passed without remark, only the *v.l.* *Ὀδυσῆα ποθεῦσα*, a remedy as bad as the disease, and Fick's *πόσιν ποθέουσα*, being quoted in the *app. crit.* *Ὀδυσσῆα*, Λ 346, is solitary; *Ὀδυσσέα*, only ζ 212, ρ 301. And is *Ὀδυσεῦς* any worse than *Πηλέος*? Bekker (*Hom. Bl.*, I, 40 f.) makes *Ὀδυσεῦς* ground for writing *Πηλεῦς*. *Ὀδυσέος* and *Ὀδυσέως* were impossible for the hexameter. Even *Ὀδυσσέος* is found only Δ 491. In our passage we may read *Ὀδυσέως*. ω 416 is quoted by Eustathius with *Ὀδυσσεῦς*. *Εὐπείθει*, ω 465, "contraction not Homeric." *καταπρηνεῖ*, Π 792, ν 164, and *προαλεῖ*, Φ 262 (not to mention contracted datives from *-ος* forms), are well vouched, and not to be expelled. Menrad (*De contract. et syniz. usu Homco.*, 75) excuses them as before a caesura, and *Εὐπείθει* as final. But our word occurs in an interesting passage, which is discussed by Mr. Agar, and many will be tempted to agree with him that *Εὐπείθει* has somehow displaced *Ἀλιθέρσῃ*. And lastly, *Ἑρμῆς*, ω 1: "This contraction is post-Homeric." As it occurs in ξ 435, "there must be some doubt of the genuineness of 435–36" (Monro *a.l.*). In ω 10, where the "Continuator" knows *Ἑρμείας*, that form is "a poetical archaism" subsisting along with the new one. This does not strike one as fair criticism. Besides ω 1 (where van Leeuwen proposes *ψυχὰς δ' Ἑρμείας*) and ξ 435, *Ἑρμῆς* is found also in Υ 72, ε 54 and θ 334.[1]

This form *Ἑρμῆς* occurs in the first line of the *Second Nekyia* (ω 1—204), and in regard to the form its author is kept well in countenance by other Homeric poets. And be it observed, this latest of all the late interlopers has not a slip of the kind in the other 203 lines written by him. Not only that, but, so far as I can see, the

[1] Sitte (*Die Aeolismen der homer. Sprache*, p. 11) would read *Ἑρμέας* with synizesis.

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case against him, *so far as it can be based on his language and verse*, rests on πρῶϊ and ζώννυνται alone!

But to return to the instances of synizesis and contraction. They raise the large question, Were these phenomena foreign to Homer? No one would assert that the would-be expurgators of the text have proved this. You cannot get rid of all such impurities. Even in the "blameless *Menis*," θεοί, ζῶντος and Πηλεΐδη' 'θελ' resist their efforts. Menrad's heroic venture is well known. How far did it succeed? Were his methods unimpeachable? Let Ludwich and others say. Will another Menrad ever renew the enterprise? μάλα τις θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται. It is interesting to find Jebb—*quo non peritior alter*—citing Homer's τεχνήσσαι and τιμῆντα as precedents for Sophocles' τολμήστατε (*Philoct.* 984). A very different attitude this from that of him who has been called the Homeric "smasher"!

So much for Monro's attack. Spohn's lists and discussions do not help. Knowledge of the Homeric language had not advanced far in his day, and his work is now little more than a curiosity. The Digamma has bare mention. He tells us that *abstracta* are more common in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, and so propounds or propagates a falsity that *volitabat per ora virum*, Croiset and Cauer included, till it came to the ears of Professor Scott—ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι. Thirty-six of Spohn's pages are devoted to Greek diminutives, as a preparation for the discussion of κλίσιον, the word to which Dorotheus of Askalon devoted his whole life. In fact the linguistic parts of this treatise, on which Wolfians of every shade of belief have lavished an anti-Homeric confidence for nearly a century, are utterly valueless. The other contents will have separate notice. Few discrepancies and incongruities have escaped the micrological examination of Spohn.

In conclusion, there is one very important matter for the enemies of this section of the *Odyssey* to consider. We know from the many treatises, the hundreds of treatises, which the nineteenth century hurled at the various parts of the poems, that the individuals who manipulated or composed these books and passages lived in a decadent age, when the epic and its language were alike past their bloom. They had not an accurate sense of the old and genuine bardic dialect.

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So in many points of language they constantly made mistakes, and through these mistakes their intrusions have been detected and exposed by modern scholars. These points became standard tests. The late poetaster could be tracked down by any such solecism. And yet, tested by these tests, the "Continuation," this latest of all the late additions to the poems, is absolutely sound and pure! A startling phenomenon, surely, but a fact.

Any reader of this paper must have wondered that there was no mention of the Digamma, the greatest and surest of all such tests. There has been no mention of it because it is not a head of charge in Monro's indictment. That is a very extraordinary fact. Not only that, but hardly any other authority has thought fit to examine the Digamma-phenomena. I have had to make a complete search for myself. Fick (*Odyssey*, 304 f., and *Entstehung der Od.*, 189 f.) has collected some "Ionisms," as his school loves to call them, and neglects of ϝ are included in the list, and Blass (*Interpol.*, 215) also devotes a few lines to these; but that is all.

Fick here, as elsewhere, gives no assistance whatever. It is utterly futile to draw up a list of blemishes for any part of the poems, and say "there!" But Blass argues the matter intelligently, and separates the *Nekyia* from the rest of ω. In the rest of the book he finds ϝ is observed; in the *Nekyia* it has vanished from the author's speech. There are observances, it is true, but these are all in what are stigmatized as "borrowed" verses or parts of verses. That is an assumption which requires to be proved, and which it is preposterous to state without proof. Nor is his list of observances complete; far from it.

An exhaustive examination of the phenomena shows that the *Nekyia* and the rest of the "Continuation," and the "Continuation" and the rest of the poems, are, as regards observances and neglects of ϝ, in exactly the same case. I have drawn out particulars, but do not propose to waste words on them. It is the neglects that scholars fasten on to impugn a given passage, and in the "Continuation" they are numerous, *but*, not more numerous than in, say, the first book of the *Iliad*. If they prove the "Continuation" late, they prove A late; if they are to be amended in A, to save its face, the "Continuation" is entitled to the same indulgence. A compari-

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son will not damage it. To make that as satisfactory as possible, the best plan, perhaps, is to take the sixteen roots with $\digamma$ found in both it and A, and to compare observances (including or excluding cases of *ν ἐφ.*) and neglects in words from these roots. The result is, for A, 89 observances and 12 neglects; for the "Continuation," 87 and 15 respectively. But in whatsoever way the comparison may be made, there is nothing against our tract.

Let us pass on to another famous test, the article. The Homeric use of *ὁ* had, we are always given to understand, sadly degenerated in the days of the interpolations in and additions to the poems, and the article is another means for detecting the work of late depredators. It amazes us then to find that in our 624 lines Monro can point only to *ἓξ δ' υἱεῖς οἱ Δολίοιο*, ω 497, but not without a qualm even there. He himself refers to Υ 181 and Ψ 348, 376, and the point is not worth discussing. We may let it stand, or merely mention that Mr. Agar reads, without altering a letter, *ἓξ δ', υἱεῖς οἳ Δολίοιο.*

So the article also fails. But there are many other tests. We know how much has been made of prepositional uses, especially in regard to the "Odyssean" books of the *Iliad.* So far as I am aware, not one abuse or innovation is alleged against our author. And we must say the same of pseudoarchaisms, another Mark of the Beast, unless *ἤην* is to be classed in that category. And if we go on to Ionisms, as Fick, Robert and others call any blemish which they wish to turn to account, we find the same result. Let us take three of their favorites, the iterative verbs, *ἐς* and *ἄν*. The iteratives are not so numerous as in Λ or X. On *ἐς* and *ἄν* no imputation at all can be based. In short, the popular tests fail all along the line. One might, for completeness' sake, add the metrical faults of neglect of position and hiatus, which were used to depreciate the "Odyssean" books of the *Iliad.* There is no case here either. Position is observed and neglected (*ἀλλοτρίης* and all the rest) just as elsewhere in the poems. I find two cases of *hiatus illicitus*—*ἡδὲ ἔφασκε*, Ψ 335, where it is believed $\digamma(\epsilon)$ has slipped out (cf. ε 135 and η 256), and *ἦ ῥα ἔτ' ἐστέ*, ω 351, where there is a *v.l. ἦ ῥ' ἔτι*, and where *ἄρ'* has been conjectured. If tests are to be depended on, the language and verse are very "Homeric" in the best sense of that much abused word.

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What then is to be our conclusion regarding the language of the "Continuation"? That depends on our estimate of the effect of the individual blots which have been examined in detail. We may admit a small residuum of "peculiarity." But which book in the poems does not provide as much? As to its effect, opinions will differ according to the general attitude of the individual critic. At one extreme we have Fick. He notes every fault, seldom troubles to consider whether there is a *v.l.*, whether a simple emendation is practicable or interpolation a possible explanation, or whether the *Anstoss* may be due to maltreatment of the text in transmission. There are the blots, and the passage is late. At the other extreme is Mr. Agar with the merciful view that many of the defects are due to what is certainly an intelligible cause, the havoc played by transcribers, editors, and others during centuries, and ready to cure them by reference to the practice of the epics so far as he can discover it from their text. Even so, many of the peculiarities in all parts of the poems defy explanation or removal, and when any part which is habitually vilified is to be condemned on account of any such unexplained residuum, our only resource is to compare it in this respect with what are supposed to be its betters. The "Continuation" is one forty-fifth of the whole Homeric corpus. It must have its share of peculiarity. Is that greater than the residuum for the first book of the *Iliad*? It is not. The comparison may be made in detail, and the "Continuation" need not fear it. And then there is the comforting fact that, judged by all the approved tests, its language stands foursquare.

So far as language goes, the "Continuation" is not separated in age from the rest of the poems. We shall see that the same may be said in regard to other heads of charge which have still to be considered. And even then Herr Cauer and Professor Murray will say, as they have said of the *Doloneia*, the one "pooh! *can't* you see that it can be cut out?" and the other, "the style is enough for me." *καί κ' ἀλαὸς διακρίνειε.*

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# CATULLUS *CARMEN* 2

By Edwin W. Fay

Against the attacks of Professors Phillimore and Postgate (see V, 217; VII, 1) I would venture a defense of the substantial integrity of Catullus' first *passer*[1] poem. Both these scholars challenge the Latinity of (*cum*) *desiderio meo nitenti* . . . . (*lubet*), whereas, I admire it as much as Friedrich or Munro ("bright lady of my longing love"), venturing to believe that if either of our recent censors has correctly restored the original, then blind fortune and blundering copyists have surpassed it in true poetry. At this stage of his amour —though that is begging the question—Catullus would scarcely have risked the *bêtise* of taxing Lesbia with a longing for himself.

The truth is that Professor Phillimore in his attack on the Latinity of *cum desiderio meo lubet* has put up a man of straw to batter down. Let us grant that *lucis meae oculos* must rather be expressed by *tuos, lux mea, oculos* and that *desiderio meo* must rather be *tibi, desiderium meum:* let us grant it, that is, for direct second-person sentences; but what of sentences wherein *tuos* and *tibi* must refer to the *passer*, while *lux* or *desiderium* refers to Lesbia, as here, where *desiderio* is very pointedly in the third person?

To what extent had *desiderium*, as a pet name, become a proper name? Is no weight to be attached to the fact that by its ending in *-ium* our noun fell into a class with all the names of mistresses and poppets on the comic stage, such as *Erotium* and *Paegnium?* Did *Desiderio meo lubet* substantially differ in syntax from *placuero huic Erotio* (Plautus *Men.* 670)? To what extent had *desiderium* sunk to a mere ordinary noun, liable to all the range of *coniugium*, which from

[1] In his *Greek Birds, s.v.* στρούθος, Thompson goes out of his way to declare his conviction that Lesbia's *passer* could not have been a common house sparrow, and for the general unfriendliness of this bird he refers to Bechstein's book on *Cage and Chamber Birds*. I think we may read between the lines of Catullus' second and third poems that Lesbia's sparrow was a jealous and unfriendly creature. Its general bad character was redeemed by its jealous and exclusive devotion to Lesbia (iii. 7–10). This devotion to a selected person is entirely accordant with Bechstein's tale (p. 249) of the belled sparrow of the Hôtel des Invalides: "It would not allow itself to be touched by any other person, yet was so fond of its master that it could not be induced to leave him, when at last he became bedridden."



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Accius on and in Catullus (68. 107) designated a wife? How should *desiderium* differ from "darling," "beloved," τὸ ἐρωμένιον, *puella*?

But to be specific: the objection to *desiderio* or *luci* (for that is Phillimore's instance) in the dative meets its answer by the consideration of Lucilius 1138–41:

> Cornelius Publius noster
> Scipiadas dicto tempus quae intorquet in ipsum
> oti et deliciis, *luci effictae* atque cinaedo et
> sectatori adeo ipse suo, quo rectius dicas.

Besides, the dative of Catullus seems almost imitated by Ovid, to his lady's parrot (*Am.* 2. 6. 19):

> quid iuvat, ut datus es, nostrae placuisse *puellae*.

This may be compared with Catullus 104. 1:

> credis me potuisse meae maledicere *vitae*.

Further examples of a dative are:

Plautus *Curc.*: 11–12:

> Egon apicularum opera congestum non feram
> Ex dulci oriundum melculo dulci meo?

*Most.* 167:

> volo meo placere Philolachi, meo ocello, meo patrono.

Professor Postgate's challenge of the propriety of using *nitenti* with *desiderio* may also seem to fall with Lucilius' *luci effictae*. The propriety of *nitens* may be vindicated by Cat. 68. 70, *mea candida diva;* 13. 4, *non sine candida puella* (cf. Horace *Epod.* 11. 27), for certainly *puella*, "mistress," does not seriously differ from *desiderium*, "beloved." As an epithet, there would be analogy between *desiderium* and a proper name. Cf. *Daphnis me malus urit* (Virgil *Ecl.* 8. 83) with *urit me Glycerae nitor*. Certainly *Glycera nitens* would not be bad Latin, and Catullus actually does say (*uxor*) *ore floridulo nitens* (61. 193). If the bride was there *nitens* why not his mistress (*desiderium*) here?

But the question really turns on the usage of *desiderium* by lovers, and the pitiful little salvage of Roman love-speech embalmed in our classic authors, and surely not exhausted in the *Casina* 134–38. *Poenulus* 365–68, ought never to be relied upon to prove a negative. For *desiderium* we might know more if we had an adequate record of Πόθος (two examples in Friedrich, *ad hunc locum*) and Ἵμερος

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in Greek but, quite out of literature, a gladiator was featured on the billboards at Pompeii as *totius orbis desiderium* (*CIL*, IV, 1184), and a bereaved husband, C. Maenius Cimber, paid tribute to his wife as *desiderio* (dat.) *spiritus mei* (*ibid.*, VI, 7579).

Somewhere toward the confines of literature we have an instance of *desiderium* with a qualifying adjective and with *suum*, and in a context distinctly reminiscent of Catullus, viz., in Pliny *N.H.* 11. 148 (cited as 12. 148 in the *Thesaurus*), where we find him speaking of the power of the pupil of the eye to reflect the whole image of a person. He continues:

> ea causa est ut plerique alitum e manibus [= "pet birds"] hominum oculos potissimum a p p e t a n t, quod effigiem suam in his cernentes velut ad c o g n a t a d e s i d e r i a s u a tendunt.

Why does Pliny in speaking of pet birds use *appetant* and *desideria*, two of the striking words of our *passer* poem? For one of two reasons, not mutually exclusive: first, in full or half-conscious reminiscence of this poem. He called Catullus his *conterraneus*, and had got no farther than the fifth line of his *Natural History* before quoting, with deliberate attempt to improve:

> namque tu solebas
> nugas esse aliquid meas putare [C. 1. 3].

He alludes there also to *C.* 12. 17, and refers to Catullus by name in at least four other places (28. 19:Cat. 64. 323 [?]; 36. 48:29. 3; 36. 154:1. 2; 37. 81:52), so the only wonder here is that Catullus is not actually named. The second explanation is that *desiderium* was a general pet name belonging to talk with birds. As Pliny here uses it, it corresponds to the pet name *ocellus* of the Plautine lover's vocabulary. For pet birds the *desiderium* was the supposed image of the beloved in the eyes of their mistresses: Catullus' beloved was his *desiderium*, his *ocellus*, and what lover thinking of Clodia "Boopis" (for so Cicero habitually nicknamed her) but might have described her as his *ocellus* (*desiderium*)[1] *nitens?* Cf. Virgil's *oculi nitentes* and other like uses of *niteo* and *nitens* recorded in the lexica.

[1] And one word more on *desiderium* of the reflected image in the eyes. Stephanus in his *Thesaurus*, *s.v.* "ἵμερος," writes: "est etiam Id in oculis quo intuentium amor conciliatur," citing the technological writer Pollux (2.63), a century after Pliny, for καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπορρέον ἵμερος, and if Stephanus was troubled for the definition of ἀπορρέον, he should have bethought himself of the philosophical term ἀπορροαὶ· εἴδωλα (so Hesychius).

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I am personally convinced of the integrity of *Carmen* 2 as it stands in a conservative text like Simpson's, and the difficulties raised seem to me to meet their solution if we interpret the poem on the following theory of its composition, viz., that at an early period of their acquaintance Lesbia became angry with Catullus and banished him from her presence (cf. the record of such a quarrel, later on, in *C.* 8). In his efforts to regain admittance he despatched a note superscribed with some form of words such as *Catullus passeri, melculo desideriogue suae puellae,* something to pique angry Clodia into opening the note.

If this reconstruction of the setting of the poem be admitted, it commits us to taking *doloris* (l. 7) as "vexation" and *ardor* (l. 8) as "hot resentment." In brief, I would take *ardor*, and incidentally *dolor*, as substantially equivalent to *ira*. For this definition, note the following statistics:

1. *Ardor* and *ira*.—Lucretius, 3. 289, in i r a | cum fervescit et e x o c u l i s micat acrius a r d o r; Cic. *De div.* 1. 61, i r a r u m exsistit a r d o r (cf. Mart. 6. 64. 24, bilis ardor); Livy 5. 41. 4, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ("free from resentment or heat of passion," Spillan); *ibid.*, 1. 10. 3; 24. 30. 1; Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 78; *Phil.* 13. 15; 4. 4. Cf. *ardens* (*ardet*), Cat. 64. 198, "zorn-glühend" (Friedrich), in contrast with 62. 23 = "liebe-glühend"; Horace *S.* 1. 4. 48; Livy 2. 56. 13; Virgil *Aen.* 2. 575; Cic. *Att.* 2. 19. 5, *Tusc.* 2. 58; Terence *Ad.* 710, ardeo iracundia; Plautus *Cpt.* 594, ardent o c u l i (of a madman); cf. ardet mente (*Culex* 179); ardet et odit (Juvenal 9. 96).

2. *Ardor* and *furor*.—Cic. *Phil.* 13. 18, quo furore, quo ardore; cf. *Phil.* 3. 3.

3. *Ardor* and *dolor*.—Some glossist to our passage has written *dolor* for *ardor*. The connotation of *ira* is clear in Cic. *Brut.* 277, ubi dolor, ubi ardor animi? *De or.* 1. 197, vi et dolore et ardore animi concitans (note in the glosses a<r>dore animi "indignatio"). But *ardor* comes nearer to the sense of *dolor* (i.e., "pain")—cf. Tibullus 2. 5. 110 and 3. 6. 3 where *dolor* is the pain of unrequited love; 3. 2. 6; 3. 2. 13, where it is the pain of bereavement —when contrasted with *voluptas*, as in Lucretius 3. 251; cf. Cic. *De fin.* 2. 14, inserting (from *Cael.* 37) after *animus ardet* nunc meum cor cumulatur ira; *Att.* 2. 19. 5, ardet dolore et ira. In these passages *ardor* is a heightened *dolor*.

4. In the following passages *ardor* is even an exaggerated *ira*, perhaps; Cic. *Fam.* 6. 12. 4; *Marc.* 24, in tanto civili bello, tanto animorum ardore; *Leg.* 9; Silius Ital. *Pun.* 17. 491, iamque ardore truci lustrans; Livy 6. 13. 2, vultum . . . . ardore animi micantem; *Culex* 222, sanguineumque micant ardorem; Laberius 26, ardore ignescitur.

5. Possibly, in our context, *gravis* fastens on *ardor* the sense of "anger," so clearly exhibited in the previous examples by *ardor animi*. We have in

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Horace gravis stomachus (*C.* 1. 6. 6) and graves iras (3. 3. 30). Cicero furnishes examples of gravis with *dolor*, *ira*, *inimicitiae*, *iracundia* (*Tusc.* 3. 11, *graviore*); cf. also odiosi et graves (*Rep.* 1. xliii). Ovid also has gravis dolor. The adverb *graviter* is combined with iratus sum (Terence *Hec.* 623), with angi (*De amic.*) and graviter commotus is glossed by g. iratus. Cf. also Tacitus *Ann.* 13. 36. 5, quod Corbulo graviter accepit et increpitum Paccium . . . . iussit. Further see Lewis and Short, *s.v. graviter*, and cf. *gravatus*, always of a feeling of vexation. With these examples before me I am not attracted by Munro's definition of *gravis ardor* as a "violent and absorbing passion," even when confronted with a context like studium et ardorem quendam amoris (*De or.* 1. 134); cf. Horace *Ep.* 11. 2, amore percussum gravi, and, in vs. 27, *ardor* = "love" (see Catullus 62.23, cited in 1).

So many other exegetical difficulties have been raised regarding our poem, however, that I must go yet further in defense of its integrity. The long interval between the address to the *passer* and the introduction to the wish is awkward, but Friedrich's general defense is satisfying: "vss. 1–7 constitute a long-spun-out address, and vs. 8 is not joined to them quite correctly. That is, however, only a trifling inconcinnity, pardonable in colloquial speech." Just as awkward parentheses may be found in Catullus 65. 5–14, and in Horace *C.* 3. 17. 2–9; cf. also Catullus 44. 2–4 and Horace *Ep.* 1. 15. 2–13 and 16–21, where the main verb of the first sentence is deferred till vs. 25.

Difficulty has also been felt with *et solaciolum*, but it is quite hypercritical to object to construing *solaciolum* as one construes *carum nescioquid*. A somewhat new emphasis may be given to this explanation by noting that *et* adds here a virtual appositive to *carum nescioquid*. This is the *et* that Friedrich (*Catullus*, p. 369) renders by *nämlich* in Virgil *Geor.* 4. 64.

tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum.[1]

A most apposite example for our passage is Horace *C.* 4. 12. 6:

infelix avis et Cecropiae domus aeternum opprobrium,

wherein the *et*-clause does duty for a relative almost. Cf. Propertius 3. 12. 22, *lotosque herbaeque tenaces*, where the *lotus* is the *herba tenax*. There is an excellent collection of examples for this *et* of apposition in Rothstein's *Propertius*, 1. 8. B. 35–36 (p. 56). Rothstein's list, besides the two examples given, contains Propertius 2. 9. 13; 3. 7. 29;

[1] See other examples of *et* and *-que* on p. 367 and cf. p. 145 on *et* = "and that too."

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*Aeneid* 1. 41; 5, 647; Ovid *Her.* 4. 91; to which may be added *Aeneid* 6. 282 and perhaps 6. 296; 6. 467; Terence *Ph.* 199; Lucilius 194 (?). In this usage the copula, *et* or *-que*, does not differ in force from the copula in hendiadys.

Offense has also been caused by *credo* (vs. 8), in the sense of "doubtless," Germ. *natürlich*. Here *credo* ratifies the statements of fact involved in "some endearment which is a solace of her vexation": "I can well believe it," adds Catullus. We find a comparable example, but not so light in tone, in Cicero *Marc.* 25:

saepe enim venit ad aures meas te idem istud nimis crebro dicere tibi satis te vixisse. credo: sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses.

So in *Carm.* 84, after criticizing Arrius' cockney *h-*, Catullus goes on, *credo:* (of course he speaks with an *h-*, for[1]) *sic mater . . . . avunculus —avus dixerat.*

Touching *ut* (vs. 8), even if Catullus had no other instance of *ut=utinam* (cf. 66. 48), we need not question it here. Not but there remains a difficulty with the *ut*—its great separation, to wit, from *passer*, due to the intervention of three parentheses, viz.: of vss. 2–4 (relative), vss. 5–7 (temporal), and last of *credo* (8). If we only knew how the Romans managed their phrasing in reading! It were so easy to draw *ut* and *passer* together by speaking both words at the same pitch, with the intervening parentheses each in a pitch of its own; nor is it unthinkable that such a sentence-stress fell upon *ut* that the metrical value of *cred° ut* was not ⏑ –, but rather —: ⌊ ⏑

To those who still stumble at the long parenthesis, and are not reconciled by the parallels cited above, my interpretation may be made, in its general aspect, more acceptable by either of the following emendations:

*a*) By the change of *credo*, to *quaero* or rather *quaeso*, following in part Sir E. Maunde Thompson in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI, 78.

Thompson's ipse dixit were enough of itself to prove the *ductus* confusion, in semi-uncials, of *quae-* and *cre-*, but I have been at pains to verify it in the facsimiles accessible to me. Thus in half-uncials *qu-* looks like C|[2]

[1] Here "for" is a translation of *sic*. The paratactic type of *for*-sentence introduced by *ita* is very common in Plautus (see my *Mostellaria*, § 74. 3). The construction of the *sic*-clause as parataxis for *O.O.* after *credo* seems to me much less convincing than to take *credo* with the previous statement.

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(cf. Thompson, *Pal.*, p. 201), or like C|˘ (cf. Chatelain, *Unc. script.*, pl. 66, col. 1, 3d line from end; Wessely, Schrfttaf., Tab. VI, No. 13, where, in uncials on stone, *anno* 301, we have C|˘L <=qui>, end of 2d line, C|˘ΛE <=quae>, middle of 5th line; Wattenbach[4], p. 62, sub V, l. 5). So *quia* as written in Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 66, 2d leaf, 1st col., l. 15, looks very like *criia*, and we can but admit the possibility of C|²eso being read creso and being transcribed c̄so, subsequently expanded to credo.[1] As to the propriety of using *quaeso*, it is enough to refer to 76. 23 (cf. 10. 25; 103. 3), and particularly to Tibullus 1. 1. 58, *tecum dummodo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.*

*b*) An even simpler emendation which removes another of the old stones of stumbling in the interpretation of our poem, is to read vss. 7–8, pointed as a parenthesis, as follows:

(et solaciolum's <? t> eei doloris, credo).

As a mistake in *ductus*, SUI for STEI is most simple, for TEI (or EEI) in capitals was always capable of being read III, whence VI. Lindsay, *Lat. Txt. Emend*, p. 87, cites, e.g., *aui* for ALII (*Ps.* 633) and *haec cauata* for HAEC ALLATA.

In vs. 9 the wish with *possem* has occasioned difficulty, but the tense seems to me adroitly chosen by Catullus "to indicate the hopelessness of the wish in the present or immediate future" (cf. Lane, *Latin Grammar*, § 1544), and the tense may have been chosen to make Lesbia ask herself whether after all his return to her was impossible. The problem is one of psychology, not of formal grammar; the occasion was one where emotion was made to seem to triumph over syntactical norms. The change to *possim*, so simple as a problem of *ductus*, so offends against the principle of *lectio difficilior* that I deem it entirely inadmissible, and to read *possem* is to exclude *quaero* for *credo*.

Is there a gap between vss. 10 and 11? The testimony of *Guarini* (which I am unable to gauge) apart, there is not the least need to think so. As to construction, *ut* . . . . *possem* is the apodosis to *gratum est;* cf., e.g., Cicero *Fin.* 5. 83: *utinam quidem dicerent alium alio beatiorem: iam ruinas videres*, where the unreality of *dicerent* is again for the immediate future, and *videres*, for all its

[1] In uncials, *d* for *s* is common; cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 88. See also Chatelain, *op. cit.*, pl. 19, 2d col, 4th line from end, where in *sensibus*, *set s* with a closed bottom looks like the delta-shaped *d*.

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attraction to the norm of the unreal, means with *iam* "you would soon see." Implied in the wish here is a protasis "*si tecum <et domina tua> ludere possem*" to which the apodosis is *gratum est*. So far as correlation of tense and of word goes, Ellis has adduced a perfect parallel in Martial 2. 63. 3:

Miliche, luxuria est si tanti dives amares.

As the indicative for the *longum est* type needs no defense, it is only a question of combining present with imperfect, and this Catullus does, inversely as between protasis and apodosis, in 23. 22:

quod tu si manibus teras fricesque
non unquam digitum inquinare posses,

6.2:

nei sint illepidae atque inelegantes
velles dicere, nec tacere posses.

Cf. also Tibulli *Pan. Mess.* 197:

nostri si parvula cura
sit tibi . . . .
. . . . non magni potior sit fama Gylippi,
posse Meleteas nec mallem vincere chartas.

Why, in fine, does Catullus adduce the ungirdling[1] of Atalanta in the expression of the delight he would feel in being restored to his mistress' presence? A limited comparison (so Friedrich)? But perhaps more. *Quel malin que Catulle!*

The Romans habitually designated a business immediately in hand by a reference to costumes, as of the *tabellarii* in Cicero *Fam.* 15. 17. 1, *petasati veniunt;* and of a general in *Pansa noster paludatus* (*ibid.*, 3). Cf. *togatus, sagatus, saga sumere—ponere, ad saga ire, in sagis esse.* In Plautus the *zona* is mentioned as a characteristic part of the dress of an *advena* or *peregrinus* (*Persa* 155 f.; *Poen.* 1008; *Truc.* 954); cf. C. Gracchus *ap. Gell.* 15. 12:

Quirites, cum Romam profectus sum, zonas quas plenas argenti extuli eas ex provincia inanes rettuli.

An angry soldier preparing to depart in dudgeon cries out in the *Mercator* of Plautus (925): *sonam sustuli.* So it may be that in

[1] In its folk-lore aspect the story of Atalanta is illuminated by the following extract from Havelock Ellis' *Psychology of Sex*, p. 60: "Among the Malays . . . . the damsel, stripped naked of all but a waistband, is given a certain start and runs off on foot followed by her lover."

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the last three verses of our poem Catullus is delivering an ultimatum to Lesbia, to wit: iam diu sonatus sum; nisi tu me revocaris peregre abiero. Perhaps. We can never know.

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# TWO PINDARIC POEMS OF THEOCRITUS

By Edward B. Clapp

It is sometimes remarked by critics of Pindar that the great Boeotian was a poet who is more admired than read. And in the main this dictum is doubtless correct. Pindar never was a popular poet, as Homer was popular. His thought was often too obscure, his style too abrupt and rugged, and his rhythm too difficult to allow his poetry to be the favorite reading of cultivated triflers. We may even venture to doubt whether Horace himself had spent hours and days in the reading of Pindar, though no one has praised the Theban eagle more judiciously than he. But I have been struck with the fact that at least one poet in later Greek literature was a close student, as well as an ardent admirer, of Pindar. I refer to no less an artist than Theocritus. The gentle sweetness of the prince of Alexandrians seems widely removed from the flashing vigor of Pindar's poetry. And, indeed, in most of his writings we find comparatively few traces of familiarity with the works of the priestly Theban. But in the sixteenth poem, the "Graces to Hiero," and the seventeenth, the "Praise of Ptolemy," not only is the style to a certain extent Pindaric, but direct reminiscences of Pindar, both in thought and in language, are so frequent that they can only be explained as either the result of conscious imitation, or as the production of a mind so steeped in Pindar that these words and ideas came unconsciously to the poet's pen.

The Pindaric character of poem 16 is too apparent to have escaped observation. It has been noted by Fritzsche in his *Argument*, and briefly discussed by Kuiper in *Mnemosyne*, N.F. 17, p. 378. Holzinger, in his short paper "Theokrit in Orchomenos," *Philologus* LI, 193, devotes himself chiefly to combating the view of Paton and Hicks (*Koisch. Inschrift.*, p. 359), accepted by Christ, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit.*[4], p. 539, that poem 16 was sent to Hiero from Orchomenos. But no one of these scholars seems to have called sufficient attention to the fact that poem 17, as well, is full of reminiscences of the Boeotian bard. It has therefore seemed to the present writer to



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be worth while to present the facts in regard to both poems, side by side, including a perhaps more adequate statement of the Pindaric echoes in poem 16.

This sixteenth poem, addressed to king Hiero, was probably written when Theocritus contemplated a journey to Syracuse, perhaps to sue for the patronage of the great monarch. The very name of Hiero recalls to mind that older Hiero, whom Pindar praises with so much more independence of spirit. And the alternate title, the "Graces" or Χάριτες, plunges the reader at once into the very midst of Pindar's poetic mythology, in which the charm of poetry is so often personified under the name of Χάριτες. At the outset of the poem, after dwelling for a few verses on the favorite Pindaric antithesis between the divine and the human as subjects of song, Theocritus introduces his Χάριτας with the question, which we must admit is utterly un-Pindaric in its humility, Who will receive our Graces kindly into his house, and not send them away without their due reward? I know not, he answers, for men are no longer eager, as they were of old, to be praised by poets for their noble deeds. They are helpless victims, says our poet, of greed for gain. And the expression which he uses, νενίκηνται ὑπὸ κερδέων, reminds us of frequent turns in Pindar, as αἰδὼς κέρδει κλέπτεται, *N.* 9. 33, and ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται, *P.* 3. 54. Rich men, continues Theocritus, reject our plea for generosity with the trite proverb, "The knee is nearer than the shin," or "Charity begins at home"—an elaborate homeliness of expression quite in the spirit of Pindar's famous saying, "I have upon my tongue the feeling of a shrill whetstone," *O.* 6. 82. Homer, says the niggard patron, is all the poet we need. And then Theocritus turns upon him with the impassioned cry, "What will you gain from all your stored-up gold? For the wise, the best use of wealth is to benefit one's friends, to reward poets, and to make offerings to the gods." Here Theocritus seems to be thinking of passages like *N.* 1. 31 f.: "I love not to keep great wealth hidden in my halls, but from what I have to live happily, and to win a good name by services to my friends." Especially, says Theocritus, one ought to honor the spokesmen of the Muses, in order that even when one is in the abode of Hades, his praises may still be sung in the upper world. Here we are reminded of *I.* 1.

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*ad fin.*: "But if anyone hoards his wealth at home, he does not remember that he must give up his spirit to Hades at last bereft of all honor." Indeed, it is one of the commonplaces of Pindar, that poetry alone can immortalize the fame of the great and good.

Next Theocritus proceeds to mention some of the rich and mighty of this world, including the mythical Aleuas, fabled ancestor of the Aleuadae of Thessaly, of whom Pindar sings in *P.* 10: "They would all be forgotten ere this, had not their fame been hymned by bards." So Pindar in *N.* 7. 12 f., declares that "mighty deeds are wrapped in great darkness, if they lack for song." But the Cean bard, says Theocritus (and it is significant that he mentions Simonides, rather than the poet most in his mind), "made these chieftains immortal in the minds of later generations, with the honors won by their swift steeds." The winning of undying fame by means of prowess in chariot racing is a thoroughly Pindaric touch, and quite outside the sphere of Theocritus. And the word he uses here for later generations is ὁπλοτέροις, a rare Homeric comparative, but used not less than three times by Pindar.

Who would have known of the Lycian chiefs, or of the sons of Priam, or of fair Cycnus, if poets had not celebrated their battles? Nor would Odysseus be remembered, nor Eumelus, nor Philoetius, nor Laertes, had not the Ionian Homer sung of their brave deeds. Here it is interesting to note that Theocritus recedes from the disparaging view of Odysseus, characteristic of Attic tragedy, and recurs to his heroic aspect in the older fashion, coupling his name with that of Cycnus, son of Poseidon, a little-known hero, but twice mentioned, with great respect, by Pindar.

Indeed, this whole passage is so deeply saturated with Pindaric reminiscences that it could have been written only by a poet who was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his great Theban predecessor. What we see here is no easy external imitation, but the work of a man who knew and loved his Pindar, even as Theocritus himself was known and loved by our own Tennyson. Great glory, continues our poet, comes to men from the Muses alone. As to the man who is smitten with avarice, I take my leave of him. Let him have boundless wealth, but let him be constantly tormented with desire for more. So Pindar says in *N.* 8. 37: "Men pray for gold, and others for

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boundless lands." And as the latter adds, "but I would fain cover my limbs with earth amid the love of my fellow-citizens," so Theocritus goes on, "but I prefer the honor and love of men to countless mules and horses."

"But some day I shall find the prince who will take me for his bard. Even now the Phoenicians are trembling at the military preparations of Hiero. May Zeus and Athena and Persephone drive them from the Sicilian isle." The wish, here, recalls the prayer in *P.* 1. 72 f. for the success of the older Hiero. It is adorned, moreover, with a reference to mythical Ephyra, the ancient name of Corinth, the mother-city of Syracuse. Pindar, too, mentions Ephyra more than once, but, oddly enough, not with reference to Corinth, but meaning the Thesprotian or Thessalian Ephyra. And Theocritus goes on, "May poets spread the renown of Hiero beyond the Scythian sea, even to where Semiramis held sway, within her walls of asphalt." In a similar strain Pindar, in *I.* 6. 22, declares that the fame of Aegina has spread "beyond the sources of the Nile. Nor is any city so barbarous in speech as not to have heard of the Aeginetan hero Peleus." Here it is easy to trace the development of the idea in the mind of Theocritus. Pindar's "no city so barbarous in speech" has become, in the later poet, an explicit reference to Nineveh.

At the end of our poem comes a further mention of the Graces, which we have already noticed, both in the title and in the introduction. The latter passage is plainly suggested by Pindar's beautiful fourteenth Olympian, which deals especially with these goddesses. Cf. also *O.* 9. 27; *I.* 1. 6. And while Pindar mentions the Boeothian River Cephissus, Theocritus, who, like any good Alexandrian, knows his mythology, does not fail to introduce Eteocles, the son of the river-god. In short, the evidence is conclusive that Theocritus, in composing his sixteenth poem, not only shows an intimate familiarity with the odes of Pindar in general, but also had certain Pindaric passages particularly in mind.

The indications of Pindaric suggestion are scarcely less striking in poem 17, the "Praise of Ptolemy." The poem begins with an ascription of praise to Zeus, quite in the style of *N.* 2. 3, followed by the sharp antithesis: "But of men, Ptolemy shall be mentioned

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first, last, and in the midst." Here no one can fail to be reminded of the splendid proemium of *O.* 2: "What god, what hero, what man shall we celebrate? Truly Pisa is of Zeus, the Olympic Games did Heracles establish as the first fruit of war, and Theron must we proclaim for his victory with the four-horse chariot." "I am at loss," continues Theocritus, "where to begin my praise of Ptolemy, like a wood-cutter on Mount Ida, at loss before the multitude of trees." Ptolemy was born of illustrious sires. His father, Ptolemy Lageides, was deified, and dwells, like Pindar's Heracles, "in a golden chamber in the palace of Zeus, where he enjoys festivity (*θαλίας ἔχει*, a Pindaric turn; cf. *O.* 7. 94) in the company of the other Olympians. Like Alexander the Great, Ptolemy claims descent from Heracles. And Arsinoe, his queen, is equally conspicuous among women. No man ever loved his wife as Ptolemy loves Arsinoe. And she, in turn, loves him still more profoundly—which, by the way, is a most un-Pindaric note. Eilithyia stood by with her assistance when Ptolemy was born, and gave his mother surcease of pain. And here we note a significant touch of Pindar, even in the language. The word used for "surcease of pain" is *νωδυνίαν*, which is almost a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, for Liddell and Scott quote but two occurrences of it, one of which is the present passage, while the other is *P.* 3. 6, where Asclepius is called "author for mortals of surcease of pain." No clearer proof of Pindaric influence could be found, than this repetition of a rare Pindaric word. The birth of Ptolemy was like the birth of Achilles or Diomed. The island of Cos, where he first saw the light, shall be as famous as Delos for the birth of Apollo. The curious personification of the island of Cos, here, is not at all in Pindaric vein, but reminds us strongly of Callimachus in his fourth poem. As the island finishes its address to the future monarch, an eagle, says Theocritus, thrice screamed from the clouds above. In precisely the same way, in Pindar, *I.* 6. 49, when Heracles predicts the birth of Ajax, "the god sent forth a mighty eagle, king of birds." "For Zeus honors great kings," continues Theocritus, "and no land is so rich as Egypt, over which Ptolemy rules. It hath cities 33,000 and 300 and 30 and 3. The sea and the land and the surrounding rivers are subject to him. He is lord of many horsemen and many shield-bearing warriors." So Pindar

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praises Hiero, in *P.* 2. 58, as "sovereign prince of many battlemented streets and a mighty host." "The servants of the Muses sing of Ptolemy, in return for the favor he hath bestowed upon them." In the same way, in *P.* 2. 17, "the praises of the Cyprians encompass Cinyras, as a recompense for his many kindly deeds."

And finally, the poem closes in thoroughly Pindaric manner. For not only does Theocritus echo the Pindaric sentiment that wealth must be joined with virtue in order to be the source of true glory (cf. *P.* 5. 1 ff.), but he also adopts one of the most characteristic Pindaric devices for bringing a poem to an end with point and effect. To illustrate, I cite two or three of Pindar's closing sentences: *O.* 3, "I will not pursue it, I should be a fool"; *O.* 5, "Seek not in vain to be a god"; *I.* 3, "Yet free from wounds are the sons of the gods." Thus, with inimitable brevity, Pindar leaves his sting, as it were, in the mind of his reader. This is the characteristic which Theocritus emulates in the close of the poem we are now considering. "I think I utter a word not to be rejected by future generations. But virtue thou shalt seek from Zeus." Such a reproduction of the very spirit of Pindar's style is even more significant than any mere coincidences of language, or even of thought.

We have thus seen that in his sixteenth and seventeenth poems, Theocritus shows unmistakable traces of the influence of Pindar. The other poems of Theocritus, so far as I have observed, do not reveal further facts of a similar kind. And since there is nothing in our scanty knowledge of the life of the gifted Alexandrian to indicate that the two poems were not written at approximately the same period, we are justified in assuming that these years—perhaps from 265 B.C.—were a time of close and devoted study of the earlier bard.

In closing, I wish to say a single word of the contrast between the two poets. Notwithstanding all the reminders of Pindar in these two poems, yet Pindar never could have written them. There is much in them that is absolutely un-Pindaric. I do not refer so much to the unquestioning assent which Theocritus gives to the prevailing deification of the Alexandrian sovereigns, though this would be impossible from the poet who addresses the older Hiero with the simple words ὦ φίλε. Theocritus was the child of his age, and the deification of kings was the fashion of his time.

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But we are specially struck with the utter absence of that spirit of haughty self-confidence which is so striking a trait in Pindar. The proud Aegeid could never have described his songs as returning dejected from the quest for patronage, and resting their patient heads on their cold knees in utter discouragement (16. 7 ff.). For Theocritus was a well-beloved court poet; Pindar was a "divine bard." Perhaps we love Theocritus none the less for the difference.

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# THE VEDIC PATH OF THE GODS AND THE ROMAN PONTIFEX

By Roland G. Kent

G. Wissowa[1] says that the meaning of but few Roman priestly designations is clear, while most of them are obscure or "trotz durchsichtiger Wortbildung, in dem Grunde ihrer Bedeutung nicht recht fassbar." In this last category he sets *lupercal* and *pontifex*. Certainly, if lack of agreement upon the interpretation of the name is a criterion, *pontifex* is to be set among those of uncertain development of meaning; and so great is this uncertainty that many etymologists have not hesitated entirely to reject any connection with *pōns* 'bridge.'

The second element in *pontifex* is of course the verbal noun to *faciō;* the various etymologies proposed for the first element of the compound are:

1. *pōns* 'bridge,' in the following interpretations:

*a*) *pōns* 'bridge': hence *pontifex* 'bridge-maker': the *pōns sublicius*, for several centuries the only bridge over the Tiber at Rome, was under the supervision of the pontifices, who built it, repaired it, and performed certain sacrifices there.[2]

*b*) *pōns* 'path': while this meaning is not found in Latin, it is assured by Greek πάτος, Skt. *panthan-*, meaning 'path, way'; hence *pontifex* 'pathmaker,' as for processions.[3] Isidore says *pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium*,[4] but this is a Christian interpretation.

*c*) *pōns* in the same meaning: *pontifex* 'Pfadbereiter, der zum Pfade der Götter leitet.'[5]

[1] *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, in v. Müller, *Hdb. d. kl. Altertumswiss.*, V, 4, p. 413.

[2] Varro *LL.* v. 83; Dion. Hal. *AR.* ii. 73; Plut. *Numa* 9; Serv. *Ad Aen.* ii. 166; Bücheler, *Umbrica*, p. 152; Keller, *Lat. Volksetym. u. Verwandtes* (1891), pp. 337 f.; von Planta, *Gram. d. oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, I, 470; Ernout, *Élém. dial. du vocab. lat.*, p. 218; Platner, *Top. and Mon. of Anc. Rome*², p. 77.

[3] Lange, *Röm. Altertümer*³, I, 370 f.; G. Curtius, *Grundzüge d. griech. Etym.*⁵ (1879), p. 270.

[4] Isidore, *Etym.*, viii. 12. 13.

[5] Kuhn, *KZ*, IV (1855), 75–77; Vaniček, *Etym. Wörtb. d. lat. Spr.* (1874), p. 87; *Gr.-Lat. etym. Wörtb.*, I (1877), 383.



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*d*) *pōns* 'pilotis des terramari': hence *pontificēs* 'pile-builders' for the villages of prehistoric times.[1]

*e*) *pōns* 'way' from the saepta, at which the voting tablets were given up: hence *pontifex* 'maker of ways' for this purpose.[2]

II. *ponti-* to *potēns* 'able': hence *pontifex* 'he who is able to perform' the sacrifices.[3]

III. *ponti-* to the root *pū-* 'purify': hence *pontifex* 'maker of purifications, of expiatory sacrifices.'[4]

IV. *ponti-* = Oscan *pomtis* 'five times': hence *pontifex* 'the one making the fifth,' that is, 'maker of calculations' for calendar purposes, or 'the Five Actors' in some ceremonial performance.[5]

V. *ponti-* = Greek *πέμψις* '*πομπή*, procession': hence *pontifex* 'arranger of processions'; for even in imperial times the pontifices did take part in the processions.[6]

VI. *ponti-* 'piatio,' by an etymology to be discussed later: hence *pontifex* 'maker of purifications or of expiations.[7]

VII. *ponti-* = **sponti-* 'Willenserklärung,' connected with *sponte* and *spondeō*, with the familiar variation in initial *s*:[8] hence *pontifex* 'maker of vows' on behalf of others.[9]

These etymologies may be divided into three groups: (1) those taking *ponti-* as *pōns* 'bridge' in the sense of a bridge over a river; (2) those taking *ponti-* as *pōns* 'bridge,' but in some other application of the word; (3) those taking *ponti-* as distinct in etymology from *pōns* 'bridge.'

[1] Helbig, cited by Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. antiq. gr. et rom.*, *s.v. pontifex;* an interpretation of *pōns* as "tribunal," attributed by Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*, to Voigt and to Soltau, I am unable to trace.

[2] Netušil, *BPW*, XI (1891), 867 f.

[3] Scaevola *ap.* Varro *LL.* v. 83; Plut. *Numa* 9; cf. Lucan i. 595, and Lydus *De mensibus* iii. 21.

[4] Benary, *Die röm. Lautlehre*, I, 70; Döderlein, *Hdb. d. lat. Etym.*, *s.v. pontifex;* Röper, *Lucubrationum pontificalium primitiae*, p. 33, citing also Förstemann; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, III (1878), 227–30.

[5] Pfund, *Altital. Rechtsaltertümer*, pp. 212 ff.; E. Pais, *ap.* Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*

[6] Nazari, *Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, XLIII (1907–8), 839–43; and *Riv. di filologia*, XXXVI, 575 f.; similarly Göttling, *Gesch. d. röm. Staatsverf.*, p. 173, and Ihne, *ap.* Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*

[7] Walde, *Lat. et. Wörtb.*, *s.v.;* Bezzenberger, *KZ*, XLII, 86 f.

[8] Brugmann, *Gdr. d. vergl. Gram. d. idg. Spr.*, 1², § 818.2.

[9] Döhring, *ALL*, XV, 221 f.

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With reference to the first, the main argument in its favor is its obviousness, and this has drawn to its support more adherents than have maintained any other view. The ancients inclined to this because of the duties and sacrifices of the pontifices at the *pōns sublicius*.[1] Platner and Ernout[2] think that the extreme importance of the *pōns sublicius*, when it was the only bridge over the Tiber, would readily account for the application of the term *pontifex* to an order of priests. Keller[3] accounts for its use merely as a manifestation of primitive and naïve ideas in religion, and gives as a parallel *flāmen* 'Feueranbläser'—an etymology, by the way, not even listed by Walde.[4] But according to the tradition, a *pontifex* was instituted by Numa Pompilius,[5] and the building of the *pōns sublicius* followed two reigns later, under Ancus Marcius.[6] This sequence of events would preclude the connection of the name *pontifex* with the *pōns sublicius*; but after all, the record of that period is not historical, but pure myth. At the same time it suggests the danger of deriving the religious term *pontifex* from a specified bridge, the building of which could not precede a time when the Romans were strong enough not to worry greatly over a possible sudden attack from their Etruscan neighbors. Nettleship[7] argues that the pontifices probably preceded the building of any bridges at Rome, but were nevertheless real 'bridge-builders': for the tribes in their southward migrations crossed numerous rivers. At first sight this is a strong and valid argument for this interpretation; but in reality, a migrating tribe is more likely to cross rivers by fords or on rafts, like the Helvetians on their way into Gaul,[8] than by building anything that could be dignified by the name of bridge.

Netušil,[9] in taking *ponti-* to refer to the ways of exit from the voting saepta, claims that the regular use of the adjective *sublicius* in the phrase *pōns sublicius* argues a previous use of *pōns* in another special connection; and that had the wooden bridge been the first

[1] To the references already given, add Varro *LL.* vii. 44; Dion. Hal. *AR.* i. 38; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 32 and 86; Ovid *Fasti* v. 621–60; Lydus *De mensibus* iii. 21; Röper, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–32.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] *Op. cit.*, *s.v. flāmen.*

[5] Liv. i. 20.

[6] *Ibid.*, 33.

[7] *Lectures and Essays*, I, 27–29.

[8] Caes. *BG.* i. 8; i. 12.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

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bridge, it would have been the *pōns* par excellence, while any later bridge would have had the distinguishing adjective—such as *lapideus*. But even the granting of the point hardly gives force to his interpretation of *pontifex*. The other interpretations of *ponti-* as *pōns* 'bridge' in varying shades of meaning likewise lack support, except that of pontifex as 'maker of the path of the gods,' which is reserved for discussion later.

Walde[1] explains *ponti-* as 'piatio,' connecting it with *quīnquāre* 'lustrare'[2] and identifying it with Umb. *puntes*[3] of the *Tabulae Iguvinae* iii. 4, 9, 10. Tradition represents the *pontifex* as a Sabine institution, and it is easily possible that the initial *p* is the Oscan-Umbrian development of an original $q^u$ or $\hat{k}u$, which appear in pure Latin as *qu*.[4] Walde, following Stolz[5] in deriving *quīnquāre* from *quīnque*, admits the lack of any ritual connection for the numeral 5 in Roman practice, but in *T.I.* iii. 3–5, *huntak vuke prumu pehatu.| Inuk uhturu urtes puntis | frater ustentuta*, which he interprets *cisternam aedis primum piato. Tum auctorem ortis "pontibus" ostendunto*, he pronounces *urtes puntis* a repetition of the action of the first sentence, hence 'piatio, lustratio.' Bezzenberger,[6] while accepting Walde's interpretation, connects *ponti-* with Avestan *spənta-*, OB. *svętŭ*, Lith. *szveñta-* 'holy,' Lith. *szveñtė* 'Fest,' *szvéntinti* 'weihen,' OB. *svęštenikŭ* 'sacerdos,' and *quīnquāre* with Lith. *szvankú-s* 'anständig.' But Nazari[7] has called attention to the fact that this interpretation does not fit *puntes* in the other passages where it occurs: *T.I.* iii. 8–10, *Sakre, uvem uhtur | teitu, puntes terkantur. Inumek sakre, | uvem urtas puntes fratrum upetuta* 'hostiam, ovem auctor dicito, "pontes" suffragentur. Tunc hostiam, ovem surgentes "pontes" fratrum deligunto.' Evidently *puntes* means not 'piatio,' but some arrangement or groups of the Fratres Atiedii; Nazari suggests equation with Greek *πέμψις* '*πομπή*, procession'; but a more obvious etymology interprets it as 'pentad, group of five,' identical with Skt. *pańkti-*. Oscan-Umbrian **pompe* 'quinque,'

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] Charis. 81. 22 K.
[3] Cf. also Bücheler, *loc. cit.*
[4] Sommer, *Hdb. d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, pp. 202 f.
[5] *Hist. Gram. d. lat. Spr.*, I, 596.
[6] *Loc. cit.* [7] *Loc. cit.*

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appearing in Oscan *púmperiaís* '*quincuriis,' *Púntiis* Πομπτιες 'Quintius,' *pomtis* 'quinquiens,' Umbrian *pumpeřias* '*quincuriae,' assures the phonetics of the form. This is the view of Buck[1] and of von Planta,[2] while Conway[3] and Bücheler[4] waver between this and a comitial meaning of *pōns* 'bridge' (possibly 'bridge-ful' on the way to the voting urns?). As for *quīnquāre*, a more probable explanation than either of those already mentioned is that it is a *Rückbildung* from the festival name *Quīnquātrūs*, like *parentāre* 'ein Totenopfer bringen,' to *Parentālia* 'Totenopfer.'[5] The *Quīnquātrūs*, later called also *Quīnquātria*, fell on March 19–23, and the name means the 'fifth dark day'[6] as it came five days after the Ides or full moon; it was later extended to five days by a false feeling for the meaning of the word.

Walde's etymology therefore falls for want of cogency. A ritual value for 'five' can hardly be found in Roman religion;[7] as for the number of the pontifices, Cicero's statement[8] that they were at first five is contradicted by Livy,[9] who says that originally one was appointed, and that in 300 B.C. their number was raised from four to nine.

Of the other interpretations of *pontifex*, those connecting it with *sponte* and *spondeō*, with the root *pū-*, and with *potēns* are difficult or impossible from the phonetic standpoint; and the last of these, connecting the word with *potēns*, was certainly not present to tne mind of Festus[10] when he said that of the four priests ranking above the *pontifex maximus* the *Rēx* reclined at banquets above the *pontifex* and the three others, because he, the *Rēx*, was *potentissimus*.

The insufficiency or impossibility of these etymologies is, I trust, apparent; and it seems remarkable that—at least in the literature accessible to the writer—Vaniček alone has followed up Kuhn's[11]

[1] *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 344.

[2] *Gram. d. oskisch-umbrischen Dial.*, I, 342.

[3] *Ital. Dial.*, II, 650. [4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Walde, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*

[6] Cf. Varro *LL.* vi. 14; Charis. 81. 20–23 K.

[7] Despite Pfund, *loc. cit.* [8] *De rep.* ii. 14. 26.

[9] i. 20; x. 6. 6. Whether or not the first pontifex was King Numa himself (cf. Ihne, *Early Rome*, p. 103) does not affect the argument.

[10] Fest. 185 M; cf. also Rōper, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–8.

[11] *Loc. cit.*

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'Pfadbereiter.' The word *pōns* 'bridge' is an exact equivalent of OB. *pǫtĭ* 'way,'[1] and with slight differences[2] in suffix and in the ablaut grade of the radical vowel corresponds to OPr. *pinti-s* 'way,' Skt. *path- pathí- pathíā- panthā- pánthān-* 'path, way,' *pā́thas-* N. 'spot, place, water,'[3] *pāthis-* N. 'sea,' Avestan *panti- paθ- paθī- paθā-* 'path, way,' Greek πόντος 'sea,' πάτος 'path,' πατέω 'I tread.' The original meaning of the word is evidently 'path, way'—more narrowly, as Meringer[4] has shown, 'Prügelweg,' or 'corduroy road,' as such a road is called in America. The development of meaning to 'bridge,' as a 'path' across a river, to 'expanse of water,' as a 'path' for ships (cf. the Homeric *ἰγρὰ κέλευθα*[5]) and to 'place,' as 'paths' collectively, is easy.

In the *Rigveda*, the words *pánthā-, pathíā-*, etc., 'path, way,' are used some 175 times; in addition to the literal meaning of an actual road on earth, trodden by human beings, they often denote the way between this world and the next. For example, the 'path' is the way by which the offering reaches the gods:[6]

*RV.* i. 41. 5: *yaṁ yajñā́ṁ náyathā nara*
*ádityā ṛjúnā pathā́*
*prá vaḥ sá dhītáye naçat*
What sacrifice ye conduct, O men,—
O Ādityas, by the straight *path*
That reaches your hearts.

Of the path for the hymn to reach the gods, we have:

*RV.* ix. 9. 8; *nū́ návyase návīyase*
*sūktā́ya sādhayā pathā́ḥ*
Now for a newer, newer
Hymn, prepare the *paths*.

[1] Unless direct equation with πόντος be preferred, in which case *pōns* has syncope of *o* rather than of *i*; cf. Ciardi-Dupré, *BB*, XXVI, 222.

[2] Whether the aspiration seen in Indo-Iranian is original or secondary is of no consequence for the present purpose.

[3] In certain compounds listed by Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dict.*[2], p. 617, col. 1, *s.v. pāthas-, pātho-*; cf. also *pātha-*.

[4] *Wörter und Sachen*, I, 192-99.

[5] *Il.* i. 312; *Od.* iii. 71; iv. 842; ix. 252; xv. 474.

[6] Similarly, in connection with the sacrifice: i. 46. 11; i. 79. 3; i. 162. 21; vi. 44. 8; ix. 73. 6; ix. 86. 33; ix. 95. 2; ix. 97. 32; x. 31. 2. The paths in reference to the *Soma* are usually of the flowing of the juice from the pressing-stones: ix. 15. 3; ix. 86. 16; ix. 89. 1; ix. 101. 6; ix. 106. 6.

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It indicates the path of Agni, the fire of the sacrifice, to the gods:

*RV.* i. 58. 1: *nú cit sahojá amṛ́to ní tundate*
*hótā yád dūtó ábhavad vivásvataḥ*
*ví sádhiṣṭhebhiḥ pathíbhī rájo mama*
*á devátātā haviṣā vivāsati*
Now the mighty deathless one doth make his way,
Since he is Vivasvant's priest and messenger;
On straightest *paths* he traverses the air;
The deities he honors with oblation.

Then upon these "paths" Agni is to bring down the gods to be present at the sacrifice:[1]

*RV.* v. 1. 11: *ádyā rátham bhānumo bhānumántam*
*agne tiṣṭha yajatébhiḥ sámantam*
*vidvā́n pathīnā́m urv àntárikṣam*
*éhá devā́n havirádyāya vakṣi*

Today, O radiant Agni, mount thy radiant car, together with the deities,
And knowing well the *paths*, through the wide atmosphere, bring hither the gods to the sacrificial meal.

The word denotes the path from the world of the living to the world of the dead, which Yama was the first to traverse, and which all men must some day tread:[2]

*RV.* x. 14. 1: *pareyivā́ṁsam pravátо mahír ánu*
*bahúbhyaḥ pánthām anupaspaçānám*
*vaivasvatáṁ saṁgamanaṁ jánānāṁ*
*yamáṁ rā́jānaṁ haviṣā́ duvasya*
Him who has gone to the mighty heights,
Who has shown the *path* to many,
Vivasvant's son, the gatherer of men,
King Yama, honor with oblation.

*RV.* x. 14. 2: *yamó no gātúm prathamó viveda*
*naíṣā́ gávyūtir ápabhartavā́ u*
*yátrā naḥ pū́rve pitáraḥ pareyúr*
*enā́ jajñānā́ḥ pathyà ánu svā́ḥ*
Yama was the first to find the way,
And this way is not to be avoided;
Where our ancestors have gone before us,
By this *path* their children shall go.

[1] Cf. vii. 39. 3.

[2] Cf. also *RV.* i. 38. 5; vi. 53. 1 and 4; viii. 30. 3; x. 17. 6; x. 18. 1.

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*RV.* x. 14. 7: *préhi préhi pathíbhiḥ pūrvyébhir*
*yátrā naḥ pū́rve pitáraḥ pareyúḥ*
*ubhā́ rā́jānā svadháyā mádantā*
*yamám paçyāsi váruṇaṁ ca devám*

Go forth, go forth by the ancient *paths*,
By which our ancestors have gone before us;
The two kings reveling in happiness,
Yama and God Varuna, shalt thou see.

*RV.* x. 14. 10: *áti drava sārameyaú çvā́nau*
*caturakṣáu çabálau sādhúnā pathā́*
*áthā pitṝ́n suvidátrāṁ úpehi*
*yaména yé sadhamā́dam mádanti*

Run past the two dogs of Saramā,
Four-eyed and brindled, by the straight *path;*
Then go unto the bounteous Manes,
Who revel at the feast with Yama.

In the Avesta, also, this word is used of the path to the home of the blest after death:

*Yasna* 43. 3: *aṯ hvō vaŋhəuš* *vahyō nā aibi.jamyāṯ*
*yə̄ nå ərəzūš* *savaŋhō paθō sīšōiṯ*
*ahyā aŋhəuš* *astvatō manaŋhasčā*
*haiθyə̄ng ā stīš* *yə̄ng ā.šačitī ahurō*
*arədrō θwāvaṣ* *huzəntušə spəntō mazdā*

But may he [Zarathushtra] attain to ⟨what is⟩ better than the good,
Who may teach us the straight *paths* of profit
Of this bodily life and of the mind,
The true ⟨paths⟩ unto the beings with whom Ahura abides,—
He [Zarathushtra] faithful, wise, bounteous, like thee, O Mazdāh.

*Yasna* 50. 4: *aṯ vå yazāi* *stavas mazdā ahurā*
*hadā ašā* *vahištāčā manamhā*
*xšaθrāčā yā* *īšō stå̊ŋhaṯ ā paiθī*
*ākå arədrə̄ng* *dəmānē garō səraošānē*

And you I pray to with praise, O Mazdāh Ahura,
Along with Asha and Vahishta Manah
And Khshathra, that ye, the desired ones, may stand by the *path*,
As revealers unto the pious, ⟨by the path⟩ to the Home of
Song for the obedient man.

The word *panthā-*, in its various forms, thus means any kind of path, physical or figurative, on earth or in air; and in religious literature it is often applied to the way from the home of men to the

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abode of the gods and of the dead. Is it not likely, then, that the *pontifex* is the one *qui pontēs facit* 'who makes or keeps in order the paths' between this world and the next? Curiously, a compound of the same meaning, *pathikṛ́t* 'path-making, way-preparing,' occurs several times in the *Rigveda*, where *gopáḥ pathikṛ́d* 'path-making protector,' applied to Bṛhaspati, is found; also *puraetá . . . . pathikṛ́d* 'path-making guide,' applied to Indra, and *ṛ́ṣibhyaḥ . . . . pathikṛ́dbhyaḥ* 'path-making rishis.'[1] This interpretation of *pontifex* accords perfectly with the fact that the pontifices had oversight of the whole religious machinery of the state, with the duty of seeing that both priests and laity observed the established procedure.[2]

The importance of keeping in order the paths between this world and the next is evident: the sacrifice must travel on the paths to the gods—if it should not arrive, the gods would be angered and vent their displeasure upon the men; the gods must have an easy pathway to earth, when they wish to visit the world; and above all, the path to the home of the dead must be kept in good order, for we must all traverse it some day, and we must appease the souls of our ancestors with offerings, or we shall be received most unpleasantly on our arrival among them.

It is for these reasons that I see in the *pontifex* one who makes or keeps in order the paths between this world and the next. The development of *pōns* as a separate word, from the meaning 'path' to that of 'bridge,' gives rise to two remarks. First, the idea of a bridge that must be traversed on the way to the abode of the dead appears in a number of religions. The Greeks, it is true, imagined a ferryman Charon who set the ghosts across the River Styx in a boat; but the Norse legends speak of a golden bridge across the River Gjoll to the abode of the goddess Hel;[3] the spirit of the Zoroastrian traversed the *činvatō pərətuš*[4] or 'Bridge of the Separator,' which narrowed until the spirit of the evil man fell off into the place of punishment, while it broadened and gave to the spirit of the righteous man a safe and easy passage to Paradise. In the *Rigveda* also we

[1] *RV.* ii. 23. 6; vi. 21. 12; x. 14. 15; cf. also ix. 106. 5; x. 111. 3; and Kuhn, *loc. cit.*

[2] Liv. i. 20; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 7; Dion. Hal. *A.R.* ii. 73; Ihne, *Early Rome*, pp. 118 f.

[3] Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p. 473.

[4] *Yasna* 46. 10–11; 51. 13; Jackson, *Die iranische Religion*, § 83.

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find mention of a figurative bridge that forms the pathway of the rightly acting man:

*RV.* ix. 41. 2: *suvitásya manāmahé 'ti sétuṃ durāvyàm*
*sāhvā́ṅso dā́syum avratā́m*

We strive to traverse the difficult bridge of Welfare,
Overpowering the irreligious foe.

Secondly, the name *pontifex*, though having the meaning which has here been attributed to it, might readily be associated with bridges when *pōns* had acquired that meaning in early Latin, and might by an easy popular etymology cause the holder of the title to be intrusted not only with sacrifices at bridges, but also with the construction and the repair of the bridges. In this case, it is easy to see why many Roman etymologists believed that the *pontifex* was so called because of certain duties connected with bridges: the truth may well be the reverse, that the functions came from the name.

SUMMARY

Comparison with the religious beliefs of other Indo-European peoples, and especially with the religious significance of the cognates of Latin *pōns* suggest that the *pontifex* was the one who made or kept in order the *pontēs* or 'paths' between the world of the living and the world of the gods and of the dead. If this be so, a popular etymology when *pōns* in early Latin meant no longer 'path,' but 'bridge,' may have caused the assignment to the pontifices of various functions connected with bridges—and this led the Roman etymologists to a misinterpretation of the word.

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# PROPERTIANA

By J. P. Postgate

The appearance of a text and translation of Propertius in Mr. Loeb's Anglo-American Series has suggested the publication of the following notes upon books III and IV.

III. iv. 9 f.:

omina fausta cano. Crassos clademque piate,
ite et Romanae consulite historiae. (10)
ipsa tuam prolem serua, Venus; hoc sit in aeuum, (19)
cernis ab Aenea quod superesse caput (20)
Mars pater et *sacrae* fatalia lumina Vestae,
ante meos obitus sit, precor, illa dies
qua uideam e.q.s.

Editors, at least some of them, are aware that *sacra Vesta* is an improper expression, applying to a deity an epithet which means consecrated to a deity. But, except Heinsius' *Latiae*, I know of no proposal to change it. Mr. Butler, with others, translates 'holy Vesta,' for which the Latin is 'sanctae Vestae.' And this I restore, comparing Claudian *Bell. Gild.* 1. 128 ff., 'mater Cytherea parensque | flet Mauors *sanctae*que memor, Tritonia *Vestae*, | nec Cybele sicco nec stabat lumine Iuno,' where the effect of a pitiful appeal by Rome to her tutelary gods is described.

I have given the verses their proper context, placing before them 19, 20 of the vulgate, in which the third of the tutelary deities is implored to preserve the patriot leader in his perilous expedition. The vulgate order interposes the couplet between the enumerations of the spoils of victory as they move in procession (13–18) and their summing up as *praeda haec* (21), and it makes the poet appeal to Venus to save her descendant *at the moment of his triumph*. But these considerations were naught to the criticaster who, seeking a place for the strayed distich, was caught by the correspondence, as he deemed it, of *hoc sit* . . . . *caput* and *praeda sit haec*.

III. v. 15 f.

uictor cum uictis pariter miscebitur umbris;
consule cum Mario, capte Jugurtha, sedes.



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The text of 15 has been felt by many to be unsatisfactory, though it is hard to demonstrate absolutely that it is impossible. My present object is to say a word in defense of my own suggestion, uictrix for *uictor*. I should cite in favor of it Martial 6. 76. 6, 'et famulum *uictrix* possidet *umbra* nemus'; Ovid *Trist.* iii. 3. 63, 'inter *Sarmaticas Romana* uagabitur *umbras*' (where *Romana* would correspond to *uictrix* here), and above all Seneca *Agam.* 789 ff., '*haec* hodie *ratis* (cf. Prop. v. 14) | Phlegethontis atri regias animas uehet | *uictamque uictricemque.*' I imagine that what induced the corruption was the writing 'uict$^{i}$x' which first became *uictis* and from that was very naturally altered to *uictor*.

III. xiii. 59 ff.:

Proloquar (atque utinam patriae sim uerus haruspex)
frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis. (60)
certa loquor sed nulla fides: neque enim Ilia quondam
uerax Pergameis maenas habenda malis.
sola Parim Phrygiae fatum componere, sola
fallacem patriae serpere dixit equum.
ille furor patriae fuit utilis, ille parenti: (65)
experta est ueros irrita lingua deos.

In 59 our Cassandra-Propertius utters a hope which he despairs of realizing. This hope may be one of two, either that his countrymen will heed him before it is too late, or that his prophecy of Rome's downfall will be falsified. For neither view is the context in itself decisive. The first would connect the thought with *sed nulla fides;* the second with *certa loquor*. But the first 'may my country *regard*[1] me as a true seer' keeps the reading of the MSS on which we have to base our text and has the countenance of viii. 17 f., 'his ego tormentis animi sum uerus haruspex, | has didici certo saepe in amore notas,' while the *uanus*, 'may my country *find* me a false seer,' which I adopted in my Corpus text, may be nothing more than a conjecture of the Itali.

Mr. Butler translates 61 f.:

I speak sure truth, but none believe me; for neither *was* the frenzied maid of Ilium *ever to be deemed* a true seer among the woes of Troy.

Mr. Butler thus construes through a tower of Danae, but less puissant mortals would be glad to find an adit, by way of proof

[1] Mr. Butler ambiguously translates '*find* me a true seer.'

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furnished that the substantive verb can be left out in such a case, and that *habendus* can be wrenched till it stands in the place of *habitus*. For the only sense of '*neque enim uerax* erat habenda' known to normal Latinity is 'and she *ought* not *to have been* deemed true.'

The lines present the critic with a double problem. A proper meaning, 'Cassandra was not believed,' must be provided and a grammatical construction. Schrader's 'nec credita quondam' is the only conjecture known to me that would provide them; but it is paleographically incredible. I must therefore adhere to my own emendation with a slight alteration that I trust will make it more acceptable. I would now read 'neque enim, *a* tibi quondam, | uerax Pergameis, Maenas, habenda malis.' The corruption arose through a misreading of *t*$^{i}$ (the abbreviation of *tibi*) and the displacement of *a*. The *lia* thus engendered was easily transformed into the *ilia* which the context suggested. Propertius says, 'What I say is sure; but there is no credence. Neither, alas, didst thou, frenzied maid, have any formerly who wast to be deemed a true seer through (in) the woes of Troy.' Your carmina were 'sero rata,' as he says elsewhere, iv. 1. 51. *tibi*, sc. *fides erat*, with an easy ellipse. *Ilia*, which some may miss, is not necessary to *Maenas* as *Pergameis* has just preceded; compare Ovid *Am.* i. 9. 37 f. and Seneca *Agam.* 756.

In the next line I should not now change *fuit utilis*, for which not 'profuit' but 'prodesse potuit' is the equivalent. But, as the Loeb translation does not make the meaning of Propertius clear, I will endeavor to do so. 'Cassandra's prophetic frenzy would have been of service to her country and her sire; *but* her tongue (voice) was set at naught and discovered (experienced) that a god's word is true.' The god is of course Apollo, who, unable to revoke his gift of inspiration, punished the breach of promise by decreeing that the seeress should never be believed. For *experta est* we may compare Ovid *Trist.* iii. 2. 27; Juv. 13. 102 f.: 'sed et exorabile numen | fortasse experiar.' The allusion is similar in the taunting phrase of *Agam.* 256, 'famula ueridici dei.'

III. xvi. 9 f.:

peccaram semel et totum sum pulsus in annum:
in me mansuetas non habet illa manus.

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It is usual to retain *sum pulsus* and explain as 'I was banished'; but Palmer on Plautus *Amphitr.* ii. 1. 61 proposed 'optusus' (N having 'portus') in the sense of 'beaten' or 'mauled.' The emendation has gained no adherents, although it would make our pentameter more relevant to the hexameter. It may seem, however, possible that *pulsus*, by whomsoever written, was intended to have the sense of *pulsatus* when we compare the alternation of the two verbs in Ter. *Ad.* 637, 638, 'quis hic ostium *pultauit?* . . . . tune has *pepulisti* fores?' and *ibid.* 788, 'quisnam a me *pepulit* tam grauiter fores?' That for Propertius there was no sharp line of severance between *pello* and *pulso* is shown by III. i. 25, 'equo *pulsas* abiegno . . . . arces,' compared with IV. x. 33, 'aries murum cornu *pulsabat* aheno,' and we know from IV. viii. 57–70 how free Cynthia was with her hands.

III. xix. 15 ff.:

crimen et illa fuit patria succensa senecta (15)
arboris in frondes condita Myrrha nouae. (16)
. . . . . .
tuque, o, Minoa uenundata, Scylla, figura (21)
tondens purpuream, regna paterna, comam. (22)

Mr. Butler reads '*tondes* (Keil) purpurea regna paterna coma' in 22 and repeats the common misunderstanding of *uenundata* in 21. He translates:

> And thou, Scylla, that didst sell thyself for the beauty of Minos, thou didst shear away thy father's realm when thou shorest his purple lock.

But Scylla did not sell herself, and for a very good reason. There were no buyers. What she did sell was her father's life and kingdom; and *uenundata* is neuter plural. This should be clear from Ovid *Met.* 8. 90 ff., 'proles ego regia Nisi | Scylla tibi trado patriaeque (*better* patriosque) meosque penates. | praemia nulla peto nisi te' (=figura tua uenundo). cape pignus amoris | *purpureum crinem nec* me nunc tradere *crinem* | *sed patrium* tibi crede *caput.*' In the words that I have placed in italics Ovid expresses characteristically the equation of values which in Markland's *purpuream comam* is restored to Propertius. Finally, by importing *tondes* we obtain an abrupt and disconcerting historical present and lose a

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very elegant descriptive participle with which we may compare Vergil's 'uel *te* sulco, Serrane, *serentem*,' *Aen.* 6. 844. And quite needlessly, if we place 15–16 where they should be, as 'tuque' is then at once understood as 'tuque crimen fuisti.'

IV. iii. 7 ff.:

> te modo uiderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus†
> te modo† *munitus hericus*† hostis equo
> Hibernique Getae pictoque Britannia curru
> †ustus† et Eoa decolor Indus aqua.

Every attempt to explain or defend *iteratos* . . . . *ortus* has proved a dismal failure. Of corrections Mr. Housman's *arcus* is relevant and probable. His *Ituraeos uiderunt* postulates too much and does not, moreover, touch a difficulty that I have always felt about the passage, however read—the uncomfortable detachment of *per* and its noun from the main construction. This will disappear if ire lurks in *iteratos*. For the expression *ire per* compare, inter alios, Val. Fl. 1. 438, 'tu medios gladio bonus ire per hostes,' and Propertius himself (cited below). After *ire* we may next disinter acris; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 665, 'intendunt *acris* arcus' (of a real fight), and *ibid.*, 7. 164, 'aut *acris* tendunt *arcus*' (of a sham one). The best commentary on *acris* is Plutarch *Crass.* 24, *εὐτόνους τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων.* We should thus get a close parallel to III. ix. 25, 'uel tibi (liceat) Medorum *pugnaces ire per hastas*' (*hastas* Markland, *hostes* the MSS), where the reference is to the *conti* of the *cataphracti*; cf. Amm. Marc. 25. 3. 4 and Plutarch *Crass., loc. cit.* Wrong division and conjunction of words is a recognized form of corruption in the MSS of Propertius; see, e.g., II. xxxii. 5 (N); IV. vii. 61.

In the following pentameter recent editions are divided between *munito Sericus* (Beroaldus) and *munito Neuricus* (Jacob). The first is nearer to the tradition *munitus hericus;* and, although the *Sarmatae* were notable for their *cataphracti* (cf. the account in Tac. *H.* 1. 79), this proves nothing for the *Neuri*, whose only recorded distinction, disbelieved by the Father of History, was that each of them turned once a year into a wolf (Herod. 4. 105, Mela 2. 1. 14). *Sericus* has been challenged on the grounds that the *Seres* were never enemies of Rome (though Horace *c.* iii. 29. 27 and iv. 15. 23 couples

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them with the Parthians and i. 12. 56 with the Indi), that they were *molles* and had no cataphracts. The only answer to the last objection is that Propertius is thinking of the Parthians as perhaps Horace is in i. 29. 9, 'doctus *sagittas* tendere *Sericas* | arcu paterno.' If this is not satisfactory, ferreus would not be far from the MSS as ſ and *f* are perpetually confused; cf. III. xii. 11 f., 'neue tua Medae laetentur caede sagittae, | *ferreus* aurato[1] neu cataphractus equo,' and the 'ferreus equitatus' of Ammianus 19. 1. 2.

From 54 B.C. for all but a hundred years no Roman force entered our island, although it would appear that on two occasions (in 34 and 27) Augustus had projected an invasion. But this glaring disregard of fact is not the sole blemish in the three words *picto Britannia curru*. The bodies of the ancient Britons were tattooed, not their chariots, which were scythed; nor may *picto* be equated to *caelato* just to gain some support from the fashionable copies of the British *esseda*, II. i. 76, 'esseda *caelatis* siste Britanna iugis.' A very different locality is suggested by the contemporary history and the context ('hiberni Getae'; cf. Mela ii. 2. 18)—the troublous country of Thrace. A district of this 'horse-rearing' land (Hes. *Op.* 507) we know from Herodotus 7. 108 was called Βριαντική. And if Propertius wrote here Briantia, who can doubt what it would become?

In the last line *ustus* is apparently a gloss on *decolor* (which Mr. Butler translates though his text has the meaningless *discolor*) as Dr. P. J. Enk supposes (*ad Propertii Carmina*, p. 307). If so, the word it has ousted need not necessarily have resembled it. His own '*accola* et Eo*ae* . . . . aqu*ae*' is, however, open to the objection that it involves a further change. The difficulty he finds in Mr. Housman's *tunsus*, which I formerly accepted, '*de gente* dictum minus uerisimile uidetur' is a reasonable one; and I would now offer tinctus, which is directly suggested by Ovid *Met.* 4. 21, '*decolor* extremo qua *tinguitur India* Gange' (where *d. India* = *decolores Indi*). *decolor* and *tinctus* are joined again at *Pont.* iii. 2. 54, '(ara) *decolor*

[1] Mr. Butler misunderstands this. The *auratus equus* is the Roman officer's richly caparisoned horse in which, as the balanced structure of the sentences itself shows, the iron-mailed soldier takes a captor's delight; cf. for the gorgeous equipment of the Roman Tib. i. 2. 69 f., 'totus et argento contextus totus et auro | insideat celeri conspiciendus equo,' and for the thought Horace *c.* iii. 6. 11 f., '(Monaeses et Pacori manus) adiecisse praedam | torquibus *exiguis* renidet.'

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adfuso *tincta* cruore rubet.' And Propertius himself has the participle at III. xi. 18, 'Gygaeo *tincta* puella lacu.'

IV. iv. 75 f.

annua pastorum conuiuia, lusus in urbe
cum pagana madent fercula *diuitiis*.

Mr. Butler repeats the version of his commentary, 'when the country platters are moistened with *rich fare*.' This is an excellent example of the 'translating fallacy.' Because *diues* in certain senses can be rendered by 'rich' in English, it is assumed that to give it so in all cases 'presents no real difficulty.' The Latin for 'rich' in the sense required is *opimus* and never *diues;* Ausonius *Epist.* 5. 18 does not count. And even in English you cannot apply 'riches' to food. *deliciis* is perhaps possible, but hardly appropriate; and, moreover, it does not readily account for the corruption. The true word is not difficult to find if we notice the last syllable of *fercula*. A following *la* would have been the easiest of losses, and when the first two letters of lautitiis were lost, would *utitiis* suggest anything to a scribe but *uitiis*, the last three syllables of <*di*>*uitiis*? *lautus* of good feeding ('lautissima cena' Juvenal) needs no illustration; but I may cite Petronius (e.g., 57, 70) for *lautitiae* used just as it is here.

An interesting case of a gap caused by 'homoiographon' and subsequently filled with a meaningless substitute is III. xxi. 28, 'tuos, *docte* Menandre sales' where, as Kuinoel restored to Propertius from IV. v. 43 '*mundi* Thais pretiosa *Menandri*,' we must without hesitation replace the intruder *docte* by *munde*, its loss being due to its similarity to the following *menand*ᵉ.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL
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# STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK[1]

## LABIAL TERMINATIONS IV

### Words in -ψ

BY E. H. STURTEVANT

Most of the Greek words in -ψ are monosyllabic root-nouns, such as φλέψ, ὄψ, κλώψ, νίφα, and their compounds. Several of them show the characteristic lengthened grade; e.g., ὤψ, -βλωψ, κλώψ. Particularly numerous and important are the compounds in -οψ and -ωψ, which have been discussed in connection with those in -οπος, -ωπος, in *CP.* VII. 421–33.

Of the remaining words in our lists an unusually large proportion occur only in a single author or are known only through the grammarians and lexicographers. Many of these are doubtful in meaning and most of them are of uncertain etymology. In several cases borrowing from some foreign language is certain, and in others it is more or less probable. There can be no doubt about such words as Ἄραβες, Χάλυβες, or the hybrid Μιγδό-λυψ. Scarcely less clear is Κεντόριπες, the "ἐθνικόν" of Κεντόριπα in Sicily.

Two of our words occur in a curious passage in Clement of Alexandria, which runs as follows (3. 38 Dind.): Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Κερκυραῖος τοὺς στίχους τούσδε ὑπὸ Βράγχου ἀναφωνηθῆναι τοῦ μάντεως λέγει Μιλησίους καθαίροντος ἀπὸ λοιμοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιρραίνων τὸ πλῆθος δάφνης κλάδοις προκατήρχετο τοῦ ὕμνου ὧδέ πως

μέλπετε, ὦ παῖδες, ἑκάεργον καὶ ἑκαέργαν.

ἐπέψαλλεν δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ὁ λαός "βέδυ ζὰμψ χθὼ πλῆκτρον σφίγξ, κναξζβὶ χθύπτης φλεγμὼ δρόψ."

Since Bentley (*Epist. ad Millium* 47 ff.) pointed out that this mystic formula contained just two complete alphabets, no one has expected to find in it any very important meaning. We need not, however, conclude that it consists of nonsense syllables; on the contrary, πλῆκτρον and σφίγξ are familiar, and βέδυ is known to be

[1] See Introductory Note, *CP.* V. 323 ff.



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a Thraco-Phrygian word for "water" (see Tomaschek *Sitzungsberichte der wiener Akad.* 130. 2. 5; Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 239). δρόψ also seems to be a real word although a bit uncertain both in form and in meaning. The recorded spelling in Clement is δρώψ, although ο instead of ω is needed to complete the alphabet, and he defines the word as follows (3. 39 Dind.): δρὼψ δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ δραστήριος ὁ ἐκ κατηχήσεως τῆς πρώτης εἰς αὔξησιν ἀνδρὸς εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας, ἐκφλέγων καί ἐκφωτίζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Porphyry (ap. Bentley *loc. cit.*), in a discussion of the latter half of our formula, remarks: δρὸψ δὲ ἄνθρωπος· δρῶπες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι λέγονται. Finally, we have the Hesychian gloss, δρώψ· ἄνθρωπος. The stem appears occasionally in personal names in central and northern Greece including Macedonia: e.g., Δρῶπος, Δρωπίδης, Δρωπίνας, Δρωπύλος, Δρωπόνδας (see references in Hoffmann *Maked.* 183).

If we could be sure that Porphyry and Hesychius were independent witnesses we should, of course, assume that their definition was the correct one. But Porphyry's remark reads like a citation from a lexicon, and if its source is really such, it probably depends ultimately on the same authority as Hesychius' gloss. In fact it is altogether likely that Porphyry is quoting Diogenianus, of whose work Hesychius' lexicon is, in the main, an abridgment. If so, Porphyry's citation of the word in the plural indicates that it had that number in Diogenianus, and consequently in the author from whom it was originally taken. The substitution of the singular by Hesychius or some copyist requires no comment.

On the other hand, Clement's definition does not inspire confidence, especially in view of the fact that it is preceded by a definition of the impossible word κναξζβί. It may have, as Professor Buck suggests by letter, no other basis than a fanciful etymology from ὄψ and δρᾶν (cf. Clement's phrase, ὁ λόγος ὁ δραστήριος). The only certain inference we can draw from Clement's discussion is that the meaning "ἄνθρωπος" was unknown to him.

If the definition of δρώψ by ἄνθρωπος is correct, no doubt the two words are etymologically related.[1] M. Schmidt, on Hesych. *s.v.*, suggested that the δ of δρώψ may point to Macedonian origin.

[1] If we regard them as from *ντρ-ωπ- and *ἀντρ-ωπ- respectively (Curtius), the θ of ἄνθρωπος makes difficulty. Brugmann's (*IF.* 12. 25 ff.) derivation of ἄνθρωπος from ἀνρ- (>ἀνδρ-) + ὠπ- ( : ἐν-έπω, ἔσπετε, etc.) is not satisfactory, since the

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But since the Greek names in *δρωπ-* are not confined to Macedon we should rather assume that the word was common to Macedonian and Thracian (cf. Thracian *βέδυ* in Clement's formula), and was carried into central Greece by the Thracian settlers in Phocis and Boeotia.[1] Since both languages have *d* for Indo-European *dh*, one may think of *δρώψ* as an inherited form in both. The etymology remains obscure.

The well-known tendency of the Greeks to assimilate loan words to the inherited elements of their language (cf., most recently, Fick *Hattiden und Danubier* 1) is several times illustrated by the words in *-ψ*. Aelian writes *μόνωψ* for Paeonian *μόναπος* (see *CP.* VII. 424). Possibly *ἔλ(λ)οψ* beside *ἔλαψ* is to be explained similarly (but cf. *CP.* VII. 424). *αἰγ-ίλωψ* beside Macedonian *ἴλεξ* has been discussed in *CP.* VII. 426. If Lesný, *KZ.* 42. 297 f., is right in connecting *γῶπας· κολοιούς*, Hesych., with *γύψ* "vulture," the *ω* is due to the analogy of words in *-ωψ* rather than to any phonological process (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 3. 307). *πρίοπες· τὰ ὑγιῆ ἔχοντα*, Hesych., may be connected with Thraco-Phrygian *Πρίαπος* in a similar way. For the loan words *γρύψ* and *πῶλυψ* see *CP.* VI. 200 and VII. 434 respectively.

One such case is exceptional in that the effort to introduce the modified form was perfectly self-conscious, and, for that very reason, only partially successful. *Ῥύπες*, the name of a very ancient city in Achaea, and of its inhabitants, has recently received illuminating treatment by Fick, *KZ.* 42. 295 ff. He considers it a Messapian word, and compares Lithuanian *rupas* "rough, rugged," Lettic *rupjsch* "coarse, hard," Lat. *rupes* ( : *rumpo*). The Arcadian neighbors of the city, however, found no difficulty in fitting the name out with a Greek etymology. They connected it with *ῥύπος*, "dirt," *ῥυπαρός*, etc., and were so pleased with the implication that they called all Achaeans *Ῥύπες* (*Ῥύπας· τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκαδίᾳ Ἀχαιούς*, Hesych.). The gibe struck home, and the townspeople and their friends tried to change the offensive name, as we learn from Phere-

required meaning of the root does not occur in Greek, and the development of *-δρh-* to *-θρ-* is dubious. Still less satisfactory are the etymologies proposed by Fay *PAPA.* 25. vii and *AJP.* 27. 312 ff.

[1] On these see Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* 122 f. and *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* 26 ff.

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cydes of Athens fr. 114=*E.M.* 150. 55: Ἄρυπες, Φερεκύδης, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ῥύπες. . . . Ῥύπες γὰρ λέγονται οἱ Ἀχαιοί. . . Probably the notices in Steph. B., *s.v.* Ἀρύπη, and Theognostus in Cram *An. Ox.* 2. 98 derive from the same passage. Theognostus' remarks are worth quoting: Ἄ-ρυψ· οἱ ἀπὸ δύσεως μέχρι Ἰσθμοῦ Ἀχαιοί· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μονοσυλλάβως λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· Ῥὺψ γάρ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἴρηται. The personal name Ἄροπος, *IG.* 2. 1617, is probably a further modification of Ἄρυψ under the influence of the personal names in *-οπος*, while Ῥόπιος, *IG.* 7. 3667, seems to imply a name *Ῥόψ or *Ῥόπος, which would stand in a similar relation to Ῥύψ (otherwise Fick-Bechtel 248).

Hesychius' γέργυπες· νεκροί clearly contains the base of γοργός "terrible," Γοργώ, etc. The connection of the latter words with the dead was recognized by Roscher *Die Gorgonen* 28 ff. To the same group belongs Hesychius' γάργα, a name of the black poplar, the tree of death. γέργυρα[1] means "an underground drain" in Alcman 132 Bgk.[4] and "dungeon" in Herodotus 3. 145. An equivalent γόργυρα is cited without reference (*E.M.* 238. 42 f.; *A.B.* 233. 25 ff.). Both meanings were probably developed from some such force as "grave" or "subterranean dwelling of the dead." The original connection of the word with the world below is apparent from the name of Γόργυρα, mother by Acheron of Ascalaphus, who spied upon Core in the interest of Pluto (Apollodorus 1. 5. 3).

Γόργυρα occurs also as a geographical name in Stephanus of Byzantium: Γόργυρα· τόπος ἐν Σάμῳ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις, ἐν ᾧ Διόνυσος Γοργυρεὺς τιμᾶται. With this notice is to be compared *E.M.* 238. 40: Γόργυρος· ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ Γοργύρας τόπου τῆς Σάμου. The spot was originally a ἡρῷον sacred to Γόργυρος. Dionysus very likely came to be identified with him on account of his position as patron of tragedy. In other words, we should assume a development similar to that by which the tragic performances at Sicyon were transferred from Adrastus to Dionysus (Hdt. 5. 67).[2] This is

[1] Boisacq, *s.v.*, gives references to etymological discussions all of which assume that the word is inherited rather than borrowed.

[2] See Ridgeway's discussion, *The Origin of Tragedy* 26 ff. Ridgeway would no doubt consider Δωριεῦσι in the Suidas passage an inexact expression for Πελοποννησίοις; but his attempt to rescue tragedy from the Dorians is not successful. To say

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the more likely since our words with the base γοργ- also betray tragic affinities; says Suidas: γόργεια παρὰ Δωριεῦσι τὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν προσωπεῖα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τραγῳδῶν (cf. Hesych., s.v. and Poll. 10. 167).

Another hero whose name belongs here is Γόργασος, grandson of Asclepios, at whose shrine in Pherae of Messenia miraculous cures were performed (see Pausanias 4. 3. 10; 30. 3).

The development of the meaning "dead" or "of the dead" into "grim, terrible" is easy. In certain situations "terrible" is very close to "fierce"; thus the phrase γοργὸν βλέπειν no doubt originally meant "to give a terrifying glance," but it would almost inevitably be interpreted by the subject himself and by all who put themselves in his place as "to give a fierce look." A further development of the meaning "fierce" is to be recognized in Xenophon's γοργός "hot, spirited" of a horse, and in Hellenistic and Byzantine γοργεύομαι "hasten," γοργόπλους, and γοργόπους.

The religious ideas connected with the base γοργ- (the dread of malevolent spirits and in particular of the dead who dwell under ground) are of the sort which we have learned to ascribe to the indigenous Aegean culture; they belong clearly to the popular rather than to the Olympian religion. It is not surprising, then, to find the base recurring in a number of place names which can scarcely be Greek. Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 190 f., connects the Γεργῖνοι in Cyprus with the Γέργιθες in Miletus, Γεργίθιον, a place near Cyme, and the Γέργιθες in the Troad; and he finds in ancient tradition basis for the theory that the spread of the name resulted from a prehistoric migration from Cyprus northward. There should be added to the group the name of a son of Priam, Γοργυθίων, Il., +, about which the *Etymologicum Magnum* makes the suggestive remark (238. 50): πρέπει γὰρ ἥρωϊ τοὔνομα. The form of the base which we have met in Hesychius' γάργα· αἴγειρος reappears in Γάργαρα, a peak of Mt. Ida, Il., +, and in Γαργηττός, the name of an Attic deme.[1]

Hesychius' γέργυπες· νεκροί, then, is a loan word. It appears

nothing of the explicit and unbiased ancient testimony which he has to disregard, the ā of the tragic choruses cannot be "old Attic" as he would have us believe.

[1] For the alternation of ορ and αρ, cf. the discussion of πάρνοψ : πόρνοψ in *CP.* 7. 235 ff., especially 240 f.

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with slight modification in the Eretrian personal name Γόργυπος. Quite possibly we should think of γόργωψ and γοργωπός as further modifications of it under the influence of the words in -ωψ and -ωπός. Some such history is particularly probable for Γοργῶπις, the name of a lake near Corinth, whose original connection with the dead seems to be faintly reflected in the following (*E.M.* 384. 33 ff.): Ἐσχατιῶτις· λίμνη κειμένη μετὰ τόν Ἰσθμόν . . . . ὕστερον δὲ Γοργῶπις ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Γοργῆς τῆς Μαγαρέως θυγατρός, γυναικὸς Κορίνθου· ἥτις ἀκούσασα τὸν τῶν παίδων φόνον, περιαλγὴς γενομένη, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν λίμνην.

A small group of personal names, chiefly Boeotian, show a stem in -υβ-. The first of them to attract attention were Κόκκυψ, Κοκκουβίας, *IG.* 7. 1745, and Κοκκυβίας, Hesych., which Dittenberger, *ad IG.* 7. 1745, combined with the bird name κόκκυξ on the assumption that the Boeotian form of the latter was *κόκκυψ (cf. βάνα=γύνη, etc.). Bechtel, *Spitznamen* 13, similarly identified Κόρυψ with Hesychius' κόρυξ· νεανίσκος ( : Ion. κοῦρος, Arcad. κόρϝα, etc.). Solmsen, *Rh.M.* 59 (1904). 486, added to the list Αἰσχρυβίων in an inscription of Oropus, *Eph. Arch.* 1895. 131 ff. 27, 31, and Θάρυψ, the name of a Molossian king. The last-mentioned word appears most commonly in our sources with -υπ- (Θάρυψ, -πος, Thuc., Paus.; Θαρύπας, Plut.); but Solmsen is probably right in thinking that an original Θάρυψ, -βος (so Herodian 2. 751. 5 L.) was partially assimilated to the personal names in -ωψ and -ώπας (cf. *CP.* VII. 432 ff.). It is difficult to see why he seeks another origin for Θάροψ, to which we may now add Θάροπος. Solmsen considers Epirote Θάρυψ proof that -υβ- in Boeotian personal names belongs to the Northwest Greek part of that dialect, rather than to the Aeolic element, as Sadée, *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 16. 149, had held.

It is, however, probable that the name was Illyrian, as its bearer certainly was. See most recently Martin Nilsson *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Epeiros*, and a review of this by Th. Lenschau, in *BPhW.* 1912. 341 f. Although Illyrian shows *d* parallel to Greek *θ*, the latter character appears in words of undoubted Illyrian origin; e.g., Θεσπρωτοί, Βουθρωτόν. Furthermore, there seems to be no satisfactory Greek etymology for the word, since the prevailing orthography with -ρ- instead of -ρρ- or -ρσ- is against the derivation

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from *θαρσύς*.[1] At any rate, **Θάρυψ** can scarcely be said to throw any light upon the Greek names in *-υβ-*.

It is also unlikely that these words are to be explained by a dialectic change of $g^{u}$ to *β* instead of to *γ* after *υ*; for names in *-υβ-* are not confined to Boeotia. Even Oropian **Αἰσχρυβίων** is Euboean rather than Boeotian, as is shown by Eretrian **Αἰσχρύβης**, *Eph. Arch.* 1911. 12. 133; 15. 111; 17. 5.; 19. 2. **Αἰσχρύβας**, *IG.* 12. 8. 63. 17, is the name of an Athenian. We have also mythic **Πόλυβος**, **Πολύβη**, and **Καλύβη**, and Suidas cites **Τολύβη**. There is, then, no great plausibility in the theory that **Κόκκυψ**, and **Κόρυψ**, *κόρυψ* (?), are regularly developed forms of *κόκκυξ* and *κόρυξ* respectively. They more probably differ from these latter in containing the suffix *-β-*, which is fairly common in personal names. Similarly Boeotian **Κίννυψ**[2] contains the base of the mythic name **Κινύρας**. These names should have been included in our list of personal names with suffix *-β-* (*CP.* V. 337–40).

With Molossian **Θάρυψ** we should compare the Epirote names **Ἀρύββας** or **Ἀρύμβας** and Thessalian **Τορύββας** or **Τορύμβας**,[3] in which, as was shown by Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 258, *μβ* is graphic for *ββ* as in **Σαμβάτιος** = **Σαββάτιος**, etc. In fact the striking resemblance between the stems **Θαρυβ-** and **Τορυββ-** may possibly indicate a connection in root as well as in suffix.

No doubt there are other loan words in our lists. In particular we have found so many foreign words terminating in *-οψ* and *-ωψ* (*μόνωψ*, **ἔλ[λ]οψ** [?], *αἰγίλωψ*, *γώψ* [?], *πρίοπες* [?], *δρώψ*, ***Ρόψ**, *γόργωψ*, **Θάροψ**) that we may well suspect a foreign source for some of the remaining words of obscure etymology which show these terminations. An "Aegean" origin was advocated for *πάρνοψ*, *κόρνοψ*, etc., in *CP.* VII. 235 ff. On **Δρύοπες**, cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 1. 15 f. Quite possibly, then, the obscure Homeric epithets of bronze, *ἠνοψ* and *νῶροψ*, were borrowed from the language of the people from whom the ancestors of the Greeks got their first bronze. In that case the name of the Paeonian **Νώροπες** gets a new suggestiveness.

[1] No doubt the modified forms **Θάροψ** and **Θάροπος** were popularly connected with that stem, and consequently we enter them in our lists as compounds.
Is Arcadian **Θάρυξ**, *-κος*, Paus. 4. 24. 1, also of Illyrian origin?

[2] Sadée, *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 16. 149, connects it with the Lybian river **Κῖννψ**.

[3] Accordingly **Τορύμβας**, **Τορύββας** should not have been included among the personal names with formative *β* in *CP.* V. 340.

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## WORD-LISTS

### WORDS IN -ψ; GEN. -βος

The gender is indicated if it is known

Ἄραψ, ὁ, P.
λάτραψ, Hesych. [V. 327, 334.
φάψ, ἡ, Aesch. fr. 210, 257 Nauck,+ [V. 331.
φλέψ, ἡ, Hom.,+
-φλεψ, ὁ, ἡ
ἀ-, Melet. in Cram. An. Ox.
†μυριό-, Jo. Staurac. in Act. SS. Oct. 4. 206 E.
μελανό-, Aretae.
ἀργυρό-, Schol. Plat. Tim. 25 B.
†ἡδύ-, Philes (Koum.).
λίψ, ἡ, Aesch.,+
λίψ, ὁ, Hdt.,+
ἄλιψ, Hesych.,+
χοιρό-θλιψ, ὁ, ἡ, Ar.
βορρό-λιψ, ὁ, ἡ, Ptol. (Soph.).
νίβα· χιόνα, Hesych. [VI. 212.
Νίψ, P. [VI. 212.
χέρ-νιψ, ἡ, Hom.,+
-τρυψ, ὁ, ἡ
ἀ-, Phryn. Praep. Sophist. 17.15 de Borries,+
ἀμφί-, Archil. 134 Bgk.[4]
παλίν-, CGL. 2. 207. 44.
Σύν-, P.
αἰγό-, Dion. H.
πεδό-, Luc.,+
θησειό-, Ar. fr. 448 Bl.
οἰκό-, Ar.,+
ἀλό-, Ariston in Anth. P.
πορνό-, antiqui ap. Phryn. 491 Ruth.
†ἀγωνό-, Philodem. (Herw.).
†χοιρό-, Herodian 1. 246. 26, 2. 751. 13 L.
ἀχυρό-, Philipp. in Anth. P.
σκευό-, Herodian 1. 246. 25 L.
ἀστύ-, Critias 72 Diels,+
†Κόκκυψ, ὁ, IG. 7. 1888 [VIII. 339.
†Κάλυβι, τῇ, Soph. Niob. in pap. Oxy. 2. 213 (a) 6.
Χάλυψ, ὁ, P.
χάλυψ, ὁ, Aesch.,+
†?Μεγδί-λυψ, ὁ, ἡ, Plaut. Poen. 1033 [VIII. 334.
†Κίνυψ, ὁ, IG. 7. 3636, 3637 [VIII. 340.
†Θάρυψ, Herodian 2. 751. 5 L. [VIII. 339.
κρύβες, Hesych.
†κόρυψ (MS. -υψ), ὁ, Hesych. [VIII. 340.
†Κόρυψ, ὁ, IG. 7. 3640 [VIII. 339.

### WORDS IN -ψ; GEN. -πος

The gender is indicated if it is known

λαῖλαψ, ἡ, Hom.,+
Λαῖλαψ, ὁ, P.
-λαῖλαψ
χρηματο-, ἡ, Ps.-Ignat. ad Magn. 202 Zahn,+
βαρυ-, ὁ, ἡ, Philipp. in Anth. P.
μάψ, see Brugmann IF. 27. 260.
θέραψ, ὁ, Ion,+
σκέψ, sign. inc., Herodian 1. 404. 14 L.
κατῶ-βλεψ, Archelaus Chers. ap. Ath. 409 C,+
κλέψ, Herodian 1. 404. 14 L.
-κλεψ, ὁ, ἡ
νακό-, Herodian 1. 246. 24 L.
ἀλευρό-, Herodian loc. cit.

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-κλέψ, ὁ, ἡ
τυρό-, Herodian loc. cit.
?βοῦ-, Soph. fr. 932 Nauck.
βοῦ-, Soph. fr. 927 Nauck.
δρύ-πεπα, τήν, Cornelius Longus in Anth. P. 6. 191. 4.
†θήψ, ὁ, Herodián 1. 404. 14, 2. 750. 37 L.
κώληψ, ἡ, Hom.,+[VII. 435.
σήψ, ἡ "a sore," Hipp. 1. 228. 6 Kühlew.
σήψ, ὁ (ἡ, Diosc. 1. 68), a serpent, Arist. Mir. 846 b 11,+
ἶψ, ὁ, Hom.,+
†μάγγιπες, Eust. de Capt. Thess. 413 Bekk.
σκίψ, Choerob. in Cram. An. Ox. 2. 258. 17.
ἤλιψ, ὁ, Schol. Theocr.
αἰγίλιψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+
Αἰγιλιψ, ἡ, P.
ἀργίλιψ, ὁ, ἡ, Nic..
κνίψ, ὁ, Ar.,+
σκνίψ, ὁ (pl. σκνῖφες, Origen c. Celsum 5. 7), Stratt. 2. 790 Mein.,+
†πνίψ, Choerob. in Cram. An. Ox. 2. 258. 19.
ῥίψ, ἡ, Od. 5. 256(?), Hdt.,+
ἔριπες· ἅλοί, Hesych.
θρίψ, ὁ, Theophr.,+
Κεντόριπες, P.[VIII. 334
ὄψ, ἡ "voice," Hom.,+
ὄψ, ἡ "sight," Emped. 88 Diels.
-οψ
ἀ-, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.
†[?χαλκ]έ-, ὁ, ἡ, Pind. Paean 3. 94.
αἰθ-, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+
Αἴθ-, ὁ, P.
Ἴ-, ὁ, P.
δί-, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.
†Θί-, ὁ, IG. 4. 561.[VII. 432.
Αἴθι-, ὁ, P.[VII. 427.
†Ψευδαίθι-, ὁ, Eust. (Th.).
Λευκαιθίοπες, P.
†συγκλίοψ, Interpol. Diosc. 3. 28.
πρίοπες, Hesych. [VIII. 336.
τρί-οψ, Hesych.
Τρί-, P.
Δουρί- (MSS. Δευρί-), Strabo 7. 326; P.[VII. 427.
σκάλ-, ὁ, Ar. [VII. 424.
χηνάλοψ, Hesych. [VII. 425.
β(ε)ιέλοπες, Did. ap. Hesych.,+
πηνέλοψ, ὁ (dialectic, πανέλοψ), Alcaeus 48 Crusius,+ [VII. 424.
Πελ-οψ, ὁ, P.[VII. 433.
μῆλ-, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+
κύκλ-, ὁ, ἡ, Emped. 84. 8 Diels.
ἔλ(λ)- (also ἔλαψ, ἔλοψ), ὁ, epithet of fishes and a kind of fish, Hes., + [VII. 424, VIII. 336.
ἔλλ-, ὁ, ἡ "mute," Emped. 3 Diels,+
†ἔλλ-, ὁ, ἡ "invisible," Theocr. Syrinx 18.
Ἕλλ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 426.
κόλλοψ, ὁ "peg of a lyre," Hom.,+
κόλλοψ, ὁ "thick skin on animals' necks," Ar. fr. 486, 634 Bl.,+
δάλ-οψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych. [VII. 425.
Δολ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 426, 432.
ἀνθόλοψ, ὁ, Eust. Hexaem. (Th.) [VII. 424.
σκόλοψ, ὁ, Hom.,+
Μελάν-οψ, ὁ, P.
πάν-, ὁ, ἡ, CIG. 7603.
Πάν-, ὁ, P.
†?παχάνοψ, sign. inc., pap. Tebt. 1. 214.
ἦν-οψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom., + [VII. 427, VIII. 340.
Ἥν-, ὁ, P.
φαῖν-, ὁ, ἡ, Ps.-Manetho 4. 239,+
Φαῖν-, ὁ, P.
οἶν-, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+ [VII, 422.
Οἶν-, ὁ, P. [VII. 432.

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πάρν- (also πόρνοψ, κόρνοψ), ὁ, Ar., + [VII. 235–244, 424.
Στέρν-, ὁ, P.
ἔπνοψ, ὁ, Aesch. fr. 304 Nauck,+ [VII. 425.
Ἔπνοψ, ὁ, P.
†ὕπνοψ, ὁ, LXX De. 14. 17 (v. l. ἔπνοπα).
†Θάρ-οψ, ὁ, IG. 7. 3172 [VIII. 339.
Ἀλκάρ-, ὁ, P.
χάρ-, ὁ, ἡ, Opp.
Χάρ-, ὁ, P.
χέδροψ, ὁ, Python p. 811. 12 Nauck,+
ἔροψ, Hesych. [VII. 425.
ἀέρ-οψ, Hesych. [VII. 424.
Ἀέρ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 427.
γεργέροψ (or γεργέλοψ), Hesych. [VII. 424.
μέρ-οψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+ [VII. 427.
μέρ-, ὁ, Arist.,+ [VII. 425.
Μέρ-, ὁ, P. [VII, 427.
† *ἠπερ-, [VII. 427.
στέρ-, ὁ, ἡ, Soph. [VII. 423.
†Φέρ-, IG. 12. 2. 450.
εἴροψ, ὁ, Arist. (vv. ll. ἀέροπα; μέροπα) [VII. 425.
Κέκρ-οψ, ὁ, P. [VII. 433.
καλαῦροψ, ἡ, Hom.,+
νῶρ-οψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+ [VII. 427, [VIII. 340.
Νώροπες, P. [VII. 432.
σεῖσ- (MS. σέσ-), Hesych. [VII. 424.
μέσσ-, Hesych. [VII. 425.
δρύ-, ὁ, Ar.,+ [VII. 424.
Δρύ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 426, VIII. 340.
εὐρύοπα, τόν "far-seeing," Hom., + [VII. 421 f.
εὐρύ-, ὁ, ἡ "far-sounding," Poeta ap. Plut. 2. 1096 A.
Μόψ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 433.
γύψ, ὁ, Hom.,+[VIII. 336.
γέργυψ, Hesych. [VIII. 337.
πώλυψ, ὁ, Diph. Siphn. ap. Ath. 356 E,+ [VII. 434.
κυν-οῦπες· ἄρκτοι, Μακεδόνες, Hesych. [VII. 424.
Ῥύψ, Ῥύπες, Ἄρυπες, P. [VIII. 336.
Θάρυψ, ὁ, P. [VIII. 339.
γρύψ, ὁ, Hes. fr. 61 Rz.[2],+ [VI. 200.
†λευκό-γρυψ, ὁ, CGL. 3. 188. 29, 258. 16.
?τύψ, Helladius ap. Phot. Bibl. 279.
?προ-τύψ, id. ib.
ὤψ, ἡ (ὁ, Eust. 1426. 57; pl. τὰ ὦπα, Plat. Crat. 409 C), Hom.,+
Ὤψ, ὁ, P.
-ωψ
ἀλα-, ὁ, ἡ, Synes. [VII. 429.
ἀγλα-, ὁ, ἡ, Soph.
κερα-, ὁ, ἡ, Maxim. Epirota.
γώψ, ὁ, Hesych. [VIII. 336.
φλογ-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Aesch.
γοργ- ὁ, ἡ, Eur. [VII. 428, VIII. 339.
ἄζ-, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych. [VII. 429.
κνύζωψ, Hesych.
θώψ, ὁ, Hdt.,+
ἴωψ, ὁ, Nic. fr. 18 Schn.,+
†ἐρι-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Max. Epirota.
κώψ, ὁ, Arist. ap. Ael. N. A. 15. 28, Ath. 391 C, Theognost. A. B. 1418,[1] Speusippus ap. Ath. 391 C.

[1] Herwerden, *s.v.*, proposes to emend Theognostus so as to ascribe the spelling σκώψ to Aristotle and the spelling κώψ to others. Aelian and Athenaeus, however, say that Aristotle drew a distinction between two varieties of owl which he called σκώψ and κώψ respectively. This can hardly be a broken reflection of the distinction between σκώψ and δείσκωψ which is found in *H.A.* 9. 617 *b* 31ff.; for Aelian mentions that also. Cf. Hoffmann *Maked.* 47.

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κώψ, ὁ
ἐλίκ-ωψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+ [VII. 422.
τετραελίκ-, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.
κέρκ-, ὁ, a kind of ape, Manil. 4. 668 [VII. 424.
κέρκ-, ὁ "knave," Aeschin.,+
Κέρκ-, ὁ, P. [VII. 427.
σκώψ· ὁ σκώπτης, Herodian 1. 404. 20 L.
σκώψ, ὁ "owl," Hom.,+
ἀεί-σκωψ, ὁ, Arist.,+
γλαυκ-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Pind.
λώψ, ὁ, Hesych.[VII. 425.
† ? ἀνθάλ-ωψ, Debrunner IF. 23. 23 without ref.
αἱμά-λωψ, ὁ, Ps.-Hipp. 21. 328 Kühn.,+[VII. 425.
θυμάλ-ωψ, ὁ, Ar. Ach. 321, etc.,+ [VII. 425.
ἡμερ-άλωψ, ὁ, ἡ, Galen (Th.).
νυκτ-άλωψ, ὁ, ἡ, Ps.-Hipp. 21. 227 Kühn,+[VII. 429.
ὑάλ-ωψ, ὁ, Pallad. (Th.).[VII. 425.
παρα-βλώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hom.,+
ἀμβλ-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Soph. ap. Phot. R. 16 f.,+
κυνο-βλώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.
ὑπο-βλώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Eust. (Th.).
†μέλ-ωψ, ὁ (or μέλοψ), CGL. 4. 258. 12, etc.[VII. 425.
†ὑέλ-, Act. SS. Iun. 7. 245 A. [VII. 425.
αἰγίλ-, ἡ "wild oats," Theophr.,+ [VII. 425.
αἰγίλ-, ἡ, a kind of oak, Theophr., +[VII. 426.
μυρτίλωψ, Hesych.[VII. 424.
φιλ-ώψ· φίλος, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.[VII. 428.
Φίλ-, ἡ (or Φιλωπίς; see Fick BB. 22. 47), P.
ἀγχί-λωψ, ὁ, Galen 19. 438 Kühn [VII. 425.

κλώψ, ὁ, Hdt.,+
ἀρχί-, ὁ, Plut.
ὀψί-, ὁ, Ps.-Polemo (Th.).
βαιό-, ὁ, Lyc.
γυναικό-, ὁ, Lyc.
Κύκλ-ωψ, ὁ, P.[VII. 427.
κύκλ-, ὁ, ἡ, Parmenides 10. 4 Diels,+
-κύκλωψ
συγ-, ὁ, Eust.
Λαιμο-, ὁ, Alciphr. 3. 15.
μισο-, ὁ, Eust.
δενδροκόλ-ωψ, Epiphan. Physiol. 102 Antwerp. [VII. 424.
στρογγυλ-, ὁ, ἡ, Schol. Verg. (Th.).
τυφλ-, ὁ, ἡ, Nic.,+[VII. 429.
μώλ-, ὁ, Hyperid. fr. 200 Blass,+ [VII. 425.
παλαιομώλ-, ὁ, CGL. 2. 392. 37.
Ἄλμ-, ὁ, P.[VII. 427.
ν-ῶψ, ὁ, ἡ, Hesych.[VII. 425.
ἐν-ῶπα, Hom.[VII. 422.
ἀρρεν-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Eust. 827, 29.
Ἰν-, ὁ, P.
κελαιν-, ὁ, ἡ, Pind.,+
Φαίν-, ὁ, P.
δειν-, ὁ, ἡ, Soph.
οἰν-, ὁ, ἡ, Soph.,+[VII. 423.
Οἰν-ῶπες, P.[VII. 432.
Σίνωψ, P.
κνώψ, ὁ, ἡ "blind," Anton. Mon. 1223 [VII. 425.
κν-ώψ, ὁ "beast," Nic.[VII. 424.
κίκν-, ὁ, Hesych.[VII. 424.
μον-, ὁ, ἡ (μουν-, Aesch.), Aesch.,+
μον-, ὁ (=μόναπος), Ael. [VII. 424.
Κάρν-, ὁ, Cat. Gk. Coins Ionia 53. 48.
κύν-, ὁ, Theophr.,+[VII. 426.
ἀχύνωψ, ὁ, Theophr. H.P. 7. 11. 2,+
κών-ωψ, ὁ, Batrachom. 199, Aesch., +[VII. 424.
Κών-, ὁ, P.

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-κώνωψ
†οἰνο-, CGL. 3. 258. 34.
ἀερο-, ὁ, ἡ, Luc.
ῥώψ, ἡ, Hom.,+
λιπαρ-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Philox. 2. 1 Crusius.
δρώψ (also δρόψ), sign. inc., Clem. Al. 3. 39. 10 Dind.,+[VIII. 334.
χαμαί-δρωψ, ἡ, Diosc. 3. 102,+
ὕδρ-ωψ, ὁ "dropsy," Hipp. 23. 724 Kühn [VII. 425.
ὕδρ-, ὁ, ἡ "dropsical, Ps.-Hipp. 22. 511,+[VII. 425.
†ἀμύδρ-, ὁ, ἡ, Theod. Stud. 1256 D Migne.
φοβερ-, ὁ, ἡ, Orph. H.
χαμαί-ρωψ, ἡ, Plin.,+
Κρῶπες, Androtian fr. 57 Müller [VII. 427.
ταυρ-ώψ, ὁ, ἡ, Orphic hymn in Miller Mél. de Liter. Gr. 453. 32.
εὐρ-, ὁ, ἡ, Herodian 1. 247. 20 L.
Εὔρ-, ὁ, P.
Κάσσ-ωπες, P.[VII. 427.
χρυσ-, ὁ, ἡ, Eur.
εὐ-, ὁ, ἡ, Soph.
πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ, Did. Al. 392 C Migne,+
μύ-, ὁ, ἡ, Arist.
μύ-, ὁ, Aesch.,+
Μύ-, ὁ, P.
φῶψ· φάος, Hesych.[VII. 435.

## WORDS IN ψ-; GEN. -φος

**The gender is indicated if it is known**

πελεθο-βάψ, ὁ, ἡ, Herodian 1. 246. 12 L.;+
πλινθο-βάψ, ὁ, ἡ, id. ib.
†κόλαψ, CGL. 2. 188. 45.
δρυο-, Hesych. s.v. ἵππα, CGL. 3. 18. 4,+
†γράψ, ἡ, sign. inc., Herodian 1. 404. 13, etc.
†ἀ-γραψ, ὁ, ἡ, Theod. Stud. 440 C Migne.
Σκίραψ, ὁ, P.
κατῆλιψ, ἡ, Ar.,+
νίφα, τήν, Hes.
σκνῖφες, Origen,+
†πνίψ, Choerob. in Cram. An. Ox. 2. 258. 19.
γρύψ, ὁ, Verg. E. 8. 27,+[VI. 200.

## WORDS IN -ψ; STEM UNKNOWN

**The gender is indicated if it is known**

ζάψ, ἡ, Cratin. Min. 3. 379 Mein.,+
†λάψ, sign. inc., Herodian 1. 404. 13, 525. 19, 2. 10. 3 L.
μάψ· ὄρνεόν τι, Herodian 1. 404. 12, 491. 8, 2. 182. 10 L.
κνάψ, ὁ, Herodian 1. 404. 12 L.
δράψ, sign. inc., Ar. fr. 588, 665 Bl.
?ῥήψ, Anton. Mon. 1610.
λάψ, ἡ, Hesych.
σκούψ, Hesych.
?ἔραψ, Hesych.
κόραψ (or -νψ ?), ὁ, Hesych. [VIII. 340.
ζάμψ (Bentley; MS.: ζάψ), sign. inc., Clem. Al. 3. 38 Dind. [VIII. 334.
?χρέ(μ)ψ, MSS. inferiores Arist. H. A. 4. 8. 534 a 8.
δνόψ, Hesych.
†σκύψ, sign. inc., Choerob. in Cram. An. Ox. 2. 263.
στύψ, sign. inc., Herodian 1. 404. 17 L.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(*CP.* V. 326–56; VI. 197–215, 450–76; VII. 420–41, VIII. 65–87.)[1]

### WORDS IN -βη AND -βᾱ

†Διαβά, Itinerarium ab Edem Paradisi 33, 38 in Rh.M. 65. 606 ff.

(ποδοστράβη), Hyperid. Fr. 62 Blass.

φάβα· μέγας φόβος, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες, ὄσπριον, Hesych.

Ἤβη, P.

Θάμβη, Ninos Romance A 4. 22 f. in Hermes 28. 172 f.

†Σόβη, IG. 2. 789 a 71, 790 a 16, etc.

†αεροφόβη, late medic. (Castelli).

†κρυβή, Vett. Val. 40. 31 Kroll.

### WORDS IN -βης AND -βᾱς; GEN. -βου

†Διαβάς, Amm. Marcell. 23. 6. 21.

†Ἀδιαβάς, id. ib.

[φάλβας. Undoubtedly borrowed, as suggested V. 331. Triandaphyllidis, Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur 13, gives φαλβός from Latin *falvus*. This late Latin form occurring CGL. 4. 345. 23 is itself of Germanic origin. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Et. Wtb.]

†Σόβας (or Σοβάς, -άδος), SGDI. 3160.

[Βουβας is a Thracian word according to Tomaschek Sitzungsberichte d. wien. Akad. 131. 1. 16. Delete also in V. 338 l. 13.]

†Ἀλσχρύβης, IG. 12. 8. 63. 17, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 12. 133, 15. 111, etc. [VIII 340.

### WORDS IN -βος AND -βον; GEN. -βου

(κόλλαβος) "peg of the lyre," Plut. 2. 1030 B.

ἔναβος = ἔνηβος, Theocr.

ἄκραβος = ἄκρηβος, Theocr. 8. 93.

(ὑπόστραβος), Vett. Val. 110. 6 Kroll.

†διάρταβος, ον, pap. Oxy. 7. 1031.

†ἡμάρταβος, ον, ib.

Κάσταβος, P.

(Κόρταβος), SGDI. 4702 b 16.

†Τόρρηβος, coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia (Head Hist. Numm. 675).

†Φιλέφηβος, IG. 12. 1. 107. 2.

†μελλοέφηβος, pap. Oxy. 9. 1202. 17.

†παρέφηβος, IG. 13. 3. 340. 19.

†βαθύολβος, ον, Eust. (Herw.).

[βαρύολβος. See Herwerden.]

(μελίαμβος), Cercidas Cyn. 4. 1. 7 in pap. Oxy. 8.

(διθύραμβος). Some support for the theory (V. 330) that the variation of the second member of this compound from the uncompounded θρίαμβος was due to the influence of θύρσος, etc., is furnished by Jo. Lyd. de Mens. 1. 2: θρίαμβον ὠνόμαζον οἱ Διονύσου θεράποντες τὴν πομπὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θύρσων καὶ τῶν ἰάμβων οἱονίε τῶν σκωμμάτων, ὡσανεί θυρσίαμβον.

†νυκτέρεμβος, ον (MS.; Kroll νυκτί-), Vett. Val. 16. 11. By haplology from sq.

(νυκτερίρεμβος, ον), Ptol. Tetrab. (Th., Soph.).

†Σκόμβος, BCH. 27. 13. 1. 12.

[1] The arrangement follows that of the word-lists, but corrections to the discussion are included. Lemmata in parentheses are not to be added to the word-lists. Several *s*-stems are included for convenience. Articles in square brackets involve deletion.

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(*τύμβος*). Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung 584, doubts the current theory that this word contains Indo-European *-gmo-* (so V. 326). He sees instead a labial suffix, and compares *τύφη*, a material for stuffing pillows, which would then stand in the same relation to it as *κορυφή* to *κόρυμβος*, etc. (cf. VI. 214 f.).

(*στρογγυλόλοβος, ον*), Theophr. H.P. 8. 5. 2.

(*μακρόλοβος, ον*), id. ib.

†'Αείφορβος, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 18. 37.

(*φλοῖσβος*). The meaning "wave" (V. 328) is carried back to the first century B.C. by the phrase *φλοῖσβον ἐριβρεμέθοντα* in the hymn to Isis in IG. 12. 5. 739. 166.

†*κυβός*, Macedonian for *κυφός*, Orion (Hesych.).

[*βοῦβος*, f. l., Theocr. 14. 17. Delete also s.v. *βυβός*, and V. 334 l. 16.]

†*ἐπιθορύβως*, Vett. Val. 184. 31 Kroll.

†*ἐπίλωβος, ον*, Vett. Val. 180. 23 Kroll.

## WORDS IN *-φη* AND *-φα*

(*τύφη*). Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung 482, 566, connects this word with OIsl. *þūfa* "hill," Lat. *tūber, tufa:* Lat. *tu-m-eo*, etc. In that case it should be added to the list of I.-E. words with suffix *-bh-* (VI. 197 f.).

## WORDS IN *-φης* AND *-φᾶς*; GEN. *-φου*

†'Ισογράφης (or *ἰσογράφη*), Diog. L. 6. 15; see Pohlenz Hermes 42. 158.

[Ὀνόφας is a Persian name, cited from Ctesias by Photius. Delete also in VI. 207 l. 1.]

## WORDS IN *-φος* AND *-φον*; GEN. *-φου*

(*σύγγραφος, ἡ*), SGDI. 4 Messenien Nachtr. 44. 16.

(*συμβολαιογράφος, ον*), pap. Thead. 10. 22.

(*ἰδιόγραφος, ον*), pap. Giessen. 1. 8. 4.

(*ὡρογράφος, ον*), Erotian 138. 7 Klein.

(*δογματογράφος, ον*), SGDI. 4516. 1.

†Σκύληφος, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 13. 135.

(*ψῆφος, ἡ*), Doric *ψᾱ-φος*, is surely to be connected with *ψά-ω, ψώ-ω, ψω-μός*, etc. Probably it was at first an adjective meaning "rubbed small, broken by rubbing" or "rubbed smooth, polished." It should be added to the list in V. 202 ff. See most recently Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung 655.

†Μενέψηφος, inscr. Eph. Arch. 1911. 15. 128.

(*σκάριφον*), Marc. Diac. 62. 23 Teub.

(*γρῖφος* "net"). The doubt about the genuineness of the word (VI. 210) is removed by E. M. 241. 28 ff.: *γρῖπος· τὸ δίκτυον . . . . τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ γρῖφος καλεῖται . . . . λέγονται γρῖφοι καὶ τὰ δίκτυα καὶ τὰ συμποσιακὰ Ζητήματα.* The relationship of *γρῖπος* and *γρῖφος* remains obscure.

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(τῖφος, τό) "marsh," is plausibly connected with τῖλος "thin stool" by Persson, *op. cit.* 464, 566. If Italic *Tiber* and *Tifernus* are related the labial suffix is Indo-European. For the stem-form cf. ἐδαφος, τρύφος (VI. 198), στέρφος, and κέλυφος (below).

(πολφός), Erotian 111. 11 Klein.

†κροτησίγομφος, ον, Cercidas Cyn. 2. 2. 4 in pap. Oxy. 8.

†Ἀριστόνοφος (probably for -νοθος), inscr. Kretschmer Vaseninschriften 10 f.

†ἀνάτροφον, τό, late medic. (Castelli).

†ὀρείτροφος, ον, Soph. Ichneutae 6. 19.

(βοτανοτρόφος, ον), Schol. Eur. Phoen. 647, 1571 Schwartz.

(ψευδόσοφος, ον), Schol. Luc. 119. 12 Rabe.

(φιλόψοφος, ον), Tatian. Or. ad Graec. 4. 13 Schwartz.

([σ]τέρφος, τό). Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung 437, 442, 865, considers this a variant of στέριφος similar to σέρφος: σέριφος (cf. VI. 203). For the stem-form cf. under τῖφος (above).

†κοινοκρατηρόσκυφος, ον, Cercidas Cyn. 1. 2. 10 in pap. Oxy. 8.

(κέλυφος, τό). Persson, *op. cit.* 227, plausibly connects OHG. *helawa*, MHG. *helwe*, *helewe* "chaff." On the stem-form, cf. under τῖφος (above).

(λινοῦφος), pap. Giessen 1. 40. 2. 27.

(κόρυφος), IG. 4. 926, 17, etc. Correct also in VI. 204, l. 23.

## WORDS IN -πη AND -πᾱ

(ἐντύπη), pap. Giessen 1. 12. 6.

## WORDS IN -πης, -πᾱς

†Φαιδώπας, SGDI. 1428 a.

## WORDS IN -πος AND -πον; GEN. -που

†(φοβερωπός, όν), Orphic frag. ap. Athenag. 20.

(μορμορωπός, όν), Artemid. 2. 36.

†ἀγγελοπρόσωπος, ον, Egyptian poet in Rev. d. Ét. gr. 24. 444. 17.

## WORDS IN -ψ

(ὕδρωψ, πος). Other medical terms in -ωπ-, beside the special group listed in VII. 431, are ἀλαώψ, ἀλαῶπις, ἀμβλυωπός, κνώψ, κυκλώπιον, μόνωψ, μυωπός, μυωπίας, μυωπάζω, νώψ, ὀξυωπός, τυφλώψ, ὑπώπιον, ὑπωπιάζω. In view of the close historical connection between medicine and philosophy, it is interesting to note that of 20 words in -ωπ- citable from non-Ionic prose of the fifth and fourth centuries, no less than 13 are furnished by the philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus (see the list printed by Aly, *Glotta* 5. 71). The physicians and philosophers united with the poets to prolong the life of the obsolescent stem -ωπ-.

Aly's attempt (*loc. cit.*) to confine words of this type to the Central Greek dialects is certainly not borne out by the evidence. It is hardly fair to cite place names in Northeastern Peloponnesus and the usage of Attic poets and philosophers in support of this theory.

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# NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

## A NOTE ON THE AUGMENT

An article recently published in this Journal (VII, 4) has drawn attention to some difficulties of the augment. Of the points raised not all can be profitably discussed here. In some questions it would be unseemly for me to meddle. For instance, anyone who is dissatisfied with the augment in similes must revise the work of Professor Platt; or if he has his doubts about the iterative, he can correct the grammar of the late Dr. Monro. In other cases, such as the augmentation of the main body of aorists and imperfects, the dispute is beyond the compass of a short paper, where it is impossible to enumerate the examples. Dr. Shewan will agree that in such matters there is no need for haste or alarm. If there are more augments than I made out, they will not run away; if there are fewer, no false examples can now be foisted into the text—that possibility has been past for some centuries. But there are some uses so comparatively rare that their occurrences can be enumerated; where this is so, it will be possible to debate the facts. Sometimes the facts themselves are conceded by Dr. Shewan; here we can reasonably argue the interpretation. In this way discussion may be restricted to four points.

*a*) The extreme rarity of the temporal augments like that in ἤῦσεν may be taken as a test case. Clearly, the explanation must be partly metrical. But is the explanation purely metrical? If it is, why are forms like ὄρουσε unknown in the similes? Or let us ignore the similes, and suppose that ὄρουσε is a purely scansional form, motived by the dislike of spondees. Our troubles then begin all over again. When spondees are fairly caused by the sense of a passage, there is no clear avoidance of them. To take simple instances, closed trochees are often used as spondees (ταρσὸν δεξιτέροιο, || ταρσὸν ποδός, etc.); so too, scansions like || τόν δέ, || τοῦ δέ, etc., seem quite normal. If then the augment in narrative was from the first felt as part of the sense, it is not easy to understand the taboo of ὤρουσε. But let this pass, and in spite of forms like ἐξῆγε, ἠγεῖτο, ἵζεσκε etc.,[1] let us suppose that spondees of the type ἤκουσε were especially offensive. Is it not interesting that these offensive spondees are relatively much commoner in the

[1] The forms are (*Iliad*, narr.) αἰπεινά, ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἀμφέσταν, ἄξοντο, Ἄρηϊ, αὐτοῖο, ἔζοντο, εἰσῆλθε, ἔκβαλλε, ἔκπαλτο, ἔκπιπτον, ἐκ τοῖο, ἐξαῦτις, ἐξῆγε, ἐξῆρχε, (ἐξίκε?), ἔμπλητο, ἐς μέσσον, εὔδησι, εὕρησι, εὔχοντο, ἠβαιόν, ἠγεῖτο, ἦγον δέ, ἤντησε, ἠρᾶτο, ἤρπαξε, ἠΰς τε, ἴδρυσε, ἵζεσκε, ἵζοντο, ἰμᾶσι, ἱμερτόν, ἵππειον, (ἵρισσι), ἵσταντο, ἴφθιμα, οἴχνεσκε, ὄπλοισιν, ὄρσασκεν, ὄσσοντο, οὐδάσδε, οὔτασκε, οὔτησε, ὑσμῖνι, ὤκτειρε, ὤμοϊϊν (genit:), ὤπλισσε, ὤρνυντο, ὠρμᾶτο, ὥσαιτο, ὥσαντο.



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narrative of the *Odyssey*, and that the use becomes so far enfranchised that we actually find scansions like ἤγειρεν || θεράπων? Or if this is still not significant, does it not become so when we find in the *Odyssey* an increasing plenty of other unnecessary spondees? when we find the alternatives in -σ- and -σσ- less exactly handled? when we see spondaic datives in -εσσι (types πάντεσσι and |ἀνδρεσσιν) going up by leaps and bounds? Does not an inference suggest itself?

*b*) Tenses with syllabic augment followed by δέ. Dr. Shewan urges the improbability of an amphibrach standing after the weak caesura. Especially for amphibrachs beginning with a vowel the conditions are quite unfavorable—so unfavorable, he says, that we must not be surprised at the non-appearance of || ἔθηκε δέ or anything of the kind in the whole narrative of the *Iliad*. Very good indeed; τρίδραχμόν γε θούριήνευμα. But it gives rise to a puzzle; for if type || ἔθηκε δέ is so reassuringly improbable, why is type || ἔγειρε δέ so startlingly actual? In the *Iliad* without B[2], etc.,[1] (narr.) there are no less than ten instances—E 496, Z 105, Λ 213, P 544, P 552, ἔγειρε δέ; P 615, ἄμυνε δέ; Σ 35, ἄκουσε δέ; N 27, ἄταλλε δέ; O 361, ἔρειπε δέ; T 386, ἄειρε δέ (add I 189, ρ 216).

Leaving Dr. Shewan and the ungrateful Homer to settle this trifle between themselves, let us look at other instances of the syllabic followed by δέ. The explanation of their rarity is to be this: the aorist followed by δέ comes most often at the beginning of the line; only aorists with two initial consonants can give syllabic augments at the beginning of the line; so we may expect to find that the syllabic followed by δέ is rare even at the beginning of the line. Very good again. But why is the syllabic followed by δέ *relatively* rare here? Among *un*augmented aorists there are in the *Iliad* without B[2], etc., some 300 starting the line; of these about 160, or 8 in every 15, are followed by δέ. Of augmented aorists in the same position there are 42 instances;[2] only 6 of these are followed by δέ (add 1 γάρ). Was there not some dislike of the syllabic followed by δέ? The dislike was perhaps slowly weakening; for in the *Odyssey* (narr.), of the 20 augmented aorists[3] at the beginning of the line, 10 are followed by δέ (add 1 γάρ). Just for fun, let us take a peep at ι, κ, λ, μ. Here there are 14 augmented aorists starting the verse;[4] 10 of them are followed by δέ. Homer is so thoughtless in distributing his examples. And there are things of which he will give no

[1] The books B 484-end, Θ, I, K, Ψ, and Ω are split off from the *Iliad*, and are called for short B[2], etc.

[2] Leaving out words like ἔδραμον and ἐστάσατο, my list is A *46*, B 101, 279, *467*, Δ 479, E 83, 108, 309, Z 375, 468, Λ 397, 848, M 461, N *339*, 520, *543*, *608*, 677, Ξ 179, *392*, 452, 519, Π 314, 322, 334, 585, 639, 701, P 11, 303, 334, Y *61*, 262, 280, 282, 477, Φ 70, 145, 548, 551, 601, X 463.

[3] β *427*, γ 454, ε 392, *444*, η *234*, θ *304*, *325*, ν 55, ξ 34, *50*, π 12, σ 97, τ 448, χ *17*, *115*, 121, *332*, ω *102*, 392, *441*.

[4] ι *484*, *541*, κ *97*, *148*, *220*, *310*, *397*, λ 24, 35, 208, *390*, *471*, *615*, μ 169.

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sure narrative examples at all—none of type ἔβη δ' (ἔβαν δ' ἄρα, ἔδυ δ' ἄρα μιν etc.) after the weak caesura, none of types ἐπάγη δ', ἔπορεν δ', ἔκιον δ' ἄρα, etc., after the strong. Now look at κ 397 and at π 230. Odd little facts, these. Odd too the chance that type ἐκέλευσε δέ standing after the hephthemimeral will always scan the other way about—Γ 259 (ἐτάρους δὲ κέλευσε) Λ 584, P 596 (Δαναοὺς δὲ φόβησε), Φ 407, ο 547. Γ 381 = Y 444 is a shift from κεκάλυπτο δ' ἄρ'; and in Φ 389[1] those who care to look can still see the poet either nodding or winking.

*c*) The aorist with νῦν. This is my list:[2]

I) aug. 1) certain α) A 354, 418, B 274, Γ 439, Δ 12, E 882, H 330, Θ 500, I 426, Λ 362, 363, M 271, *O* 719, P 153, Σ 111, Y 449, 450, Φ 82, X 15? Ω 35, 685, δ 817, 829, ρ 456, 567? ω 259? (cf. A 391).

β) Ψ 406, β 28.

γ) A 507, B 240, Δ 179, Θ 370? N 78? 772, Ξ 95, P 173, X 18, α 182, 241, δ 727, θ 330, ι 495, ξ 371, π 223, ρ 524, τ 369 (cf. Λ 663, θ 13).

2) uncertain—Γ 405, 415, E 423, Z 338, I 118, 519, Σ 267, 293? Ψ 333, Ω 401, α 43, 194, κ 43, ο 268, 270, π 66, ρ 568, τ 484? χ 29.

II) unaug. 1) certain —A 445, B 114 = I 21, Γ 367, K (117), 406, N 453, X 252, Ψ 604, Ω 641, α 36? ζ 172, ι 516, ν 303 = π 233. (cf. π 181).

2) uncertain—B 82, I 700, K 124, Y 350, Φ 80, δ 209.

The following are ignored—I), 1), α) E 823, Z 126, Σ 292, 406, X 236, Ω 642, α 235, ε 304; I), 1), γ) I, 344, Λ 279, X 104, ρ 319, ψ 354; I), 2) ψ 55, 225; II), 1) I 344, 0721, Σ 102, Ω 223.

Outside the similes and gnomes there seems to be no use which shows anything like the same degree of augmentation. Can we not infer that it is the meaning of νῦν which is the cause here, and that just as a true present sense makes the aug. necessary, so a strong reference to the present makes the aug. desirable? And even if we cling despairingly to ἐφῆκεν and ἀνῆκε, must we not see a difference between the figures for the *Iliad* without B[2], etc., and those for B[2], etc., or for the *Odyssey*?

*d*) The true past aorist in speeches. The issue here has been a little confused by the use of the term "dialogue" of which Dr. Shewan seems to

[1] Pretty clearly a shift from e.g., στὰς ἐξ Οὐλύμποιο, γέλασσε δέ οἱ, etc.

[2] Any corrections or additions would be most thankfully received.

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take a view perhaps suggested by the practice of Macaulay or of Nestor. However, let us not be delayed by a discussion of words, but agree simply that the augment is more plentiful in "dialogue." There are three natural ways of looking at this. We may suppose that the augment was a tense-sign—a sign not of past but of present reference. Then since the present-reference tense properly belongs to the speeches, we should expect that these would show more augments. This is the view taken by myself; and it fits the facts very well. But it has a fatal objection; it would establish a difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey!* In the latter the present-reference tense is perhaps a shade less augmented than in the *Iliad;* but the narrative within the speeches, which in the *Iliad* was still treated very well, now shows a great rise of augmentation. For example, let us split off from the ἀπόλογοι the introduction and the interlude and all the inset speeches: what is left is narrative,[1] and it is a kind of narrative which shows relatively many more augments than the narratives in the speeches of the *Iliad.* Clearly, this will never do. We must try another way of accounting for the augment in speeches. Well, let us suppose that the augment is dramatic. This will suit dialogue very well; but it has the rather awkward consequence that all the aorists in the similes are especially dramatic, while, e.g., in the battle-pieces of Λ and of Π there is a distinct lack of dramatic tenses.[2] Driven from this, let us last try the hypothesis that the augment has something to do with the first person (as in ἐμέ). On this view, a narrator speaking of himself ought to use more augments than when speaking of others. This would do perfectly for the ἀπόλογοι, but hardly for some other passages. The similes are as impersonal as anything can very well be; they should have no more right to the augment than plain narrative has. Again, Nestor's great speech[3] in Λ is faithfully concerned with himself; but the ratio of augmentation approaches that in good narrative, and contrasts—beautifully, I nearly said—with the ἀπόλογοι. Of course it is none of my business, but if I were concerned to defend the Unity, I should not admit statistics, and I should not deny them; I should ignore them. That way, and that way alone, *νικᾷ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον.*

The above are four principal points in the theory of the augment. The absence of the augment in type ὄρουσε is not purely metrical, though the preservation of the type is undoubtedly helped by the meter. In the *Odyssey*

[1] When the ἀπόλογοι are so treated, Dr. Shewan imperturbably calls them dialogue; you see, they have so many augments.

[2] To suppose that the augmented aorists in narr. are the more dramatic is an experiment worth trying; it gives delightfully comic results.

[3] I mean the "dialogue" which distracted Patroclus and drove him to his death. In technical points this is the finest speech in Homer, and no doubt gave a great impetus to such mimetic work, in which Nestor keeps up his reputation as a raconteur, but scansionally and linguistically he degenerates—*οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ ἴς ἔσθ οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτῇσι γένυσσι.*

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even this help cannot keep back the tide. The syllabic augment was at first still felt as a compounded element; and a tense so augmented could not well be followed by a conjunction. But at the beginning of the line there is a good deal of pressure to motive this use; the *Iliad* already has some examples (4 out of the 7 are in NΞO). In the *Odyssey* this use is relatively three times as common; further, a speech-type is thrust into narrative; and a new type appears in the speeches.

As regards the meaning of the augment, we can see that though the prefix was apparently just compatible with past tenses, it was disliked with these; on the metrical evidence the majority of unaugmented forms is very large. This view of the sense is reinforced by the fact that the true present aorist must have the augment; there is also the unsolicited testimonial given by *νῦν*. In the *Odyssey* the augment with past tenses is rising; the freer use of amphibrachs (type *ἔθηκε*) is a noticeable point. The old stubbornness of the iteratives is probably due to their special meaning; the treatment of the tense, as of many other things, is conventional in the *Odyssey* where the rule is at last broken. In the speeches, past tenses show a marked rise of augmentation. In many matters, both linguistic and scansional, the speeches, never so exact as narrative, diverge strikingly in the *Odyssey*. An explanation of this fact is badly needed.

Dr. Shewan ends with a perplexing appeal; let me end with a plain avowal. Any case, however good, is generally damaged by overstatement. To avoid this, my reckonings of doubtful points were very often contrived so as to favor the *Odyssey*. For example, elision of the dat. sing. in *-ι* was not counted as precluding the augment; this helps the *Odyssey*. Dibrachs in *-εν* (type *βάλεν*) were not counted as certain, except in the bucolic; this helps the *Odyssey*. The form *εἶσε* hardly occurs in early work, and it is only in early work that *ἔσσε* is demonstrable; the assumption of *ἔσσε* helps the *Odyssey*. There is perhaps some evidence to show that compounds were treated differently in the *Odyssey*, which has nothing to gain from any reckoning based on this. The introductions and resumptions of speeches were treated as a distinct class; they are a distinct class, but not so distinct in the *Odyssey*, for that is their home. In many such ways the difference between the two epics was a little covered over. Of course, in my paper there must be blunders and slips and oversights;[1] but they must be luxuriant indeed if the main positions are to be refuted.

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[1] *Class. Quar.* VI, 2, p. 111, l. 16, should read "*ἕπος φάτο* is only found once, *υ* 111 (speech *δ* 370)."

The narrative imperfect with syllabic augment is followed by *δέ* five times—P 86, Z 295 = *ο* 108, *υ* 255, *ψ* 369. Of these P 86 presumably stands for *ἕκρεε δ'*, and this for *ἐκ δὲ ῥέε*. (*Class. Quar.*, *ibid.*, p. 104).

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## THE WIFE OF GAIUS GRACCHUS AND HER DOWRY

We are told by Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 17, 4: *τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν* (sc. the Gracchans) *ἀπέδοντο τρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. Ἀπεῖπον δὲ πενθεῖν ταῖς γυναιξί· τὴν δὲ Γαΐου Λικιννίαν καὶ τῆς προικὸς ἀπεστέρησαν.*

The statement has been generally accepted: Mommsen, II³, 127: "aus dem Vermögen der getödteten oder verurtheilten Hochverräter, das bis auf die Mitgift ihrer Frauen confiscirt ward," etc.; Leo Bloch, *Soziale Kämpfe im alten Rom*, p. 115: "der Wittwe des Gracchus nahm man selbst ihre Mitgift.

Confiscation of a wife's dowry is, however, a most extraordinary measure, which it would be difficult to parallel in the entire course of Roman history except in those cases in which the wife is charged with direct complicity in her husband's guilt. Did the senate actually carry out such a measure here?

It may be noticed, in the first place, that the senate need not have specifically ordered the seizure of Licinia's dowry, in order to cause her to lose it. The *dos*, of course, was in possession of her husband up to the moment of his death. If the commissioners who were to carry out the confiscation took possession of all the property apparently belonging to Gaius Gracchus, they must necessarily have seized the *res dotales* as well in which Gracchus had only a usufruct. Licinia would in this case very effectively have been deprived of her property, although it could not be said to have been confiscated.

But we should have to admit the substantial accuracy of the report, if the dowry of Licinia had in this way been lost, even if there had technically been no confiscation. If however, the seizure was legally repudiated, the case is widely different. A passage which has seemingly been overlooked may throw light on the whole situation that followed the murder of Gaius:

Dig. 24, 3, 66, pr.: "In his rebus quas praeter numeratam pecuniam doti vir habet, dolum malum et culpam eum praestare oportere Servius ait. ea sententia Publii Mucii est: nam in Licinnia Gracchi uxore, quod res dotales in ea seditione qua Gracchus occisus erat, perissent, ait, quia Gracchi culpa ea seditio facta esset, Licinniae praestari oportere."

The passage comes from the 6th book of Iavolenus' commentaries on the posthumous writings of Labeo. Either through Labeo or directly, he quotes Servius Sulpicius Rufus (probably the *de dotibus*), and from the same source, the actual decision of Publius Scaevola himself. This is of course, incomparably better authority than either Plutarch or, indeed, any of his sources. We are dealing, as a matter of fact, with a contemporary record the transmission of which possesses unimpeachable authenticity.

It is clear that Licinia gets her *dos* back, or part of it. She does not lose it, either as a matter of law or fact. Plutarch is, therefore, wrong. The error probably arose from a misunderstood account of the suit of Licinia.[1]

[1] The suit would further settle the question of who Gaius' wife was. Plutarch, following the majority of writers, makes her name Licinia. Nepos (*Plut. Tib. Gr.* 21, 2)

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But there are difficulties in the situation. Licinia sues, probably by the usual *actio rei uxoriae*, for the recovery of her dowry. But whom? Who had the property which formed part of her *dos*? Mommsen (*op. cit.*) states that the temple of Concord was erected from the proceeds of the Gracchan confiscations. This is nowhere stated in the sources. If the confiscated property was treated, as similar property was later in the Sullan proscriptions, it was sold at public auction like booty taken in war. Now, Licinia, in case of a divorce could have sued her husband for the return of her dowry. In the case of his death, his heirs. To whom could she look for relief, when, by the confiscation of Gracchus' property, the *hereditas*, as far as it was material, was destroyed? Evidently to those to whom the estate was knocked down by the auctioneer, to Gracchus' successors in title.

But in this case the *res dotales* were no longer in existence. It was accordingly not a *fundus* that was concerned, but personal property. Appian tells us (i. 26): ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν [sc. Γράγχου καὶ Φλάκκου] τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαζε. Appian means, to be sure, not the δῆμος proper, the *plebs Romana*, but the hired thugs who formed the main part of the consul's forces, or possibly the non-Roman riff-raff of the city which seized the occasion to plunder. However that may be, the *res dotales* were gone. Licinia sues those who bid in the estate at the auction. Perhaps one man purchased it in bulk.[1] The defense is that the *res* have perished by accident. By a rule of law, the husband or his successors in title are liable for losses incurred by gross negligence or the various species of fraud comprised in *dolus*. The case goes before a iudex—in this case, the pontifex maximus, Publius Scaevola. His decision is that, as Gaius was primarily responsible for the riot in which the goods disappeared they were lost by his *culpa*, Licinia was, therefore, entitled to compensation from the estate.

The reasoning seems strained. As a matter of fact, the impartiality of Scaevola might easily be challenged. He was a blood-brother of Publius Crassus Mucianus, who had become by adoption a brother of Licinia and was, indeed, her quasiguardian after Gaius' death. Scaevola, himself, we remember as the drafter of Tiberius' landbills and as consul in 133 B.C. when he refused to countenance the illegal proceedings of the senate. That some utterances of his, afterward, indicated little real sympathy for the Gracchans, may have been shifty prudence or the caution of the trained legalist. This decision, probably, was a characteristic political move on his part.

We are not told when the case was decided. Evidently long before the reaction in favor of the Gracchi which sent Rupilius Popilius Opimius and others into exile, for the responsibility for the riot is placed on Gaius. We

stated that she was a daughter of Decimus Brutus Gallaecus. The same statement is made in the *Liber Memorialis* of Ampelius (18, 4), probably from Nepos. Gaius may have married twice.

[1] Cf. the case of Antony when Pompey's property was sold (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 64). In the same oration (§ 62) Antony is called, to be sure ironically, the *heres* of Pompey.

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cannot suppose that actual necessity impelled a woman living under the roof of the Crassus who was surnamed Dives, to sue for such meager personalty as could have been carried off or destroyed in a riot. We shall best understand the case as an attack on Gaius' enemies, directed by one to whom fine distinctions and forced interpretations were no new thing (cf. *De Leg.* ii. 53; Gellius 17, 7, 3). It qualifies our ideas of the orgy of violent repression, in which we are told Opimius indulged after the slaughter on the Aventine to know that the ordinary processes of law might be instituted against the victors, and that the pontifex maximus, as iudex in a private case, did not hesitate to defy the resentment of a party, already impatient of his precision, (cf. *Plut. Tib. Gr.* 19, 3; *Val. Max.* 3, 2, 17) by a strained application of a rule of law.

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## NOTES ON JUVENAL

In the *Classical Review*, XXVI, 22, Professor Paul Nixon briefly discusses Juvenal 7. 127–28 and 8. 4–5. In both passages, he says, Juvenal is really seeking to draw a picture of grandeur, of wealth and high position; into both passages he injects incongruous elements, by introducing epithets which suggest rather dilapidation: *curvatum, lusca, dimidios umerosque minorem.* In both passages, then, Juvenal to some extent defeats his own intentions; "In neither case is the poet able to refrain from irrelevant sarcasm." I am not so sure that the sarcasm is irrelevant; in both cases the satirist is having his fling at the same point, that in the estimation of the general any appearance of gentility, however sorry, has weight.

But I prefer for the moment to accept Professor Nixon's point of view, and to cite some other passages of Juvenal more or less akin. In the third Satire Juvenal is arguing with might and main that there is no place in Rome for an honorable poor man. Examine now carefully 46–48:

> me nemo ministro
> fur erit atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
> mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.

The satirist implies that every provincial governor and every *comes* of such a governor is a *fur:* hence he himself will never be *comes* of a governor. All this occurs in a lamentation of the difficulty of getting on at Rome! Hence it is clear that Juvenal is saying in effect, most illogically, "I am an honorable man and so I never get a chance—confound it—at dishonorable gains!

In 1. 139–40 we have

> Nullus iam parasitus erit! Sed quis ferat istas
> luxuriae sordes?

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*parasitus* is a fine παρὰ προσδοκίαν for *cliens* (cf. 126–38, and especially the mention of *clientes* in 132; in 132–34 throughout *clientes* is subject). Now, Juvenal in *Nullus iam parasitus erit!* is dealing with a grievous calamity. But, since he is repeatedly a sophisticated rhetorician lost in the exuberance of his own verbosity, or, to paraphrase Friedlander's admirable account, in his *Einleitung*, 48–50, has extraordinary tangental capacity, he passes at once to *Sed quis . . . . sordes*, with its very different tone. The whole passage, then, runs thus: "Soon, oh woe of woes, there will be no parasite (client)!—But thank the gods for that! no one could stand being a parasite (client)!"

It goes without saying, however, that Juvenal is not alone in allowing incongruous elements to slip into his verses. There are striking instances, for example, in Seneca's *Medea:* see my note on Seneca's *Medea* 350–60 in the *Classical Review*, XVII, 46. I noted there also that in writing *regio deserta siti* in *Aen.* IV. 42 Vergil had allowed his narrative instinct to betray him into introducing something out of place in his catalogue of the difficulties and dangers besetting Dido's realm, and that *soporiferum*, the epithet of *papaver* in *Aen.* IV. 486, falls under the same general category.

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## ON ARISTOTLE'S *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS* vii. 7. 1149 *b* 31 ff.

The accepted text reads:

*διὸ καὶ τὰ θηρία οὔτε σώφρονα οὔτε ἀκόλαστα λέγομεν ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ μεταφορὰν καὶ εἴ τινι (τι?) ὅλως ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο διαφέρει γένος τῶν ζῴων ὕβρει καὶ σιναμωρίᾳ καὶ τῷ παμφάγον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει προαίρεσιν οὐδὲ λογισμόν, ἀλλ' ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως, ὥσπερ οἱ μαινόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

I think that the context here requires us to read *οὐδὲ ἐξέστηκε* for *ἀλλά*. But whether I am right or not in that conjecture, there are difficulties in the passage which the accepted interpretations only gloss over.

Aristotle is demonstrating that *ἀκόλαστος* and *σώφρων* do not, in the proper sense of the words, apply to animals. The *γάρ* clause gives the reason, and has as Andronicus Rhodius saw, no reference, of course, to the virtual parenthesis *ἀλλ' ἢ . . . . εἶναι*, which may therefore be provisionally ignored. The grounds, to anticipate, are briefly two: animals neither (1) possess deliberation nor reason, nor (2) can they even be spoken of as beside themselves or out of their (natural) wits like madmen. This reading yields the sense required by the context, and is subject to only slight objections, which will be explained away in the sequel. The received text sounds plausible, but is really impossible, I think. I see but one way to defend it. We may assume that *γὰρ* does after all refer in very elliptical fashion to the clause *ἀλλ' ἢ . . . . εἶναι*. The meaning then would be that exceptionally lewd or voracious animals may be metaphorically spoken of as *ἀκόλαστα* like madmen, because they do not possess reason but have

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degenerated from nature. This, however, is a desperate remedy, for it assumes that normal animals possess προαίρεσις and λογισμός, which is not the fact, and which Aristotle denies by implication in the next sentence: ἔλαττον δὲ θηριότης κακίας ⟨κακόν⟩ φοβερώτερον δέ· οὐ γὰρ διέφθαρται τὸ βέλτιστον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει. That is, the savageness of the brute is less of an evil than moral turpitude, but a more terrible thing. For the best part is not corrupted, as happens in man, but (the creature) does not possess it. This is surely an affirmation that animals lack λογισμός and προαίρεσις altogether.

The commentators, modern and ancient, never quite face the difficulty.

Grant says: "It is not quite clear what is meant by ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως." Fritsche gives no light. The Greek paraphrasts betray uneasiness. Aspasius writes: ἀλλ' ἐξέστηκε, φησί, τῆς φύσεως, τουτέστιν ἔοικε τοῖς ἐξεστηκόσι τῆς φύσεως καὶ μαινομένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, and this is virtually Grant's explanation. The *Anonymus* says: οὐ τοῦτό φησιν ὅτι ἔξω τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀλόγου ἐγένοντο καὶ λογικὴν φύσιν ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ θηρία ἐοίκασι τοῖς ἐξεστηκόσι τῆς φύσεως ἤτοι μαινομένοις. Heliodorus paraphrases ἀλλὰ πάντῃ τῆς φύσεως ταύτης ἀφέστηκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ μαινόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων and this is the interpretation of Andronicus Rhodius, who uses the same words. Stewart (II, 186) comments thus:

> ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως, ὥσπερ οἱ μαινόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων—Ramsauer is wrong, I think, when he makes τοιαῦτα γένη τῶν ζῴων the subject of ἐξέστηκε, and adds—"Cogitatur igitur generalis quaedam omnium animalium sana natura, a qua nonnulla genera (παρὰ φύσιν) degeneraverint." The subject of ἐξέστηκε is the same as that of ἔχει in the line above—viz., τὰ θηρία—all brutes generally, and the meaning is that the normal condition of brutes resembles that of madmen in being without the consciousness of those limits which define the 'nature' of rational beings. The term φύσεως must be regarded as coloured by its proximity to προαίρεσιν and λογισμόν, just as φυσικαί above is coloured by its proximity to ἀνθρώπιναι.

Stewart then cites the *Paraphrase* and the Aldine Scholia.

Burnet (p. 317) comments as follows: "ἀλλ' ἐξέστηκε κ.τ.λ. This goes closely with εἴ τι ὅλως διαφέρει κ.τ.λ. The negative sense of διαφέρει justifies ἀλλά. The meaning is that exceptionally lascivious, destructive, and omnivorous γένη are παρὰ φύσιν or τέρατα. For the phrase ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως in this sense, cf. *Hist. An.* 488 *b* 19 γενναῖον τὸ μὴ ἐξιστάμενον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως, Rhet. 1390 *b* 28 ἐξίστανται τὰ εὐφυᾶ γένη εἰς μανικώτερα ἤθη. Aristotle is thinking, then, of animals that have "run wild" or degenerated. He cannot mean to say that all brutes ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως, as Stewart says."

But all these renderings either attribute impossible meanings to words or evade the main difficulty. Ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως does not mean ταύτης τῆς φύσεως nor ἔοικε τοῖς ἐξεστηκόσι. And ἐξέστηκε cannot mean πάντῃ ἀφέστηκεν in the sense proposed. It is uniformly employed by Aristotle to denote not the total original absence of a quality, but the defection or

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degeneration from it, the loss of it by deterioration or temporary ἔκστασις. His employment of the word may be illustrated by Cicero *De Finibus* ii, 11. 33. "bestiarum vero nullum iudicium puto. quamvis enim depravatae non sint, pravae tamen esse possunt"; and by Eusebius *Praep. evang.* vi. 10. 4: καὶ ἦν πολλὰ εἴδη ἐκθέσθαι ἡμῖν τῶν ζῴων ἅτινα τῆς φύσεως μὴ δυνάμενα ἐκστῆναι πολὺν θαυμασμὸν παρασχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐδύνατο.

Burnet's examples do not, I think, justify his interpretation. The first, *Hist. animal.* 488 *b* 19, is a general definition of γενναῖον and has little relevance. The passage *Rhetor.* 1390 *b* 28 does not refer to animals at all but to families of men, and merely says that the degeneracy of the clever families leads to instability and excitability of temperament—madness, in short. But I find no evidence that Aristotle did speak or could have spoken of whole species of animals as παρὰ φύσιν or τέρατα. Nor have the species of which he is thinking "run wild" or degenerated. They are wild by nature, and the suggestion that they have "run wild" is merely an unconscious endeavor to lend plausibility to the meaning assumed by Burnet for ἐξέστηκε here. He is right in his final statement that Aristotle cannot mean to say that all brutes ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως, and that is what necessitates some such emendations as that which has been proposed.

Aristotle's meaning, then, is that madmen may in a sense be said to be not σώφρονες or sound-minded because they have lost reason; animals may not, except by a still bolder and different metaphor because they never had it to lose.

But it will be said that Aristotle does not regard mad men either as in the proper ethical sense of the word ἀκόλαστοι. That is true, and it is an objection to the proposed reading, but not, as we shall see, an insuperable one. Strictly speaking, the ἀκόλαστος or licentious man is he who in full possession of deliberative reason pursues the pleasures of the ἀκρατής, the incontinent, because the corruption of his (moral) nature sets before him a wrong τέλος. And the madman who has lost reason is like the brute, ἀκόλαστος, only in the metaphorical sense. But this subtlety is not and could not be consistently observed. In the last analysis the ἀκόλαστος himself owing to his judicial blindness ([μὴ] ὀρθοδοξεῖν περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν) has been deprived of right reason (1151 *a* 19). Aristotle recognizes that in common parlance ἀκρατής and ἀκόλαστος are often synonyms (1145 *b* 16) and practical ethics is perhaps more concerned with the two kinds of ἀκρασία called ἀσθένεια and προπέτεια according as the incontinent act is or is not accompanied by (the opportunity for) deliberation (1150 *b* 19). Now the incontinent under stress of sudden or overwhelming desire are (like madmen) ἐκστατικοί (1151 *a* 1) and this use of ἐκστατικὸς παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον is loosely extended to include also the other kind of incontinence, ἀσθένεια, where deliberation is possible but reason is overcome in the end (1151 *a* 21, 1145 *b* 10). Thus ἐκστατικός is carelessly employed for these three kinds of failure of reason: (1) madness, (2) ἀκρασία due to surprise of irresistible

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πάθος, (3) ἀκρασία generally where reason yields even after deliberation to ἐπιθυμία or πάθος. The only case which it does not cover is the ultimate metaphysical problem of the obscuration of reason in the ἀκόλαστος in relation to the right apprehension of the τέλος. In this general sense of the words, then, Aristotle could say that animals are not properly σώφρονα or the reverse, because they neither have reason nor have lost it, ἐξέστηκε. The addition ὥσπερ οἱ μαινόμενοι is precisely the kind of careless writing that meets us throughout Aristotle. It directs our attention to the more specific meaning of ἐξέστηκε or ἐκστατικός when only the broader meaning is in point. Or we may express the same criticism differently by saying that μαινόμενοι is an unfortunate illustration because though the incontinent are in a sense mad, and the madmen may more fittingly be denominated incontinent and licentious than the brute, yet strictly speaking the term ἀκόλαστος applies to neither.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

*Sappho und Simonides.* Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker, von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Berlin: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1913.

Professor Wilamowitz sacrifices his long-cherished design of editing the fragments of the Greek lyric poets to the more pressing if less attractive duties of the editorship of the inscriptiones Graecae. The present volume of studies he regards as a part payment in bankruptcy of his old debt. We should rather describe it, to follow up his metaphor, as the declaration of a big dividend, the cutting of a large and juicy "melon" for the international company of stockholders in his manifold interests.

The reviewer cannot undertake to criticize or even catalogue the wealth of instruction and suggestion packed in these three hundred and twenty-three pages. He can only give a general account of the topics treated and call attention to some of the most interesting new ideas and interpretations.

The introductory essay on personality glances at Wilamowitz' favorite Carlylean idea of the controlling influence of great men, but is mainly concerned with the historians' endeavor to comprehend and interpret the significant or typical personalities of Greek literature. Of Homer we know only the name, and, as Wilamowitz believes, the father-land, Smyrna. Hesiod displays a conscious personality, but as we know his environment only from his own writings we perhaps individualize him too much. The Bohemianism of Archilochus suggests Villon and Paul Verlaine. But he is distinguished from this type by the severe classicism of his form, and we do not know whether his moral recklessness is naïveté or calculation. Bacchylides possesses no personality. Pindar is the first man whose inner development we can follow. Plato deliberately conceals his personality. Sappho—the entire essay is mainly an introduction to Wilamowitz' reinterpretation of this most fascinating personality of all, which occupies the sixty pages of the two following studies. In brief, the true Sappho is the honored poetess and the noble womanly form of the Munich vase and the Platonic epigram, not the hetaera of Greek comedy nor the worse-than-courtesan of Gallic pornography. In justification of this faith Wilamowitz repeats and supplements Welcker's analysis of the tradition whose chief document is the Ovidian epistle. Then from a reinterpretation of the two great odes and the new fragments he draws a brilliant if partly divinatory picture of Sappho's school to which the daughters of the noblest families of Asia Minor and the Aegean resorted. The soul of her poetry is its expression of her inner relations to these pupils



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—the pure and passionate woman's yearning for a more intense and lasting love than careless happy, selfish, youth here today and gone tomorrow, can return for the devotion of parent, teacher, or older friend. In her this sentiment that is neither ἔρως nor φιλία, but ἔρως φιλίας, the feeling known to some men and to so many solitary women, finds its perfect and consummate utterance for all time. Of this the misunderstood legend of her love for Phaon is a conscious or unconscious allegory. Phaon or Phaethon is "eve's one star," the bright cold beauty, unresponsive to the infinite yearning which its aspect awakens in the lonely heart. This association of ideas or feelings Wilamowitz illustrates not only by his well-known interpretation of Euripides' *Phaethon* but by references to Goethe and Frau von Stein, and the correspondence of Frau von Humboldt. An English reader would think rather of Keats's last sonnet, or Longfellow's only love-poem, "The Evening Star," or the lines spoken by Sappho in Swinburne's *Anactoria:*

> Like me the one star swooning with desire
> Even at the cold lips of the sleepless moon.

From these heights of feeling we drop with sudden descent to a critical and technical chapter on the dialectic forms of Lesbian lyric, with a warning to future editors against riding too hard the hobby-horse of Aeolic ψίλωσις and recessive accent.

The knightly Anacreon who fought the Thracians, the Anacreon whose statue stood near the statues of Pericles and Xanthippus and whose history may be divined from the possibly genuine epigrams, was early forgotten. The Anacreon of tradition, the Anacreon of the vases and the *Anacreontea* is the old bard of love and wine whose vers de société were sung like scolia at Athenian banquets. Wilamowitz interprets several of these "Kinder des Moments," and reconstructs in fancy the situations that may have given them birth. Common to the Lesbians and to the Ionians Archilochus and Anacreon is a direct lucidity and classic simplicity of style akin to comedy which Wilamowitz proceeds by means of well-chosen examples to contrast and compare with the sophisticated and alembicated style of choral lyric, dithyramb, nomos and tragedy.

The four studies of Simonides fill nearly a hundred pages. The first begins by reminding us that Simonides belongs to and formed his art in an older generation than that of his rival Pindar, and proceeds to study his style, his life and the origins of the anecdotal biographical tradition in the investigations of the scholars of the first two or three Hellenistic generations after 320. The second chapter, first published in 1898, reconstructs from Plato's *Protagoras* and interprets the scolion to *Scopas*. Plato's application to this poem of the hair-splitting distinctions between γενέσθαι and εἶναι is a conscious or unconscious sophism. Simonides' famous self-contradiction is an intentional self-correction for the emphasizing of his point that we must not expect perfection of man. οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιττάκειον νέμεται

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means "verkehrterweise wird von mir das Wort des Pittakos anerkannt." Professor Wilamowitz still holds that the *Protagoras* was written before the death of Socrates, and that it is a poetic and dramatic picture of Athenian life from which it is idle to attempt to distil any philosophical significance or scientific result. The third section is also a reprint of the famous Göttingen essay on "Simonides der Epigrammatiker." To this is added as a fourth section a brief study of the pre-Alexandrian epigram with special emphasis on such epigrams as may possibly be attributed to Simonides at least in the sense that they were found in a Simonidean volume which Wilamowitz assumes to have existed. Simonides, he thinks, undoubtedly composed short symposiacal and occasional poems that in the broader sense may pass for epigrams though they never stood on a stone. The probable authenticity of the beautiful Geraneia epigram is assured, he thinks, by Callimachus' imitation. He reaffirms his emendation of τῆλε for τῇδε in the last line; and prints the text as follows:

ἠερίη Γεράνεια, κακὸν λέπας, ὤφελεν Ἴστρον
τῆλε καὶ ἐκ Σκυθέων μακρὸν ὁρᾶν Τάναιν
μήδε πέλας ναίειν Σκιρωνικὸν οἴδμα θαλάσσης
ἄγκεα νιφομένης ἀμφὶ Μεθουριάδος.
νῦν δ' ὃ μὲν ἐν πόντωι κρυερὸς νέκυς, αἱ δὲ βαρεῖαν
ναυτιλίην κενεοὶ τῆλε βοῶσι τάφοι.

Professor Mackail regards this as a real or imaginary inscription for a cenotaph. Professor Wilamowitz finds in it an occasional poem, the occasion of which he reconstructs as follows: Simonides walking over the Via Mala of Geraneia sees the corpse tossing in the waves below, and curses the mountain which hinders him from descending to give burial to the unknown, who now will be honored only by some far-away cenotaph. This is ingenious, but impairs the pathos of the poem as I have always felt it. The absence of the name does not, I think, forbid us to assume that Simonides knew the dead man, and sympathized with the grief of those who mourned at his empty grave—a motive of frequent occurrence in the anthology. To modern feeling, indeed, the ὃ μὲν whose reference we understand only too well is even more pathetic than the name would be. So in *In Memoriam* XVIII Tennyson writes:

'Tis well, 'tis something we may stand
Where *he* in English earth is laid.

And surely it is as cause of the shipwreck and death that the mountain is cursed, and not merely as hindering the recovery of the body. This connection of thought is implied in the use of νῦν δὲ, as appears more explicitly in the οὐ γὰρ ἄν clause of Callimachus' imitation:

ὤφελε μηδ' ἐγένοντο θοαὶ νέες · οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς
παῖδα Διοκλείδα Σώπολιν ἐστένομεν.
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν εἰν ἁλί που φέρεται νέκυς, ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνου
οὔνομα καὶ κενεὸν σῆμα παρερχόμεθα.

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My conception of the poem is roughly indicated in the following version, where I read, of course, ὄφελες and τῇδε:

Ah! would Geraneia thy mist-veiled foreland
Far from the cruel Scironian main
Looked out on the desolate steppes of the Norland
Where Tanais rolls through the Scythian plain,
Not here where Meluriad's rock is lifting
Its snow-strewn glens o'er the ruthless wave
Where *his* cold body is tossed and drifting
While we make moan at an empty grave.

The reading τῇδε and my free interpretation of it by "we" are justified I think by Callimachus' παρερχόμεθα and several epigrams of the anthology in which kinsmen or friends or passers-by look with grief or sympathy on the empty grave. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 652; vii. 497, etc. In most, I think all, of such cases the deictically indicated cenotaph is the center of reference of the poem.

It is impossible to abbreviate further the closely reasoned argument for the existence of three poets claiming the name Stesichorus, or the discussion of their dates and relations to the extant fragments. Wilamowitz no longer shares the view that Stesichorus strongly influenced the development of the heroic legends before Simonides and Pindar. His conclusion seems to be "ignoramus" though not necessarily "ignorabimus." We must pass over the interesting and instructive interpretation of Pindar's Abdera paean, and Solon's Elegy εἰς ἑαυτὸν. The studies entitled "Mimnermos und Properz," and "Horaz und die griechischen Lyriker" are reprints. Although Professor Wilamowitz disclaims the intention of editing the Greek lyric poets, he has in fact in this volume edited, translated, and interpreted no inconsiderable portion of their text in a fashion which it will not be easy for any future editor to better.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde.* Von L. MITTEIS und U. WILCKEN. 4 Teile. Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1912. M. 40.

It might occur to the busy reviewer that this, the first work to do for the non-literary papyri what Dittenberger's *Sylloge* did for the Greek inscriptions, has two parts, one historical and the other legal, largely because of the accident that of its editors one is primarily a historian and the other primarily a jurist. This initial impression might then be confirmed by the publisher's announcement that each part, and, indeed, each half of each part, is complete in itself and may be purchased separately. The idea of having to do with two chrestomathies and not with one might further seem to the hasty critic a nuisance: he might regret not to find the legal documents distributed under

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their proper historical captions, and the work reduced by the omission of duplicates or enriched by wise substitutions. He would, however, be in error if he persisted in this prejudgment. For while all the documents in the two volumes have some historical interest and some of the most valuable historical records, like the famous edict of Caracalla of 212 A.D., appear only in the *juristischer Teil*, so considerable a group of the texts selected, and, indeed, so large a mass of all the papyri thus far discovered, are intelligible only when construed in terms of law and procedure that their segregation is anything but accidental or undesirable. We ought, in any case, to rejoice that the first aids to the interpretation of papyri—the so-called *Grundzüge*—are twofold, substantial and formal, and that it has been found possible to combine in a single work the rich experience of a historian and a jurist, both of whom are not textbook-makers, but second to none in the department of papyri-studies which they respectively represent. After the English dioscuri, Grenfell and Hunt, there are no names more renowned in the brief annals of papyrology than Wilcken and Mitteis.

The student of private law will be able to do his work, if he wishes, with the second part of the chrestomathy alone. The historian fares less well, since he must go outside the volume apportioned to him for many of his most significant documents. Neither of them can dispense with either part of the *Grundzüge*, since the study of the papyri, with whatever end it may be undertaken, cannot be prosecuted to advantage without the explanations presented in the two parts. These two volumes are a golden bough to the explorer of what has hitherto been a particularly gloomy inferno. They transform spirits chattering in an exasperatingly familiar yet incomprehensible jargon into rulers with formulae, clerks with schedules, scribes with abbreviations, priests with rituals, peasants with solecisms, and others with intelligible idiosyncracies. We are taught by these books to converse readily with the shades of men that once lived in a strange but real world.

Hitherto the only possible approach to the papyri has been through the commentaries to the successive publications of texts. These, as is well known, are mainly the work of a small number of experts. The circle for which they are intended is a small one and of late its members have been much overworked. The future of papyri-studies depends upon the getting of new recruits, for whose instruction, however, the commentaries are altogether unsuitable. It does high credit to the organizing talent of Ulrich Wilcken that he created first a central organ for specialists in his *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and now (with his colleague Mitteis) a course of study for beginners.

The entire work is opened by the introduction to Wilcken's part of the *Grundzüge*, on bibliography, script, language, chronology, money, metrology, and like matters. Then four horizontal periods are distinguished—the Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic—and briefly characterized in a general historical sketch—the first chapter of Wilcken's *Grundzüge*. This

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is illustrated by the first chapter of his chrestomathy. Thereafter follow both in chrestomathy and *Grundzüge* eleven further chapters: ii, "Religion and Worship"; iii, "Education"; iv, "Financial Administration"; v, "Taxation"; vi, "Industry and Commerce"; vii, "Agriculture"; viii, "Socage and Liturgies"; ix, "Commissariat and Requisitions"; x, "Postal and Transport System"; xi, "Army and Police"; xii, "Aus dem Volksleben." In each case the topics are treated and the accompanying texts arranged chronologically, the four great periods being distinguished so far as possible. Mitteis' method is similar, the twelve chapters of his *Grundzüge* and chrestomathy being entitled: i, "Prozessrecht der Ptolemäerzeit"; ii, "Römischer Kognitionsprozess"; iii, "Die Urkunde"; iv, "Das Grundbuch"; v, "Schuldverschreibungen und Pfandrecht"; vi, "Kauf"; vii, "Grundstückpacht"; viii, "Eherecht"; ix, "Erbrecht"; x, "Vormundschaft"; xi, "Verschiedene Rechtsgeschäfte"; xii, "Gesetze."

These divisions are natural and helpful, though, on occasion, a single document, notably the *prostagmata* of Euergetes II of the year 118 B.C., is divided not only between the two chrestomathies, but also among several chapters in each. In any case this particular papyrus could not be printed in its entirety in a chrestomathy. Hence, whoever wishes to have it all together must inevitably consult the *Tebtunis Papyri*. The work under review is not a substitute for the monumental publications but a guide to their proper use.

The *Grundzüge* aims at more than this, however. The authors have endeavored to put in concise form the net yield of papyri-studies to the historical sciences, of which, as Wilcken properly insists, papyrology is simply a handmaid. And in this aim they have succeeded so admirably that all specialists are bound henceforth to make it fundamental for their work. Nowhere else can one find the conclusions and problems arising out of the papyri stated so clearly and at the same time so cautiously. On almost every page of Wilcken's *Grundzüge* suggestions occur for hopeful investigations.

I have found it impossible to test the accuracy of the authors' work as editors in more than a few instances. There, however, the results were quite satisfactory. The text seems surprisingly free from errors of printing and transcription, and it is conservative in matters of conjecture and restoration. It is generally offensive to the eye, but that is because of the multitude of brackets with which papyrology operates. Wilcken and Mitteis have no special responsibility for the fact that a page of their chrestomathy looks like the page of an algebra. A glance at Capps's *Four Plays of Menander* shows how they might have helped to eradicate a bad custom.

The introductions to the texts, of which there are in all 822, 382 being legal, are generally brief but ample. They consist of a significant title, a complete bibliography, and just enough narrative to explain the situation presupposed by the document. The footnotes, on the other hand, are few,

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and, as a six months' trial has convinced me, insufficient for novices. Even in the publications of Grenfell and Hunt, which are intended for scholars, more corrections of misspelled words and misused cases, tenses, forms, and pronouns are given than in this chrestomathy for beginners. The footnotes supplied by Wilcken and Mitteis are good, but there should be more of them.

It may be taken for granted that all who have a professional reason for knowing the papyri—I mean the historian, philologist, theologue, and jurist —will henceforth make the acquaintance of their subject through this work. It deserves, however, a wider public. The lover of Greek literature is less happily situated than the lover of Greek art. He has nothing by which to control his appreciation of his masterpieces comparable with the vase-paintings, tombstones, gems, terra cottas, frescoes, and *graffiti* which relieve the works of Pheidias and Praxiteles from their splendid isolation. The papyri bring him nearer to the natural mode of expression of the generality of Greeks than any other extant writings. They are at the same time the most intimate revelation we possess of the common acts and thoughts of men who, though resident in a foreign land among an alien people and themselves oftentimes *metis*, are yet near enough to the ancient Greeks to make those teachers of the classics who ignore their ways and ideas do so at their own peril. The time is past when the ancient world lays its rich stores of human experience before all men of cultivation. But such of them as can still read Greek will find many things in this collection of petitions, letters, court records, marriage contracts, wills, official reports, and odds and ends to chuckle over, to wonder at, and to move them to pity and reflection.

W. S. FERGUSON

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*Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides.* Par JEAN LESQUIER. Paris: Leroux, 1911. Pp. xviii+381.

The preface of this book is dated in October, 1908, the *addendum* in December, 1909, and the title-page in 1911. An interval of two or three years between the printing and the publication of a book exposes an author to serious risk, especially in a rapidly advancing subject like papyri studies. In this case, for example, M. Lesquier has been unable to use Rostowzew's epoch-making *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, notwithstanding that it deals very closely with his theme and was issued in 1910. In another respect, too, the author rests at a disadvantage when compared with his critics: he was unable to use the *Grundzüge* of Wilcken and Mitteis, which was printed in July–August, 1911. We hasten to add, however, that his general position is strengthened rather than weakened by the unseen work of his distinguished German contemporaries.

The need of a treatise like *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* is best proven by the reluctance with which Wilcken in his *Grundzüge* attacks the subject without it. "Nur ungern," he says, p. 382,

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"behandle ich daher jetzt den Stoff, doch darf wenigstens ein kurzer Überblick hier nicht fehlen." The earlier works by Paul Meyer and Schubart were premature; yet upon them the best summarization hitherto accessible —that of Bouché-Leclercq in his standard *Histoire des Lagides*—was largely dependent. A detailed study, based upon an exhaustive examination of the papyri, into the sources, organization, distribution, and employment of the Ptolemaic soldiers, yields to M. Lesquier this general result, that for the first time we are in a position to understand the relations, and the changes of relations, between Macedonians and natives in Egypt. We come thereby very close to the secret of the strength and weakness of the Ptolemies.

In two notable particulars the practice of the early Ptolemies differed from that of the later. By both the standing army was farmed out; but the early kings kept it moving from dry or marsh lands, when it had reclaimed them, to other lands in need of reclamation, whereas the later kings let sons succeed fathers both in the army and in the farms which their parents' labor and money had redeemed. The penalty was that the army became immobile and ceased to add to the rent-paying domain of its master. The other notable difference consists not alone in the fact that a higher grade of military cleruchs, the so-called catoecs, appeared in the second century B.C. when lots were given to policemen as well as to soldiers, but also in the fact that the natives were then admitted freely to both services. M. Lesquier, indeed, thinks that the μάχιμοι were enrolled in the army from the beginning and that the much-discussed innovation of 218 B.C. involved the opening of the standing force to all classes of Egyptians. This seems to me unproven and unlikely. It implies the drawing of a distinction between the soldier caste and the other natives which must have been observable in many particulars had it really existed. To me it seems probable that the standing army of the Ptolemies was closed to the natives till the reign of Philopator. Their use on the fleet and in the transport service and occasionally in an army operating abroad was quite a different matter from keeping them continually under arms in Egypt itself. The proof of this contention is, moreover, found in the fact, established clearly by M. Lesquier, that after 218 B.C., and not before, the Macedonian and other foreign soldiers, despite the retention of their names and of their social, political, and economic status, were gradually absorbed by the natives.

Responsibility for this disastrous issue is fastened too closely by M. Lesquier on the moral and political sluggishness of Ptolemy Euergetes. It was, indeed, a serious matter that this much overpraised monarch kept his troops employed for the last twenty years of his life cultivating his lands in Egypt. His successor could bring them so incompletely into action that he was forced to call the natives to his assistance when attacked by Antiochus the Great. The important point seems to me to be this, that, despite the danger which their prompt mutiny disclosed, the later Ptolemies were unable to dispense with Egyptian soldiers because the loss of their empire in 202–200

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B.C. cut them off from the districts from which their predecessors had been wont to draw their supply of new troops. The serious dependence of the domestic policy of the Ptolemies upon their foreign policy has not, I venture to think, been stressed sufficiently by M. Lesquier.

Three points noted at random will indicate how much this book offers to those who are not specialists in Egyptian history: (1) The normal infantryman's lot in Egypt contained thirty jugera, as did the holding of land given by Tiberius Gracchus to his new Roman soldiers. (2) The various *ethne* in the Ptolemaic army, like the Jews in Alexandria, were governed by their own laws. (3) The sons of the Ptolemaic military cleruchs—οἱ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς—played much the same rôle in the recruiting of the Ptolemies as the sons begotten by Roman soldiers from the women in the neighborhood of their camps—the so-called *ex castris*—played in providing the legions in the stationary *castra* with suitable candidates for some of their vacancies.

W. S. FERGUSON

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*The "Argonautica" of Apollonius Rhodius.* Edited with introduction and commentary by GEORGE W. MOONEY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. 454.

Mr. Mooney is a pioneer. The *Argonautica* has been frequently translated into Latin, English, and other languages, but a commentary has not appeared for almost a century; and the exegesis in the editions of Hoelzlin, Shaw, Flangini, and Brunck-Schaefer is far inferior to the commentary provided for many other classical authors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The present editor offers introductory chapters on the poet's life, the sources, the poem, other works of the poet, MSS, scholia, editions and translations; his text rests on no independent collations, but is apparently his own; his apparatus criticus is culled from Merkel and others with some additions from the critical studies of more recent years; an appendix deals with the question of double recension, and with meter; there are indexes of proper names, of Greek words treated in the notes, but not of subject-matter.

The purpose of the editor is not stated; we are not told whether he is addressing his work to scholars or to elementary students; he has provided a book that will immediately help the beginner in Hellenistic poetry and even the classical teacher who knows his Homer and Vergil, but has lacked courage to read Apollonius. Mr. Mooney, however, has made no effort to interpret, in the full sense of the term, either the poem or the poet. His introduction is a neat compilation of useful information; his notes give help in hard places, correct judiciously the translations of Way and others, the lexicons, and earlier editors, describe briefly Homeric and Apollonian usage, supply not a little in the way of parallel passages from earlier and contemporary poetry with the usual stock of material from Vergil and Valerius Flaccus, and explain allusions to people and places. The value of such

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comment to the reader who is making his first acquaintance with the poet is clear; equally clear is the need, from a different standpoint, of a penetrating study of Apollonius' language and style not merely in comparison with Homer but with the *Koine*, of his art in comparison with that of Homer and Vergil, of all the many aspects of the poem,—for example, the legends, the topography, the relation of the third book to the romantic narratives of later days. The editor has wisely refrained from so ambitious an undertaking; his one volume would have grown beyond the limits of the publisher's endurance. We must, however, express some regret that Mr. Mooney shows no interest in these bigger things; so large a book might well reveal somewhere, if not always, a sense for the historical development of language or of literature; instead of this, we seldom get more than the pabulum of the schoolboy.

The textual apparatus is elaborate in comparison with that of the Oxford edition; it is compiled from earlier editions, chiefly Merkel's. The editor's thoroughness may be judged by the fact that, although about half a dozen papyrus-fragments of the *Argonautica* have been published since Seaton's edition, the apparatus never records them; this would be only a technical defect if the papyri contained no addition to our previous knowledge; but as it is, Porson's emendation in iii. 745 (which Mr. Mooney rejects) now has MS authority, Stephanus' reading of iii. 909 and Brunck's of iii. 263 are no longer merely emendations; furthermore, the condition of iii. 158 in the papyrus published in *Hermes* 35. 605 raises, perhaps, a new problem in the textual study of this verse; in any case, Gerhard need not have called his own emendation "tame and otiose": it now stands in a papyrus. Most of these papyri have appeared in the Oxyrhynchus series, which can hardly have been "unprocurable" at Trinity College. Mr. Mooney has printed at least three conjectures of his own (i. 517, 987, iv. 1647). He does not seem to have studied the textual difficulties, relatively few in Apollonius, very intensively: in iii. 882 he follows other editors in accepting Schneider's ἄν, but the MSS reading αἱ is supported by the existence of οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι and αἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλαι as a tag at the end of verses in Apollonius (cf. e.g., iii. 872, 1170; iv. 334), and ἄλσεα in the next verse is dependent upon the preceding verb of motion. In iii. 892 he prints the MSS reading, as does the Oxford text, but Mr. Seaton marked it corrupt; Mr. Mooney makes strange sense out of it; he is right in saying that ἴμεν is protected by 896; we may add to that part of his argument that we have noted (from Wellauer's index) eleven other examples of ἴμεν in the poem; in ten cases, as here, it forms the arsis of the first foot, or followed by an initial consonant laps over into the second foot; when we add to this, that in nine cases it is preceded by a verb of motion, and in six of these nine by the aorist of βαίνω, may we suggest putting a full stop after ἐνόησα, and beginning the next verse with βῆν ἴμεν, supporting the construction with μετ' ἀνδράσιν by Mr. Mooney's reference to i. 648 (though we do not fully share his view that this reference justifies the dative with μετά after a verb of motion). Again, in i. 103 Mr. Mooney reads with

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the MSS and many editors κοινήν; but this would be the only case of κοινός in Apollonius against seven examples of ξυνός; κοινός is not the epic word, as Boesch showed; nor does Mr. Mooney's apparatus record that the scholia offer κείνην as a variant and that Boesch, perhaps rightly, restores it to the text.

It is easier to discover the sources of Mr. Mooney's commentary than of Apollonius' poem. His etymologies come from Curtius and Fick, his Homeric syntax from Monro, his general syntax from Goodwin. Of recent etymology we learn nothing; of Stahl, of Gildersleeve, of syntactical studies in Hellenistic Greek outside of the syntactical dissertations on Apollonius never a word. This can only mean that we shall find a comparison of the usage of Homer and of Apollonius, which is altogether desirable and helpful, but not an interpretation of the syntax and usage of Apollonius. Boesch interprets the forms in Apollonius; Mr. Mooney has used Boesch's dissertation, but contents himself with describing forms; might he not at least refer to the pages of Boesch if he cannot afford the space for real interpretation? Many an optative is noted and described in its relation to Homeric and classical Greek, but of the Hellenistic optative the editor reveals no knowledge. It is interesting that the accusative appears with πειράζειν in iii. 10 contrary to Homeric usage and to Apollonius' practice elsewhere, but the significant fact is that the verb takes the accusative in the New Testament. The information given is usually accurate and neatly condensed; but how may ὕστερον in ii. 1251 be equated with κνέφας in ii. 407 when the nominative ὕστερος in *Homeric Hymns* 18. 14 shows clearly the adjectival use? Would Mr Mooney have denied the idiomatic use of ἰδών in ii. 606, if he had read Radermacher's discussion (*Philol.* 59. 596)? The editor has added much illustrative material in the form of parallel passages, both from his own reading and from the dissertations on Apollonius, most of which he seems to have assimilated; Hesiod and the *Anthology* he might have used to a greater extent without exceeding his allotted space; Apollonius' use of ἄημαι (note on ii. 81) should be compared with Hesiod *Scut.* 8, *Homeric Hymns* iv. 277; with ὁμώλακες (ii. 396) cf. *A.P.* vii. 402. 3; with στεφάνης (ii. 918) cf. *A.P.* vii. 482. 4, 488. 4; viii. 179; with ii. 933–34 cf. *A.P.* IX. 287. 3; with γναθμοῖο κατασχομένη (iii. 128) cf. prehensa Cupidinis buccula, Apul. *Met.* vi. 22; with πολιοῖο (iii. 275) cf. *A.P.* vii. 485. 1; with iii. 1374 cf. *A.P.* vi. 122. 3–4.

There are many passages in which the interpretation would easily lead to long discussion beyond the compass of a review, but in the main Mr. Mooney's interpretations seem to us sane. The large amount of geographical commentary might easily have been eliminated by including a map; by this means space could have been obtained for intensive study of some aspects of either the language or the style of the poem. As it is, the "sunbeam" in iii. 756 is not carried beyond the *Aeneid;* that Ovid and Aristaenetus and Dio Chrysostom also employed the figure may not interest the schoolboy, but

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fills out the history of the famous simile. Literary appreciation Mr. Mooney seldom attempts; iii. 747 may be "one of the intensely human passages in Greek literature," but has it not also a taint of sensationalism that is truly Hellenistic? It is easier, however, to make reservations, corrections, and additions than it is to edit a Hellenistic poet who has long been neglected. Mr. Mooney has been courageous and, within well-defined limits, competent. He has made Apollonius accessible to a number of willing readers even if he has not contributed in any large measure to our knowledge of Hellenistic usage or of the many interesting aspects of Hellenistic poetry.

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*Die sogenannten Sententiae Varronis.*. Von PETER GERMANN. III. Band, 6. Heft of Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, herausgegeben von E. DRERUP. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1910. Pp. 99. M. 2.80.

In the *Einleitung*, pp. 1–6, the author traces the history of our knowledge of these *sententiae*, from the publication of part of them in certain works of Vincent of Beauvais, 1250–54, to the recension of the full collection given, in 1865, by A. Riese, on pp. 265–72 of his *M. Terenti Varronis Saturarum Menippearum Reliquiae*. In this valuable bibliographical survey the views of all who in books or articles have examined the collection are given. As early as 1624, it appears, the Varronian authorship of the *sententiae*, apparently attested by the ascriptions in the MSS, was questioned, but no one had exhaustively examined the matter. As late as 1856, Chappuis, in his elaborate discussion, had positively ascribed the collection to Varro; Riese had held that the *sententiae* were in part at least derived from Varro. Teuffel-Schwabe[5] (see Warr's translation, § 169. 2) and Schanz, I, 2[3], S. 450, were evidently not ready to deny absolutely the Varronian authorship, though Teuffel-Schwabe, after quoting five *sententiae* from the collection, said, "It is true that all these sayings remind us even more of Seneca in style and spirit."

There was, then, room for a definitive discussion of the *sententiae* with a view to determining, if possible, the authorship of the collection. To this end Germann, on pp. 7–29, deals with the interrelation of the MSS, as the basis of an authoritative text. The conclusions reached seem unassailable; the problems were, indeed, simple. On pp. 30–42 the text of the 158 *sententiae* is given, with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*, far more exhaustive and valuable than that in Riese. It seems regrettable, however, that the author did not indicate in his text, by typographical devices, departures from the MSS, and that he did not indicate, in a short *conspectus lectionum*, how far his text differs from Riese's. The differences appear, in fact, in only about fifteen places; in general Germann's text is the better.

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On pp. 44–74 we have "Bemerkungen zu den einzelnen Sentenzen." The author evidently did not aim to write an exhaustive commentary; many interesting matters of syntax and vocabulary are passed over. Germann was concerned primarily with the thought of the *sententiae;* he adduces parallels from Varro, Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Publilius Syrus, and, above all, from Seneca the philosopher. Chappuis had already noted many parallels from Seneca without, however, realizing their bearing on the question of authorship; to these Germann adds largely. Valuable as this collection of parallels is, one gets the feeling that the author had early made up his mind that the main source of the *sententiae* was Seneca; at any rate he is most diligent in his quest for Senecan parallels. For example, on 138, *Citra perfectionem omne est principium*, he fails to cite such an elaborate foreshadowing of the idea as we have in Cicero Brutus 69–71 (cf. especially 71, *nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum*). Perhaps, too, not sufficient allowance is made for the proverbial character of much of the *sententiae* or for the fact that, since the prevailing philosophy of our collection is Stoic, of necessity most clear-cut parallels will be parallels with Seneca.

Pp. 75–84 deal with the sources. Here the hints scattered throughout the *Bemerkungen* are gathered together. Assuming that his collections of parallels is exhaustive (an unjustifiable assumption, I fear), Germann concludes that Varro is not the source or even an important source; there are few instances in which we can bring our *sententiae* into close and real connection with Varro's known words or thoughts. Again, not one author of all those who, down to the end of antiquity, derived their knowledge directly or indirectly from Varro, cites as Varronian a single *sententia* from our collection. The many parallels between our *sententiae* and Cicero, Germann explains as due to the similarity of the philosophical problems handled both by Cicero and the *sententiae;* besides, in these cases we can regularly cite parallels from other Latin authors: in a word, we are dealing merely with stock themes. There are points of contact between the *sententiae* and Horace, as with Ovid; once, in each case, there is use of the phraseology of these poets. There are more points of contact with Publilius Syrus; sometimes, where there is close resemblance in thought, there is also evidence of metrical form. On p. 79, however, Germann declares plainly his conclusion that "die Werke Senecas tatsächlich als Quelle eines beträchtlichen Teiles der Sammlung zu gelten haben." We have not only parallels in thought, but direct use of Seneca's words and phrases, at times in very different connections (p. 89); see the striking examples gathered on pp. 81–82. On the whole, in spite of my doubt concerning the exhaustiveness of the citations of parallels from authors other than Seneca, I think Germann has made out a case for Seneca as the chief source of these *sententiae*.

The concluding pages, 85–89, deal with the "Entstehung der Spruchsammlung." Here, because the author rightly refuses to indulge in speculation and sticks closely to the few things he can fairly claim to have proven,

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we find little that is definite. Only *sententiae* 1–152, he holds, belonged to the original collection; to cite but one bit of evidence for this view, one MS shows a subscription after 152. Who the author was and when the collection was put together Germann does not attempt to say.

To sum up, we have an interesting book, whose chief merit, apart from its orderly presentation of material, the excellence of its method, and its resolute refusal to claim more than the evidence warrants, lies in the demonstration of the close parallelism, in thought and language both, between the *sententiae* and the philosophical works of Seneca. Thus the belief of Germann's more immediate predecessors in the Varronian authorship of the collection is disproved, and demonstration is made that Teuffel-Schwabe's connection of the *sententiae* with Seneca is, at the least, very much more than a mere guess. It may be added, finally, that the *sententiae* are far from uninteresting in themselves. One oft-repeated thought is that no teacher can be of much value or power who listens to others merely that he may repeat *audita*.

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*Studi Graccani*. By GIUSEPPE CARDINALI. Rome: E. Loescher & Co., 1912. Pp. iv+212.

This book contains four essays on the sources of the history of the Gracchi, the agrarian question in general, the provisions of the *lex Sempronia* and the history of its enforcement. Much has been written of late on this subject, and the critical acumen of the modern German school abundantly exhibited. Cardinali represents a somewhat more conservative tendency, and in discussing the sources of Gracchan history he takes issue with Meyer and Kornemann in particular in their assumption of a single source of the Latin tradition. He maintains that, while Posidonius is the source of the account in Diodorus and the *Auctor ad Herennium*, of the other accounts in Latin authors, in Plutarch and in Appian, there are three distinct Latin sources—the original Latin source of Appian, a pre-Ciceronian, and Livy. The last two appear fused in Valerius Maximus, Florus, Cassius Dio, and perhaps Velleius. The Livian tradition is quite foreign to Plutarch and the *Auctor ad Herennium*. In Plutarch we have the pre-Ciceronian and the original of Appian and perhaps others still.

Hardly any kind of investigation can lead to greater absurdities than that of sources, and Cardinali is to be congratulated on having exhibited more self-restraint and sanity of judgment than some of his predecessors. He refuses to accept Kornemann's Fannius, and does not attempt to eliminate entirely the element of individuality that may be found even in the most slavish of compilers. In general his criticisms are well taken, and his conclusions deserve careful attention. A good illustration of his skill in

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argument is found on pp. 43–44, where he points out how impossible it would have been for any Roman in that stormy period to have risen so far above the strife of party as to write a wholly objective account of the struggle, which should afterward have been accepted as the only adequate source.

The second essay deals with the administration of the *ager publicus* before the Gracchan period, for the purpose of overthrowing Niese's contention that legislation fixing the amount of public land to be held by any individual dated only from a few years before 133 B.C., and formed no part of the Licinian laws of 367. Niese's view has been generally accepted, but Cardinali's discussion of the matter is keen, clear, and in the main convincing. He seems to have shown with reasonable certainty that some form of limitation was contained in the Licinian legislation.

In connection with the provisions of the *lex Sempronia*, Cardinali argues that *possessio* of the *ager publicus* had been enjoyed by *socii* as well as by *cives*, and that the process of confiscation of excess holdings by the state bore harder on the former than on the latter. He agrees with Lange and Beloch, against Mommsen, Kornemann, and Meyer, that *socii* did not participate in the new distribution.

In tracing the history of the *lex Sempronia*, Cardinali takes a position half-way between those who believe that the law was fully carried out, and those who think that, although the *ager publicus* was separated from that rightfully in the hands of individuals, little actual distribution took place. He also maintains with much plausibility that the *lex Thoria* of 111 B.C. was not a reactionary measure as is generally supposed.

S. B. P.

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*Thucydides, Book iv.* Edited by A. W. SPRATT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: The University Press, 1912.

Book iv of Thucydides has been prepared on the same plan as Mr. Spratt's two other books in the "Pitt Press Series," namely Thuc. iii and vi. Below the text at the foot of the page are noted important variants, corrections, and conjectures—especially of Cobet, Hude, van Herwerden, Dobree, Rutherford, and others—although a complete *apparatus criticus* for the book has not been attempted. These footnotes are bare statements of fact. Brief arguments or discussions on disputed points of text are given, when deemed necessary, in connection with the explanatory notes, not reserved for a critical appendix at the end. In fact the appendix—only four pages—is devoted mainly to historical questions. The introduction, which is short—only ten pages—discusses "The Prelude to the Ten Years' War." The explanatory notes are very brief, as a rule, but consistently helpful. Admirable especially are those of an informational character, which on the first mention of an important place give a concise statement of

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its previous history, with noteworthy literature bearing on the subject. See, e.g., the notes on Messene, Locri, and Rhegium in chap. 1. The same is true of the brief biographical notices on the first appearance of historical personages, as, e.g., that on Brasidas in chap. 11. Thucydidean usage is carefully noted everywhere. By this is meant (1) words apparently coined by Thucydides; (2) ἅπαξ εἰρημένα or rare terms; (3) Ionic or poetic words and constructions; (4) peculiarities of Thucydidean syntax. The notes involving all such points show careful and constant use especially of the Classen-Steup commentary. But there is abundant evidence everywhere that Stahl, Shilleto, Krüger, Hude, Boehme-Widmann, Goeller, Bloomfield, Arnold, and Jowett were always consulted. The manifest object has been to give the reader the helps that are really necessary to understanding the text. Praiseworthy lucidity as well as brevity characterizes the notes, and the edition can be heartily recommended as an excellent one for school and college work. The indexes—Greek, 13 pages; English (including names and places) 8 pages, in double columns—are unusually full.

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*Aristarchs Athetesen in der Homerkritik.* By ADOLPH ROEMER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. xii+528. M. 16.

This book is a continuation of the work of over thirty years in which the author has devoted himself with peculiar enthusiasm to the attempted discovery of the true Aristarchus. The results of all this labor are most distressing, since they apparently prove that the scholia in Ven. A, hitherto regarded of unique value in estimating the merits and defects of Aristarchus, are founded on ignorance and dishonesty, also that Aristonicus did not have the ability or the desire to interpret him truthfully, that Didymus was unable to comprehend the great Alexandrian, and lastly that the excerptor, who has preserved in part the comments of Aristarchus as mutilated by Aristonicus and Didymus, was himself ignorant, incompetent, and dishonest. Roemer groups these three, Aristonicus, Didymus, and the excerptor, under the heading "The perfidious and scandalous group of swindlers." How are we to reach the true original through this triple barrier of ignorance and imposture? The attempt is frankly impossible, but here and there certain indications may be found, chiefly in Eustathius, Porphyrius, and Townleanus B, with an occasional hint from Plutarch and Athenaeus, while the supposedly valuable scholia in Ven. A are to be ignored as entirely worthless. No work based on the reliability of Ven. A is of any value, hence this sad verdict on p. 501: "So wenig wie Lehrs hatte Cobet eine Ahnung von der Aristarchischen Exegese."

This book is most difficult reading and demands the widest study in the same field in order to be able to determine the worth of the arguments, a study

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few or none besides the author himself could have made. By the most intricate and erudite comparison of scattered scholia, Eustathius, and Porphyrius, it is shown that Ven. A credits Aristarchus with the very theories which he vigorously fought. Two examples will suffice to show how false these comments of A are.

X 329: *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελίη τάμε χαλκοβάρεια,*
*ὄφρα τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν.*

to which Ven. A has the following: (α) *ἀθετεῖται ὅτι γελοῖος εἰ ἡ μελία ἐπετήδευσε μὴ ἀποταμεῖν τὸν ἀσφάραγον, ἵνα προσφωνήσῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα.* (β) *ἀπολογούμενοι δέ φασιν, ὅτι τὸ ἐκ τύχης συμβεβηκὸς αἰτιατικῶς ἐξενήνοχεν* (Ariston.). By a series of convincing proofs and parallels the author shows that this reading is a distortion of the following: (α) *ἀθετεῖται* [ *ὑπὸ Ζηνοδότου καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους* ], *ὅτι γελοῖος κτλ.* (β) [ *κακῶς · καὶ ἀντιλέγει δ' ὑπομνημάτων Ἀρίσταρχος* ] *ὅτι τὸ κτλ.* Aristarchus is thus charged with the errors of the very men whom he sought to refute. A second and more striking illustration is found in

Ψ 405: *ἤτοι μὲν κείνοισιν ἐριζέμεν οὔ τι κελεύω,*
*Τυδείδεω ἵπποισι δαίφρονος, οἷσιν Ἀθήνη*
*νῦν ὦρεξε τάχος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κῦδος ἔθηκεν.*

*ἀθετοῦνται οἱ δύο · πῶς γὰρ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γενόμενον οἶδεν ὁ Ἀντίλοχος; καὶ τὸ Τυδείδεω ἵπποισιν . . . . δῆλον, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ὁ λόγος* A. Here, by the method followed in the previous example, Roemer shows the true reading should be: (α) *ἀθετοῦνται οἱ δύο* [ *ὑπὸ Ζηνοδότου καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους*]. *πῶς γὰρ κτλ.* (β)[ *ἀντιλέγει δὲ δι' ὑπομνημάτων ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ λέγοντα ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Ἀντίλοχον.*] Aristarchus was not the apostle of the law of analogy, but the opponent, and his position in practically all matters was the reverse of that implied in Ven. A. Thus the structure erected on these scholia by Cobet, Lehrs, and their followers crumbles.

Having removed the errors Roemer tries to give a revaluation of the work of the Alexandrians. His conclusions are as follows, though the foundations on which they rest are admittedly weak, since A is not to be regarded; Zenodotus had no conception of Homer or his times, and so accordingly tried to force him into the mold of a third-century philosopher, and ignoring tradition he emended or excluded verses at will; Aristophanes, though less radical, made no contribution to the appreciation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* Aristarchus was the first to grasp either the functions of an editor or the meaning of Homer. He saw that Homer belonged to a different world in culture, morals, and mythology; accordingly he did not try to fit Homer into the ideas of Alexandria, but let Homer interpret his own age, and advanced the true principle of explaining Homer from Homer. Aristarchus has never been surpassed in the ability and industry with which he investigated epic poetry. He was not understood, since a myth grew up about him that his

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work was done under inspiration, whereas it was the fruit of careful and systematic observations. His work was a mystery to Aristonicus and Didymus, who failed utterly to comprehend the meaning or results of his labors, and their faulty transcripts or comments were in turn mutilated by an incompetent and indolent excerptor. The recovery of Aristarchus, without the discovery of new materials, is impossible.

The results of Roemer's studies are staggering and might well discourage anyone from studying the scholia to Homer, since it is impossible for any but the specialist to rectify a mistake or omission by the ready knowledge of Eustathius, Porphyrius, or outlying comments—comments not referring to the passage in question and whose meaning can be grasped only by the most shrewd combinations.

The importance of the author's work is such that there is a real need that all his writings in this field be collected into a single, compact volume. This is not an impossibility, since Professor Roemer's style is peculiarly adapted to condensation.

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*The Golden Latin Gospels in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.* . . . . Now Edited for the First Time, with Critical Introduction and Notes, and Accompanied by Four Full-Page Facsimiles. By H. C. HOSKIER. New York: Privately Printed, MCMX.

This is a sumptuous and elaborate edition of the beautiful Gospels, written in golden letters on purple vellum, which formerly belonged to the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, and are frequently denominated "Hamilton 251." The present editor adopts the symbol ℘.

The volume contains an Introduction, of over 100 pages, devoted to a description of the manuscript, with detailed comparisons and discussions of other Vulgate MSS in connection with it. This Introduction is followed by Preliminary Remarks, giving different views as to the date and origin of the MS, and a careful, detailed description of the various hands to be distinguished in it, with peculiarities of each. And finally, we have the "Lectiones Variae," a list of peculiar readings, with comparison of a large number of other MSS, quotations from the Fathers, etc.

An Appendix deals with another biblical fragment Ṁ in the Morgan library.

It is a pity that so important a book should be disfigured by the style in which the subject-matter is treated. A serious work for the use of scholars is not the place for the facetiousness and diffuseness which characterize Mr. Hoskier's discussions. His paragraphing is excessive and unsystematic; he often makes independent sentences out of subordinate clauses (e.g. pp. xcv,

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cxii "Whereas," etc.); and too frequently lapses into colloquialisms. A few examples of this latter fault are: "isn't" (p. lxiv), "won't" (p. 58), "pretty good" (p. lxxviii), "friend K" (p. lx), "old friend D" (p. 47), sentences beginning "Well," (pp. cix, 41), and such use of adverbs as "diverge tremendously" (p. xli), "enormously tinged" (p. lx), "problem is terribly complicated" (p. lx), "we miss H terribly" in Mark (p. xxxix), "δ latinizes gloriously" (p. 23), etc.

The confusing tabulations of mere orthographic minutiae side by side with important variants seem to indicate the lack of a final revision and editing, in some parts of the work at least, which would have been highly desirable.

The meaning of the editor's punctuation is not always clear. To take a random case, where is one to find an explanation of the parenthetical marks placed around "Dimma $\mu$" on p. 224, at Luke 11:12?

An example of unsound reasoning is found on p. cvii. Because four MSS omit a given word is no "proof" at all that one of them must have been the basis for the other three.

Mr. Hoskier is wrong in certain points which seem to him to indicate Irish or Anglo-Saxon origin for this MS "ziabolus" (p. xvii) is not especially Irish, nor is "haestis" for "estis" (*ibid.*), both being found in Spain, while "*c*" for "*t*" (*ibid.*) is no evidence of Irish origin (E.A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica*, 1910). The accenting referred to on p. xvii is also Caroline. What evidence is there for his statement that CT, "even if written in Spain were apparently written under Saxon or Irish scribes"? Another error occurs on p. ciii, where he finds ƥ agreeing with CT in reading "existimabo" [extimabo CT] in place of "aestimabo." Now the "extimabo" of the Spanish MSS is not equivalent to the "existimabo" of ƥ, but is, on the contrary, equivalent to "aestimabo," since "aestimabo" and "extimabo" would have been pronounced alike in Spain. Consequently there is no real agreement here. "ius" for "justos" (Luke 5:32) is not an abbreviation, and there is no reason to criticize Traube for not citing it.

In this matter of abbreviations, Mr. Hoskier has passed much too lightly over a most important department. Nowhere does he bring together and classify the abbreviations found in the text, nor draw conclusions from them as regards date or place of writing. And it is well known to students of paleography that these furnish evidence of weight on such matters.

Mr. Hoskier's collations are in the main very accurate. Comparison of his facsimiles with his collation of the parts reproduced shows only one or two minor slips: e.g. in Plate I, col. *a*, l. 1, the MS reads "illi" for "illis": this is omitted in the collation of Matt. 10:29. In Matt. 10:42 (p. 95) Mr. Hoskier reads "agrię" with a cedilla under the "e." No cedilla is visible in the facsimile (Plate I, col. *b*, l. 16).

Occasional corrections of Wordsworth and White testify to the carefulness with which Mr. Hoskier has gathered and compared his material.

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The MS itself is written in a beautiful uncial hand (or hands) on purple vellum of varying shades. Mr. Hoskier is undoubtedly right in distinguishing the writing of many different scribes in the course of the four Gospels. They vary not only in their formation of letters, but in their accuracy of copying, and in a number of peculiarities. One interesting point is the frequent omission of u after q. There are several places where no explanation save that of ordinary carelessness will suffice to account for the reading. Such are, among others, "regunt" for "resurgunt" (Luke 7:22), "rentare" for "renuntiare" (Luke 9:61), "supervenerens" (Luke 11:22), "invens" for "inveniens" (Luke 11:24), "po" for "post" (Luke 12:5), "va" for "vapulabit" (Luke 12:48), "sgnum" for "signum" (Luke 21:7), and "habebanut" for "habebant" (Matt. 13:5, 6).

The question of the handwriting leads naturally to a consideration of the place and time of the production of the MS. Mr. Hoskier believes and argues vigorously that it must have been written in England by English or Irish scribes, and dates it at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century (p. xi). He would have it (with Wattenbach) that this is the same purple and gold manuscript which tradition tells us was made at the bidding of Wilfred, archbishop of York (667–709), and that it is perhaps "the only specimen of a purple and gold MS produced within the borders of England or Ireland" (p. xiv). In no other way can he account for the appearance of certain forms, such as the Irish z, the peculiar and beautiful U, the uu (w), the dotted y, the "carry-up," the accenting of certain phrases, and the agreement with such well-known Irish MSS as DELR, the book of Moling, and others.

In spite of his assertion that his "case is absolutely proved" (p. 8), there still remain grounds for serious doubts as to the correctness of his conclusions. His own admission that "Palaeographically speaking, ꝑ is in a class by itself as regards English and Irish MSS" (p. xv) casts doubt on his theory and the weakness of many of the arguments by which he supports his contention will appear after a little study. Berger speaks the truth when he says that no competent judge would decide on a British origin merely from the Irish or Saxon elements which are to be observed in the MS [*Hist. de la Vulg.*, p. 261]. Irish and Saxon scribes and texts were so numerous in the kingdom of Charlemagne, that the presence of such peculiarities of handwriting need not stand for a moment in the way of the assumption of a Caroline origin. The "w" is to be found outside of England, and Hoskier himself says (p. xv) that no other example of it is known earlier than 800 A.D. Even granting that our form of the U is not (elsewhere) found on the continent at all (p. xv), we are not thereby forced to admit that it could not have been written by Saxon scribes in the north of France. And such peculiarities as the "carry-up," an Irish custom, and the Irish z, are amply accounted for by the hypothesis of Irish scribes on the continent. Nothing in the form of the letters necessarily restricts us to a

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British origin, and there is evidence that it is really a production of the age of Charlemagne. The uncial writing looks Carolingian at first glance. An interesting peculiarity which Mr. Hoskier minimizes is the almost invariable use of the capital "Q" rather than the small form "q." This is a mark of lateness. The early uncial manuscripts use the small "q" freely, while the more artificial hand of the Carolingian revival tends to the use of the "Q" form, as found in our MS. The separation of the LL, while not conclusive, is also evidence in favor of a later date than 700. Further, the lack of any characteristically Irish abbreviations is best to be explained on the ground that it was written for readers who were not entirely accustomed to such abbreviations. There is not a single example of the Irish signs for "autem" or "enim," which are common in all real Irish MSS. Finally, it may be mentioned that not only Berger, but Edward Maunde Thompson and Ludwig Traube, two of the most eminent and learned specialists in paleography, agree in regarding this MS as Carolingian [Thompson *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 41; Traube *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 119]. Lindsay, in a private letter to Professor C. U. Clark, expresses the same view.

As regards the text to be found in ꝑ, its relation to other MSS, and the probable course of its transmission, we have a difficult problem. One cannot attempt to establish the exact relation of this MS to the other Vulgate MSS without long and detailed study of the critical apparatus, backed by a wide knowledge of other MSS, and their relations to each other. But there are a few points which may be mentioned as suggesting what influences may possibly have been at work to form such a text as his. Mr. Hoskier well speaks of the text in its present form as having been "compiled" (p. xcix).

In the first place it is plainly evident that somewhere in the course of text tradition leading up to ꝑ, one or more Irish MSS have been employed (Berger *op. cit.* 261). This is indicated by the frequent and striking similarities which exist between our MS and many of the principal Irish MSS. A few cases out of many are: Luke 9:54; 23:28; John 1:34; 13:26, p. 32; 20:19, etc. Another interesting point is in the treatment of the adverbs "autem," "enim" and others. "Autem," for instance, is frequently omitted, in passages where such omission is unique, as in Matt. 17:26; 19:9 Luke 7:20; John 18:5, 15, etc. Sometimes "enim" is omitted, as in Matt. 18:11; Luke 12:2; 21:8, etc. Again, confusion seems to exist where we have "autem" for "vero," Matt. 19:14, or "vero" for "autem," Matt. 26:58, or "autem" for "ergo," John 4:52, or "autem" for "enim," Matt. 7:29 or "ergo" for "enim," John 5:13. Such readings as these seem most satisfactorily explained on the hypothesis that at one time or another, or at different times, during the transmission of the text, some Irish manuscript, with the characteristic Irish abbreviations, was used as a source, and that these abbreviations were not always clear to the copyist, being sometimes omitted and sometimes confused. The orthography also frequently shows

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Irish influence, as in the reducing of double to single letters, as "eset," Luke 22:23, "saculum," Luke 22:36; "acusarent," Luke 6:7, "dinitere," Luke 4:19, "egresus," Mark 8:27, etc.

Traces of Spanish influence are also visible. The parent text may have been corrected from a Spanish MS. The most striking examples of this are to be seen in the addition of an initial "h," which occurs not infrequently. Thus we have "honera," Matt. 23:4, "hedis," Matt. 25:32, "habiit," (with C), John 10:40, "hibi," Luke 6:6, "holiveti," Luke 19:29, "hodit" (with C) John 12:25; cf. also "abenti," Luke 19:26, "ortus" (for "hortus"), John 18:1, etc.

We may perhaps also be justified in suspecting the existence of a parallel correction, of our MS. In Mark 11:33, we have "ei" for "lesu": unique among Latin versions, but having Greek authority. Similarly in Luke 20:1, the omission of "in templo" is paralleled in Greek, though not in Latin, MSS of the Gospels. There is Greek authoriy also for "ad illos," in place of "illis" in Luke 3:14.

We may offer the following, then, as a conjectural account of the text of ꝑ. Originally based on a very old Latin version (for, as Mr. Hoskier shows, there are many points of agreement with the old MS "a"), it was influenced by the Greek text, copied by Irish scribes, perhaps corrected once by a Spaniard, and finally recopied, under Charlemagne, into its present form.

In summary, the book, though containing some faults of style and some, we think, erroneous conclusions, is a valuable edition, and deserves praise. The MS ꝑ itself is a very interesting one, and should have further study, with a view to clearing up, if possible, the disputed points in connection with its origin, and to showing, as far as may be, its proper place as regards its text. For such investigations Mr. Hoskier's work will furnish an excellent starting-point.

ARTHUR H. WESTON

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*Wahrheit und Kunst Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum.* Von DR. HERMANN PETER. Leipzig-Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1911. Pp. xii+490.

The title selected for his volume by the erudite author might suggest somewhat unrelated essays gathered together for convenience of publication, prefaced with a statement of the conventional sort designed to exercise the imagination of the reader in a vain effort to discover the alleged thread of logical connection between them. Quite the contrary, however, is true: for what Dr. Peter presents is the drama, or if you will, the tragedy of Truth enacted in the course of ancient historiography, in five acts as follows: the slow and labored travail of her birth, retarded by religious and moral ideals which found their fulfilment in creations of beauty; her youthful vigor,

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championed by philosophers, and brought to maturity by Herodotus and Thucydides; her eclipse through the frivolous devotion of the Sophists to the specious, and the desire to delight and entertain cultivated in the schools of rhetoric; her deliberate betrayal by the historians of Alexander, who aimed in part to flatter the king and in part affected the marvelous for the sake of winning popular approval; finally, her all but absolute extinction under the dead weight of accumulated tradition, varied solely to simulate research and to allow full scope for the exercise of the graces of style. Truth forever on the scaffold; Rhetoric forever on the throne: such, except for rare moments when, as if to fan the dying embers of hope, the cause of Truth appears to enjoy a brief triumph, is the sad tale which our author unfolds. In the last chapter of the book, however, which assumes the rôle of the theophany of a *deus ex machina*, Dr. Peter extracts from after ages a prophecy *ex eventu*, allowing the light of Christian teaching and the brilliancy of modern historiography to fall upon the dark backward and abysm of time.

As our author himself well says in his preface, his subject lies along the marches between history proper and the history of literature. Although well-nigh all ancient historians are passed in review, we are concerned neither with their personalities nor with their writings, except to inquire into the truthfulness of the one and the truth of the other. Especial attention is directed to three points: (1) the means employed by the historian in quest of the truth; (2) the steps taken by him to convince the public of his truthfulness and the truth or accuracy of his record; (3) the artistic or conventional devices adopted by him in setting forth the truth to render it convincingly vivid and objective. Under the first head are considered the extent of the historian's direct knowledge and the character and use of such other sources of information as he possessed; under the second, accounts of personal experiences, autopsy, and the citation of authorities, real or fictitious; under the third, such tricks of invention as the introduction of speeches by Thucydides and the rhetorical means employed to lend vividness and the color of truth to the narrative. Thus we pass continually from considerations of style and ethics to questions of fact. As the indication of the historian's sources serves to filiate him with his predecessors, so Dr. Peter's survey, by noting his influence on his successors, assigns him his organic place in the total evolution of tradition. From this it becomes at once obvious how concrete and valuable is this study of ancient historiography to every scholar, whether his primary interest be in political history or in the development of aesthetic and moral ideals. This concreteness of treatment comes out with especial force in contrast with Stemplinger's *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*, with which by its title it compels comparison. Chap. xiii. of Dr. Peter's book deals with the same subject and every candid reader will prefer its brief, succinct statement to the drawn-out treatise which won the Munich prize.

It is inevitable that in such a book there should be innumerable points

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on which specialists will take issue with the author. One who, like the reviewer, is not a specialist and would modestly restrict his claim to competence as a judge to the relatively small field of the chief Greek and Roman historians, must content himself with a question or two. In speaking of Hecataeus (p. 38) and the younger Pherecydes (p. 48), Dr. Peter seems to regard Γενεαλογίαι as a more correct title than Ἱστορίαι, although neither is in his opinion authentic. This view assumes a radical difference between the terms which did not exist; for ἱστορία was γενεαλογία (cf. my Περὶ Φύσεως, p. 86, n. 32). Again, our author accepts as genuine (p. 61) the Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις attributed to Callisthenes, which many, including the writer, hold to be spurious. In the same way he quotes (p. 81) as authentic Democritus, fr. 299 D., which Diels with good reason rejects, and renders γραμμέων συνθέσιος (query: does he propose to read συνέσιος?) with "Deutung von Schriftstücken," which Diels is certainly right in translating "Zusammensetzung der Linien." A few bad misprints also occur, as when (p. 62) the death of Callisthenes is dated 357 instead of 327. Many will no doubt challenge Dr. Peter's views (pp. 136 ff.) regarding the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, which he dates before Theopompus. Here the writer is inclined to follow him, however, because he can detect no signs of Isocratean influences on style or method.

The matters discussed in the introductory first chapter, which deals with Greek religion and ethics, are susceptible of very divergent evaluation, depending on the point of view and the temper of the student. To the writer the treatment of the same general theme in Farnell's *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion* seems to be both more sympathetic and more intelligent. Dr. Peter's discussion compels one to picture him as a German Protestant of the old school who can conceive of moral training in the form only of doctrinal sermons and the regulation *Religionsunterricht*. He has a whole-hearted love of truth and hates a lie with perfect hatred. All rhetoric is *vom Übel*, and his ideal of history is that of the specialist utterly devoted to the dispassionate and methodical determination of the "facts." He accords somewhat reluctantly, perhaps constrained by the recollection of his own boyhood enthusiasm (p. 31), a certain educational value to history depicted in warm colors, which may even now foster a spirit of patriotism. To be sure, he adds, we long ago discarded the favorite ancient means of euphonious language and artistic form. He hardly deplores the loss, though in his final sentence he exclaims: "Glücklich derjenige, der für den Vortrag ihrer [der methodischen Geschichtsforschung] Ergebnisse eine starke Persönlichkeit mitbringt und auch noch die gestaltende Kraft eines Künstlers besitzt, um das ästhetische Gefühl zu befriedigen." It is hardly necessary to add that the book under review, with all its merits, possesses none of the graces of style, which its author views with so much suspicion.

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*Griechische Forschungen I.* Die Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialektinschriften in Vergleich mit den Nebensätzen in der griechischen Literatur, und die Gebildetensprache im Griechischen und Deutschen. Von EDWARD HERMANN. Teubner, 1912. M. 10.

A preface dedicates the work to Professor Berthold Delbrück on his seventieth birthday, and explains the origin of the undertaking and the circumstances attending its execution.

The first chapter, or *Abschnitt* as he calls it, is devoted to a discussion of the question what a *Nebensatz* (subordinate clause) really is. The chapter is largely taken up with a polemic against Dittmar (*Syntaktische Grundfragen*).

The essential part of the work begins with the second chapter. Here are collected examples of every kind of subordinate clause found in the inscriptions of all the dialects except Attic, and Attic is omitted because it is so voluminous and is well provided for by Meisterhans-Schweizer. The subordinating conjunctions and relatives are arranged in alphabetical order, and the countries or cities where the inscriptions were found are named in what we may call geographical order, each dialect forming a separate paragraph. As a rule only one or two examples are cited in each instance. The author follows, in the arrangements of the dialects, A. Thumb, *Dialekte der griechischen Dialekte.*

In the third chapter are illustrated the subordinate clauses in Greek literature. Here the same method is continued, and Attic is represented. The author acknowledges special obligations to Schwarz's *Beiträge* for the material presented in this chapter.

In the fourth chapter is discussed the problem of the relations existing among the various kinds of speech—that of inscriptions, that of literature, the cultivated language, and the speech of the people. The discussion is worth the perusal of all Hellenists. It is divided into sections as follows: A, "The Earlier Language of the Inscriptions"; B, "The Origin of the Spoken Common Language [*Gemeinsprache*] in Ancient Greek and in German"; C, "The Greek Literary Tongues" (*Literatursprachen*). In this chapter the German dialects are discussed and the evolution of the universal written (printed) German investigated. The author describes at length his own experiences as one who in childhood spoke the dialect of Coburg.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the relative pronouns and subordinating conjunctions in the Greek dialects. Here we find no longer the bare citation of examples, but elaborate discussions. The sections are as follows: A, "The Relative Pronouns"; in this section there is a long treatment of the assimilation of the relative; B, "The Local Particles except $\tilde{\eta}$"; C, "The Modal and Comparative Particles except $\tilde{\eta}$, $\tilde{\eta}$"; D, "The Conditional Particles and $\tilde{\eta}$, $\tilde{\eta}$"; it will be noted that $\tilde{\eta}$ and not $\tilde{\eta}$ is purposely written;

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in C and D there are long discussions of the usage of several words, notably ὡς and conditional particles. E, "Explicative Particles"; F, "Temporal Particles"; G, "The Remaining Later Subordinating Particles."

In the sixth chapter is investigated the origin from earlier speech of the relative and the subordinating particles in Greek, or, as the author puts it, "Das Relativum und die Nebensatzpartikeln im Vorurgriechischen."

The work is provided with elaborate tables exhibiting the localities where the various words discussed were used.

This book is the result of enormous labor controlled by sound judgment. The bibliography of the subject is illustrated by a long table of abbreviations.

While this work would not render great service on any single topic, it ought, as a general survey, to be in the hands of every Hellenist who ventures to leave the beaten path of Greek studies.

M. W. H.

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*Itinerarstudien.* Von ANTON ELTER. Bonn: Carl Georgi.

The greater part of this monograph is devoted to an attempt to establish the thesis that the *Antonine Itinerary* in the form in which it has come down to us is a pilgrims' itinerary; that it was arranged with the specific purpose of providing pilgrims and those interested in pilgrimages with a conspectus of the roads by which Jerusalem could be reached from all parts of the Roman Empire. This is a wholly new view of the document, which has always been considered a somewhat defective general road-book of the empire, intended for the use of merchants, officials, and travelers of all sorts and conditions.

Elter does not establish his thesis. Just as in his monograph on Horace's *Donarem pateras*, his arguments, though often plausible and ingenious, rest on evidence that either shows a glaring defect in some detail or is in general too flimsy to be considered seriously. As the first step in his contention he points out that the route from Milan to Palestine in the *Antonine Itinerary* is practically identical with that in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, except for the fact that the less important stations (the *mutationes*) are omitted in the former. As the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* is known to have been compiled especially for pilgrims from Bordeaux to Jerusalem in the year 333 A.D., this similarity, in Elter's opinion, furnishes conclusive evidence that the *Antonine Itinerary* also was thrown into its present form for the use of pilgrims. This argument would be of some weight, if it were not for the fact that the similarity between the two itineraries in regard to this route ceases at the very point where for Elter's theory it should be most conspicuous. In the *Antonine Itinerary* this road does not go through to Jerusalem at all, but passing through Caesarea Palestina runs into Egypt. Jerusalem is not the terminus of any of the main routes of the itinerary. It is mentioned only once as a way-station on a relatively unimportant road, and on that occasion is called by its old pagan name Aelia. This fact alone is of sufficient importance to discredit Elter's theory.

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*Der erste platonische Brief.* (Sonderabdruck aus *Philologus*, LXXII (N.F. XXVI), erstes Heft.) Von OTTO IMMISCH. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913. Pp. 41.

It would be claiming too much to affirm that Professor Immisch has here definitely disposed of the vexed question of the Platonic *Letters*. But he clearly indicates the method by which the problem must be attacked and offers the most plausible solution that has yet been proposed. He wastes no time in proving that the *Letters* in their present form could not have been written by Plato. The recent repeated reaffirmation by eminent scholars of the genuineness of the entire *corpus*, including the superstitious mysticism of ii and the disingenuousness of xiii, which Ficinus scorned to translate, is enough to make us despair of the progress of philology. Whatever genuine paragraphs or sentences they may contain, the *Letters* as they stand are the work of a compiler. To understand his work, argues Professor Immisch, we must ascertain his motive. The *Letters* are philosophical epistles, not biographical documents. In the tetralogies they are grouped with the *Laws*, and their intended supplemental relation to the political philosophy of the *Laws* resembles that of the *Epinomis* to the Institution of the Nocturnal Council. A much debated passage of the *Laws*, 739 A ff., distinguishes a first or ideal or paradeigmatic state, a second state, which is the "hypothetical" state of the *Laws*, and a third state-system or political theory which Plato seems to promise to expound, if old age allows. Professor Immisch argues that in Plato's view this third exposition of political theory would treat of the rectification or reformation by counsel or admonition, of existing erroneous or diseased governments. He shows that the *Epistles*, which contain much of this kind of admonition adapted to various political situations, might plausibly be regarded as the fulfilment of this program. That they were in fact so interpreted in later Platonic tradition he proves from Apuleius and a sentence of the so-called, Ἀλκινόου εἰσαγωγή, XXXIV, which I quote somewhat more fully than he does: ὑπογράφει δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πολιτείας ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, ὧν ἐστὶν ἥ τε ἐν Νόμοις καὶ ἡ ἐκ διορθώσεως ἐν Ἐπιστολαῖς ἣ χρῆται πρὸς τὰς νενοσηκυίας πόλεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις. The design indicated by these converging lines of argument he attributes to the compiler of the *Letters*. When was the collection made? Professor Immisch deduces a *terminus post quem* from the first letter, which obviously cannot be attributed either to Plato or to Dion, but which describes, he thinks, a definite historical situation too precisely to be dismissed as a mere rhetorical exercise. He finds this situation exactly reproduced in the relations of the Spartan Dexippus to Dionysius the Elder as described in Diodorus xiii. 85–96, to whom, therefore, he assigns the substance but not the present form of the letter. The rhetoric and display of sophistical erudition are too silly not only for the practical statesman Dexippus, but even for that "Pusillus Thucydides" Philistus. It is the kind of rhetorical *Umstilisierung*

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which we look for in the μειρακιώδες and διατριβικόν style of Timaeus, and as an ornament of his history composed at Athens after 317, we may plausibly conceive this precious epistle of Dexippus. Thence the compiler of the Platonic *Letters* took it, first because he had no epistles of Plato addressed to the elder Dionysius and, second, because it illustrates a necessary topic of the collection, the warnings, the admonitions to be addressed to one who is about to seize upon a tyranny. The compilation of the *Epistles* falls then somewhere between Timaeus and Aristophanes in the first half of the third century. The probable motive and the possible source of each letter are subjects for special investigations and the hypothesis of genuineness must be studied separately for each case, nay for each sentence.

Such are the main conclusions of this interesting paper, the value of which to the inquirer in this field is quite independent of his adhesion to some of its more venturesome combinations.

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# Classical Philology

VOLUME VIII *October, 1913* NUMBER 4

## ON CIC. *FAM.* XV. 20, VERG. (?) *CATAL.* 10, AND VENTIDIUS

BY ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

Twenty years ago W. Sternkopf conclusively demonstrated that Cicero's letter to Trebonius, *Fam.* XV. 20, was written at the very end of the year 46 B.C., or the beginning of 45, when Trebonius had set out from Rome to go by way of Gaul to Caesar, who was then engaged in the Spanish war. It is not necessary to rehearse Sternkopf's argument, with which in general the present writer agrees. But the argument was not sufficient to convince Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser (*Correspondence of Cicero*, V, 221 f.), who "with much hesitation . . . . thought it best to adhere to the ordinary view which places this letter in April 710 (44), especially as that date suits the time at which Ventidius Bassus may be assumed to have commenced his candidature for the praetorship." Mr. Purser, in his Oxford text of the *Letters*, though he wisely alters many dates assigned in the Tyrrell-Purser edition, yet clings to this, but with some hesitation. The joint editors of the *Correspondence* make but an unsatisfactory answer to a few of the points advanced by Sternkopf, and it is easy to see that their conviction in favor of "the ordinary view," as they term it, rests finally upon their interpretation of the first paragraph of the letter, which Sternkopf left in this aspect untouched. That this is the last defence of their stronghold appears plainly in the final clause of their statement quoted above,



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and in the notes that follow in their edition. It is with this introductory paragraph, accordingly, that I have ventured to deal in this paper.

Cicero's words at the opening of his letter are as follows: "'Oratorem' meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tuo commendaui: natio me hominis impulit ut ei recte putarem—nisi forte candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus hoc subito cognomen arripuit; etsi modestus eius uultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a Curibus uidebatur. Sed de Sabino satis." That is, Cicero has entrusted a copy of his recently finished treatise, "Orator" (for this is the title that he has finally decided upon), to a certain Sabinus, a friend or agent of Trebonius, for transmission to the latter person. The name Sabinus, as indicating his origin from the traditionally rude but upright country-people of Sabinum, created a presumption that he was an honest and trustworthy man—"unless, indeed, he too has followed the fashion of our candidates for office, and has recently and arbitrarily adopted 'Sabinus' as a cognomen—but yet his unassuming bearing and straightforward speech had a smack of Cures, and so he is probably a genuine Sabinus and not a pretender."

We evidently have here a little side-jest, in the frequent fashion of Cicero's humor, upon the action of some recent candidate, or candidates, for office, who, having no inherited *cognomen*, have adopted one in order (so we must apparently understand Cicero) to further the chances of their candidacy by appearing more in the fashion of the higher circles of society. We are left to guesses in the matter, for there is no other extant reference to the assumption of a lacking *cognomen* for election purposes, although instances are by no means unknown of the addition of a *cognomen* within historical times to the *nomen* which had been borne without suffix by the particular man's ancestors. That *cognomina*, like "Sabinus" itself, at the time of their first assumption not infrequently denoted local origin is a commonplace of knowledge. This particular Sabinus, a mere agent or dependent of Trebonius, a man of evidently humble position and unknown to Cicero before this interview, is not elsewhere mentioned.

But Fr. Bücheler thought something more could be made of the name, if not of the man. In an article on the Vergilian *Catalepton*

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printed in the *Rheinisches Museum* thirty years ago (XXVIII [1883], 518 f.) he argues that Cicero's quip can only mean that some candidate of the day had assumed the particular *cognomen* Sabinus, and he essays to identify this putative Sabinus *candidatus* with a certain mule-driver who is the subject of an amusing parody (Verg. *Catal.* 10 [8]) of the fourth poem of Catullus (Mommsen says that Bücheler follows Victorius in this). Petrus Victorius (1499–1584) had three centuries earlier suggested the identification of the aforesaid mule-driver with a certain Publius Ventidius, who is a solid and substantial historical personage of Ciceronian times. The suggestion first put forth by Victorius has been adopted without active dissent by most later scholars who have had occasion to touch upon the matter.[1] In identifying further the Cataleptic mule-driver with the putative Sabinus *candidatus* of this letter of Cicero, Bücheler furnished, as he thought, a datum for proving what had heretofore rested only on conjecture, that Cicero's letter to Trebonius (*Fam.* xv. 20) was written in April, 44. Theodor Mommsen came to the support of Bücheler in his identifications, though he would assign Cicero's letter to an earlier date. Mommsen's article (*Hermes*, XXVIII [1893], 604 ff.) was printed at about the same time as that of Sternkopf, and apparently neither of these two writers could have known the other's work in advance of his own publication. Why Sternkopf, in 1893, did not even mention the argument of Bücheler put forth ten years earlier, I am unable to say; but perhaps he had overlooked it because it was buried in the middle of some notes on the *Catalepton*.

We have, then, propounded for our acceptance a triple identification: Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter = the mule-driver of the *Catalepton* = Ventidius. Sabinus *candidatus* can be connected with

[1] Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, II³, 15) says: "Dieser [*sc.* Ventidius] selbst oder ein Mann von ganz ähnlicher Laufbahn ist der ehemals Quinctio, nun Sabinus genannte Emporkömmling, etc." E. Baehrens, on the other hand (*PLM*, II, 33), thinks on the whole that the Vergilian parody is directed against, not Ventidius, but "in Sabinum, ut mihi uidetur, praeceptorem, qui ex mulione factus erat Cremonae ludi magister simulque decurionis munere fungebatur." Th. Birt (*Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* [Teubner, 1910], pp. 114 ff.), to be sure, rejects the identification of the mule-driver with Ventidius, but treats the question so briefly and incompletely, and varies in so many points from my understanding, that perhaps there is good excuse for further discussion.

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Ventidius only through the illustrious mule-driver. If, then, either of the two connecting links in the triplet fails, the career of Ventidius cannot be cited in proof of the dating assigned to the letter of Cicero in which Sabinus appears. The validity of the identification is, then, the point at issue.

We may now conveniently contemplate for a moment the mule-driver. The fourth poem of Catullus details the valorous adventures of the yacht which brought him home from Bithynia to Italy, and was in all probability written professedly as an inscription to accompany the votive offering at Sirmio of a model or picture of the vessel itself. The well-known parody substitutes for the *phasellus* a mule-driver, and lauds his swift and faithful journeyings through the swampy trails that lay in the region of Cremona, Brixia, and Mantua. He was thus continuously occupied during his active life in the center of the Transpadane country, and he is further said to have been a native of that region (*ultima ex origine | tua* [sc. *Gallia*] *stetisse dicit in uoragine*). This last is a point to be observed. He has now, however, apparently set up in some temple a votive offering of a statuette or picture of himself. The reason for the offering may well have been his preservation from some specific danger in the pursuit of his calling, or the offering may have been (and this is the more inherently satisfactory supposition) in general recognition of divine protection in the past, and made when the mule-driver was retiring from active service to enjoy his accumulated earnings, as the *phasellus* of Catullus had professedly finished its toils. The temple appears, however, to have been one of Castor and Pollux, protectors from perils at sea. Perhaps the greatest danger of his career had been actually on, or in, the water (floods were common enough in that region), and in the lack of a temple or shrine of a more proper fresh-water deity, the mule-driver chose for his offering the next best place.[1] Perhaps the specific temple was an invention

[1] It will be remembered that only twelve miles to the eastward of Cremona, between it and Mantua, there was a place called *ad Castoris* (Suet. *Otho* 9; *Castorum*, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24; *Castores*, Oros. vii. 8), apparently so named from a temple of the twin deities. It is natural to guess that this was the particular shrine honored by the retiring *mulio* (so also Birt). (Surely the idea of L. Herr, advanced in *Revue de Philologie*, XVII [1893], 208 ff., that the place was named from a beaver-dam in the vicinity, must be rejected, supported as it was also by erring statements about Latin usage.)

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or adaptation for the occasion of the parodist, because Castor and his twin-brother were the deities of the Catullian poem. But I should prefer to think that the mule-driver's offering to the *Castores* was the precise incident which prompted some town-wit (probably of Cremona) to exercise his skill in travesty. The poem of Catullus, composed in that same general region by the brilliant local poet, lay ready at hand, needing only a few changes to fit it for circulation and the laughter of dinner parties. Furthermore, another item of gaiety lay in the fact that the mule-driver's chosen artist had, perhaps in ignorant following of the pattern of some dignified aristocrat's statue, represented the mule-driver as sitting in an ivory (curule?) chair! The absurdity of the figure was admirably complete. Hence in place of the Catullian *nunc recondita | senet quiete, seque dedicat tibi, | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*, we have solemnly for the mule-driver, *nunc eburnea | sedetque sede, seque dedicat tibi, | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*. Thus there is mule-driver for yacht, perils for perils, retirement for retirement, picture (or statuette) for picture (or model), and temple for temple. If parodies are ever justified, this one surely was.

I have thus given a general interpretation of the parody with what seems to be the most direct and simple and consistent view of it. Of course one must concede the possibility that in this or that point where I have suggested parallelism, no such precisely significant accord between original and parody actually existed, and the language of the latter arbitrarily reproduced the language of the former. One may go farther yet, and believe that the mule-driver is a mere "phliz," a figment of the parodist's imagination, and that the whole parody is but a humorous exercise in composition. But any middle ground between a theory of interpretation consistent throughout and the belief in the artificial nature of the whole thing is uncertain, and may well be challenged as unreasonable. Certainly the arbitrary selection of a point or two, the shaping of these in a less natural sense, and then the building of an expansive superstructure of reasoning upon this frail foundation in defiant disregard of incompatible details just as clearly asserted in the original document—this process surely ought not to command ready assent. Yet that is precisely what has been done by the followers of Victorius.

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Victorius, as I have already said, suggested that the Transpadane mule-driver might be Ventidius, a contemporary of Cicero. Ventidius had an eventful career, and is perhaps better known because his history formed part of the stock in trade of the ancient moralists. His rise from humble station to be tribune, praetor, pontifex, consul, provincial governor, victorious general, *triumphator*, and then in no long time thereafter the object of a *funus publicum*, is set forth in detail in the usual handbooks (e.g., Pauly, *Realenc.*) with full reference to authorities, and may there be studied. Only a few points of his biography need hold our attention in this connection.

Ventidius is said to have earned his living in early years by letting conveyances to Roman officials passing back and forth through Picenum. In other words, he was a postmaster. Hence Plancus (Cic. *Fam.* x. 18. 3), who was on the opposite side in the earlier days of 43 B.C., sneers at Ventidius as a mule-driver (*mulio*, the same word used in the Vergilian parody); furthermore, the elder Pliny (*N.H.* vii. 135) quotes Cicero as authority in a characterization of Ventidius as a *mulio*, and this referring to a time when Ventidius was in charge of the transportation of supplies for Caesar's army. There is a great difference between the proprietor of a livery-stable for Roman officials and a common mule-driver, and a greater difference between a mule-driver and a chief of transportation and friend of Caesar. Doubtless the derisive epithet *mulio* flung at Ventidius by Plancus, then confronting him in the field, and (if it be so) by Cicero, whom Ventidius had virulently opposed, is not to be understood literally (in the face of other and ample authority), but only as a common enough forensic pejorative (cf. also the popular catch referred to by Gell. xv. 4, which of course can have no historical value).

It is enough, however, that Ventidius could be called in derision a mule-driver. Now enters the ivory chair to help on the identification by the one really necessary point of connection. The "mule-driver" Ventidius has actually arrived (or nearly so) at the praetorship, and is, or will be, entitled to sit in an ivory curule chair: if now the ivory chair of the real mule-driver from Transpadana be truly a curule chair, and he be understood to be sitting there *in propria persona*, and not merely in effigy, what more

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convincing identification could be desired? The Transpadane mule-driver has not retired from active life; he has only retired from mule-driving. His sphere is now politics and statecraft; he administers justice from the praetor's tribunal in Rome, in the Forum before the Temple of Castor. Hence the concluding words, *seque dedicat tibi, gemelle Castor* (*Catal.* 10. 25, 26)—so Bücheler suggests.

There is the forging of the link between the Transpadane mule-driver and Ventidius. Now we may turn to the link between the mule-driver and the Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter. In the fourth poem of Catullus a phrase runs, *ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit | comata silua:* in the parody this becomes, *ubi iste post Sabinus ante Quintio*, etc. That is, the mule-driver was formerly known as Quintio—patently a slave-name (cf. Bücheler, *loc. cit.*)—but now calls himself Sabinus, a name of evident respectability. Bücheler seized upon this common element of name, together with the allusion to candidates assuming *cognomina*, and argues, "hoc patet non texturum fuisse Ciceronem ab eo nomine hoc exordium, nisi tum inter candidatos fuisset qui Sabinum se transnominasset." Therefore *Sabinus candidatus = Sabinus mulio = Ventidius praetor, quod erat demonstrandum.*

It would be very interesting indeed, if only this could be regarded as a demonstration. But unfortunately that is very far from being the case. Let us proceed to the examination of the individual items of correspondence, and first of all the case of the hypothetical Sabinus *candidatus*. Cicero speaks with humorous exaggeration, as if it were a common practice with candidates nowadays to don an additional name as they would a fresh toga. Of course such an actual state of things is manifestly impossible; otherwise we should hear more about it. Evidently some one man was charged with having thus equipped his bare *nomen* and *praenomen*. Bücheler holds it perfectly evident (*hoc patet*) that this particular man must have surnamed himself Sabinus. On the contrary, I submit that if the *candidatus* were a freshly dubbed Sabinus, Cicero's expression would naturally have been quite different. He would have made his little jest much more pointed, by intimating, not that the Sabinus of Trebonius was possibly another example of a group of cases, but that he may perhaps be a plagiarist upon the actual case of the

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current *candidatus*. I cannot hold it conceivable that the *candidatus* could have called himself by this particular name without that felicitous point leaving an unmistakable trace in Cicero's form of expression. Bücheler was clearly under the spell of the Transpadane mule-driver, and determined to twist Cicero's words into the direction that would lead toward the enticing theory of identification. Furthermore, it should be carefully noted that in Cicero's letter there is no mention of a change of one *cognomen* for another, but only of the assumption of a *cognomen* by a man who previously had none. When Bücheler speaks of a change of name here (*qui Sabinum se transnominasset*) he is falsifying the evidence in order to make *Sabinus candidatus* fit *Sabinus mulio* of the *Catalepton*, who had changed his name instead of merely taking one on. To insist on interpreting the Cicero passage against its plain wording by using the *Catalepton* parody, and then to start backward through the *Catalepton* to the history of Ventidius, is much like an *argumentum in circulo*. The only link of connection between the *candidatus* and the mule-driver is the chance use of the name Sabinus in the neighborhood of the reference to the *candidatus*, to whom it could not possibly refer, and the kinship (about the degree of which Roman custom, if not law, would have something to say) between assuming a *cognomen* where none had previously existed, and changing one already in possession. But these two are not possibly the same thing. To assume a virtue if you have it not is a very different thing from changing your virtue for a vice.

Bücheler, then, is guilty of pursuing at all hazards a seductive will-o'-the-wisp. The *candidatus* of Cicero's letter can have no possible connection with the Transpadane mule-driver, and hence (even a fortiori, as I shall show) none with Ventidius. Therefore the case for the support of the dating of Cicero's letter by dates in the career of Ventidius falls to the ground, and so far as my interest is that of a critic of the chronology of the *Letters*, I might stop my note here, with the remark that Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser appear to have no valid objection at further command against the acceptance of Sternkopf's dating of *Fam.* xv. 20.

But the identification of the Transpadane mule-driver with Ventidius has been so commonly accepted, in spite of evident and

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frequently recognized difficulties, that I am tempted to speak of that also. Let us proceed to compare particulars—and for the sake of brevity I refer in general for ancient authorities on Ventidius to the *apparatus* published in the biographies (Pauly, etc.).

Ventidius is called Ventidius Bassus by the only authors that give his *cognomen* (Gell., Eutrop.): the *mulio* called himself Sabinus. Ventidius is nowhere said to have changed his name: the *mulio* had changed his, and a particular point is made of it. The father of Ventidius was apparently a man of station, a leader of his countrymen in the Marsian War against Rome: the original name of the *mulio* is one of servile origin. Ventidius was born and brought up in Picenum: the *mulio* was born and brought up in Transpadana. Ventidius had been a postmaster, and later a chief of transportation, but never a *mulio* (though his enemies sometimes scoffingly called him so): the *mulio* had notoriously never been anything but a *mulio* (*tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima*). Ventidius as a child had been carried a prisoner to Rome, and later had been actively engaged with Caesar's army in Gaul and elsewhere: the *mulio* had never stepped foot out of the morasses of his native region. Ventidius was never out of active life from the moment when Caesar took him under his command till his death in the thirties: the *mulio*, unless we violently wrest the parody out of all correspondence with the Catullian original in order to make it agree in at least some one point with the career of Ventidius, had retired from mule-driving to a *dolce far niente*. Ventidius was elected praetor and consul, and so had a right to a curule chair, which was traditionally of ivory: the *mulio* celebrated his retirement by a votive offering of a representation of himself seated in an ivory chair—unless again we are to interpret the parody by Ventidius and not by Catullus.

But enough of these antitheses. Where is the sufficient resemblance to cancel and sweep them away? Nowhere except in the imagination of some moderns whose ears have been caught by the purely verbal tinkle of *mulio*, *mulio*, and who are willing to disregard all contradictions, and in addition to wreck all possible sense in a clever parody, in order to try to bolster up an entirely gratuitous hypothesis. Not merely one link in the triplet of identification, but both links, fail utterly.

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For good measure a few further comments may be added. A curule chair was traditionally of ivory, but not every ivory chair was curule, though any ivory chair would have been a possession of wealth and luxury, probably beyond the means of a retired mule-driver. Whether the portrayed *rentier* was actually ensconced in a curule chair, or that detail was a malicious invention or exaggeration of the parodist, I am unable to decide. I certainly do not believe, as Baehrens and Birt do, that the *mulio* had passed upward from mule-driving to be decurion of Cremona or of any other place. The parallelism with the career of the *phasellus* forbids any such brilliant elevation after the *mulio's* retirement from his lifelong occupation amid the marshes of Transpadana.

Bücheler interpreted the concluding words of the parody (*seque dedicat tibi | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*) to mean that the mule-driver-praetor now sat in judgment before the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome (*agit publice pro aede Castoris*). To say nothing of a considerable difference between sitting in court before Castor's temple and dedicating oneself to a deity who had no connection with law, the site of the praetor's tribunal in the Roman Forum is well known from excavations as well as from a few references in ancient authors. It was far from Castor's temple, being near the place where the column of Phocas now stands (cf., e.g., Kiepert-Hülsen, *Formae*). Unfortunately, therefore, the interpretation of the parody is left seriously mangled, so far as Bücheler's efforts are concerned. This is, indeed, particularly grievous, because the reference to Castor and his twin is the only point of connection that Bücheler can cite between the career of the *phasellus* of Catullus and the career of Ventidius. All the other items of possible comparison (they are, in fact, only two—the *mulio* and the ivory chair) reach no further back from Ventidius than to the parody. Now a parody may be amusing in itself, on account of the grotesqueness of its transformation of the original—as a sort of exercise in "grinning through a horsecollar." But a parody that is supposedly framed as a satire on a certain person may naturally be expected to be based upon some point of resemblance between the original of the parody and the circumstances of the victim of its satire, some common item or characteristic that would naturally suggest to the parodist the selec-

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tion of the particular piece of writing as his *corpus uile*. Bücheler rightly feels this necessity of retaining a link of connection that stretches beyond the parody itself. If this be lost, all is lost—so far, at any rate, as Bücheler's identification is concerned; and I have just pointed out that this certainly is lost. Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, II², 15) felt the same necessity for finding a direct connecting link between the history of Ventidius and the text of the *phasellus*-poem, and the same limitation to the Castor-reference as the only material. He explains as follows: "Jetzt hat er sich zur Ruhe gesetzt wie jenes Boot: er sitzt auf elfenbeinerem Amtssessel im Castortempel, wo der Senat tagt." A praetor's post is not precisely retirement, and the Senate does not traditionally, even if occasionally, meet in Castor's temple. But Ribbeck's explanation is at any rate better than the historically impossible one of Bücheler—if only the rest of the evidence did not make the identification of Ventidius with Quintio-Sabinus impossible. O. E. Schmidt ("P. Ventidius Bassus," in *Philol.*, LI [1892], 210) felt the same necessity and the same limitation as Bücheler and Ribbeck: he explained by supposing that Ventidius as consul (possible identification of Ventidius with Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter would thus be lost) dedicated in Castor's temple at Rome a statue of himself represented as sitting in a curule chair. Neither Ribbeck nor Schmidt mentions any difficulties in the way of the identification. Birt (*loc. cit.*, p. 123) apparently thinks that Bücheler imagined Ventidius sitting as consul (not as praetor) before Castor's temple in Rome, and even contributes a citation to help out the theory he rightly rejects. But the passage he quotes concerning Antony (*audiente populo sedens pro aede Castoris*, Cic. *Phil.* iii. 27) refers clearly to the well-known use of the lofty *podium* of the temple as *rostra* for public addresses.

Again Bücheler opines that the difficulty about the name of this Ventidius Sabinus-Bassus is explicable by supposing that having adopted the *cognomen* Sabinus before his praetorship, he later changed it for Bassus. Could any reasoning be more desperate than this, in the futile attempt to buttress a theory against facts by one baseless supposition on which is now piled another yet more unreasonable? Why should we imagine that a Roman of Ciceronian days thus juggled with *cognomina?*

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Finally Bücheler passes over the grave difficulty of contradiction in the reports of origin (Picenum vs. Transpadana) with the remark: "leuioris id momenti est in homine ignobili neque alterum utrum necesse est iudicari falsum"! But Ventidius came to be a famous man, and it is quite improbable that his origin was unknown or uncertain. There is no disagreement about it in the ancient authorities for his life. Gellius is the only writer who says he was of humble origin (xv. 4. 3, *eum Picentem fuisse genere et loco humili*), and Gellius appears from his later comments to have drawn this statement as a natural deduction from the humble occupation of the earlier years of Ventidius. Dio (xliii. 51) plainly confuses him with the Picentine general, P. Ventidius, who was in all probability his father. This relationship would readily explain why the younger Ventidius, then a child in arms, was carried to Rome with his mother and displayed in the triumphal procession of Pompeius Strabo, their conqueror. It would also make it more improbable that his origin from Picenum should ever have been unknown. Of course the death of his father, who evidently did not survive to be paraded as a prisoner in the triumph (cf. also Oros. v. 18), and the ruin of his fortunes, would account for his humble upbringing and early occupation. Mommsen's note (*Hermes, loc. cit.*) adds nothing to the credibility of the identifications.

Sabinus *candidatus* may therefore fall back into the limbo of vanities from which he was conjured up; the Vergilian *Catal.* 10 may stand by itself as an amusing local parody-skit of Transpadana on an amusing local celebrity; and the *triumphator* Ventidius may rest on his laurels and his name in peace.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
May, 1913

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# THE CREATION STORY IN OVID *MET.* i

By Frank Egleston Robbins

The account of the origin of the universe offered by Ovid in *Met.* i. 5–88 bears so many resemblances, in one passage or another, to various ancient cosmic theories that commentators have failed to agree in determining the authority on whom Ovid depended. Among those that have been put forward are the Egyptians,[1] Empedocles,[2] Anaxagoras,[3] and Varro.[4] None of the advocators of these suggestions have found it possible to show that Ovid adhered consistently in every detail to the systems which they select as his models; nor do I, in making a further attempt at the solution of the problem, expect to display the poet as a strict sectarian in his cosmogony. The fact must be recognized at the beginning that a thorough and consistent adherence to one theory is not to be found in the Ovidian account of the universe, and, furthermore, is not to be expected. Ovid did not possess the philosophic temperament of Vergil, and in the *Metamorphoses* he is not so much concerned with setting forth true explanations as with telling stories in an interesting and graceful way. No one, in other words, would regard the *Metamorphoses* as a didactic and not a narrative poem.

On the other hand, it is equally certain that Ovid employed material which he drew from previous writers, and scholars have made exhaustive studies of his borrowings.[5] In the present discussion, however, the question will be rather that of the sources of his views of the world than of his adoption of the phraseology of other writers.

Before entering upon a more minute discussion of these ideas, another a priori assumption should be noted, namely, that in all

[1] Gierig's edition, revised by Lemaire, Paris, 1821.

[2] Carlo Pascal, *L'imitazione di Empedocle nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio* reprinted in *Graecia Capta*, Firenze, 1905.

[3] Most recently by F. Polle, "Ovidius und Anaxagoras," *N. J. f. Ph. u. Paed.* 145, 53 ff.; previously by Koeppen and Lenz (cf. Gierig-Lemaire on i. 5 and 21); cf. also Siebelis-Polle ed. (Leipsig: Teubner, 1880), on *Met.* i. 21.

[4] Lafaye, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide*, especially pp. 220–21.

[5] E.g., A. Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältnis zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen röm. Dichtern*, Innsbruck, 1869 and 1870.



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probability Ovid, in view of his generally non-philosophical character, would not be so likely to delve into the half-forgotten theories of the pre-Socratics and present anew a consistent account based on one of them as to set forth opinions that were commonly held in his own time and were familiar to his readers. This introduces another difficulty, which is really the fundamental one of the whole problem. In Ovid's time the popular philosophic-scientific theories were the product of eclecticism, containing elements which were ultimately derived from many sources, a situation which is certain to cause confusion and inconsistency in the non-technical poets of Ovid's type, and which is likely to lead astray commentators who seek to locate the sources of their ideas. Certain fundamental notions came at this time to be used in common, and it is therefore useless to declare that a writer follows any individual philosophical school because he uses one of these commonplaces, unless it is also possible to point out in his work ideas characteristic of the sect with which it is sought to identify him.

Turning now to the discussion of Ovid's creation narrative and taking up in order the various theories that have been proposed with regard to its source, we may first dismiss as improbable that which makes the poet derive his lore from the Egyptians. It has never been seriously considered and is supported only by one citation of the prooemium of Diogenes Laertius. A second theory, which asserts that Ovid drew upon Anaxagoras, has quite recently been advocated by F. Polle (*supra*, p. 401, n. 3). It is readily seen, as Polle admits, that there are such fundamental differences between Ovid's ideas and the doctrines of Anaxagoras that it cannot be claimed that Ovid followed Anaxagoras at all consistently. The elements of the universe in Ovid are the common four, but according to Anaxagoras they were the corpuscles of all sorts of denominate substances, just the opposite of the Empedoclean elements, as Aristotle declared (*De gen. et corr.* i. 1. 314*a* 24). Furthermore, Socrates, whose disappointment with the way in which Anaxagoras employed the *Nous* in his cosmogony is related in *Phaedo* 97B ff., could hardly have made the same objections to the *deus* of the Ovidian passage, whose activity in the ordering of the cosmos is emphasized throughout. If Anaxagoras made mere mechanical processes too prominent, just

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the opposite is true of Ovid. In view of these fundamental discrepancies and of the fact that it is impossible to show that Ovid set forth any of the distinctive doctrines of Anaxagoras, this proposal also may be rejected.

A third suggestion is Empedocles, whom Carlo Pascal has recently put forth as a Greek source for Ovid (*supra*, p. 401, n. 2). It must be granted that in some respects Ovid's account resembles that of Empedocles—in the introduction of four elements, and the chaos. But the *deus* of Ovid fails to correspond with Φιλότης in Empedocles, and there is no mention of a power opposite to Φιλότης, one of the essentials of the Empedoclean system.[1] And if we compare the words of the two poets in the passages cited by Pascal, we shall find in the cases where there are real parallels what he should have himself observed, that Ovid is affected by Empedocles only through the medium of Lucretius. For example, Pascal compares the following: *Met.* i. 10 ff.:

> nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,
> nec noua crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe,
> nec circumfuso pendebat in aëre tellus
> ponderibus librata suis, nec bracchia longo
> margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.

Emped. v. 172 ff., Mullach:

> ἔνθ' οὔτ' ἠελίοιο δειδίσκεται ἀγλαὸν εἶδος
> οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αἴης λάσιον δέμας οὐδὲ θάλασσα.

But cf. Lucr. v. 432–34:

> hic neque tum solis rota cerni lumine largo
> altiuolans poterat nec magni sidera mundi
> nec mare nec caelum nec denique terra neque aër.

Of the two possible sources the probabilities surely favor Lucretius. Pascal states that the use of *Titan* (=*sol*) is derived from Empedocles (v. 236 M., fr. 8 Diels); but reference to the text shows that it is a common Ovidian usage and occurs also in contemporary poetry.[2] With lines 24–25 Pascal compares Emped. v. 163 ff. M., where it is said that after Νεῖκος came to the bottom of the vortex and Φιλότης

[1] Cf. the review in *W. kl. Ph.*, 1903, p. 769.

[2] Ovid *Met.* ii. 118; vi. 438; *Fasti* i. 617; ii. 73; iv. 180, 919; *Paneg. Mess.* 157; Verg. *Aen.* iv. 119.

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to the center, things came together to be one. The likeness, verbally considered, is not convincing, and as before it may be objected that Ovid does not mention Νεῖκος at all, while his *deus* is not very like Φιλότης. Instead of comparing Ovid i. 26–27:

> ignea conuexi uis et sine pondere caeli
> emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce,

with Emped. v. 261 M.:

> [ἔκθορε μὲν πρῶτον πῦρ] καρπαλίμως ἀνόπαιον

it is much better to cite Lucr. v. 459 f.:

> . . . . erumpens primus se sustulit aether
> ignifer et multos secum leuis abstulit ignis.

The few other parallels which Pascal suggests have even less to recommend them. If we are to admit that there was any Empedoclean influence on Ovid, it is far safer to suppose that it came through Lucretius.

This leads naturally to the consideration of the relation between the Lucretian and the Ovidian accounts. Now, however true it be that Ovid shows traces of Lucretian influence, certain important differences prove that he was setting forth no Epicurean or Lucretian theory of creation. The greatest point of divergence is that Ovid ascribes creation to some god, "deus et melior . . . . natura," 21; "quisquis fuit ille deorum," 32; "mundi fabricator," 57; "opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo," 79; but Lucretius bluntly says (v. 419–20):

> nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
> ordine se suo quaeque sagaci mente locarunt.

Secondly, the *semina* in the two accounts[1] (for both use the term) differ. Ovid's *semina* are the four elements[2] endowed with qualities—cold, hot, dry, wet—that to Lucretius are secondary.[3] They are not at all the Epicurean atoms. Thirdly, Ovid says the earth is a globe (33–34). Lucretius does not make any direct statement, but he

[1] Ovid i. 9; Lucr. v. 456.

[2] It is evident that "caelo terras undas aëre," 22–23, refer to the four elements, and line 9 would without doubt refer to the mixture of these elements. There are also rougher tripartite divisions: "mare terras caelum," 5, and "tellus pontus aër," 15; cf. for the former Lucr. v. 92, 594.

[3] Lucr. ii. 730 ff.

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probably thought it flat,[1] and in any case his theory of its support by another body beneath it is unknown to Ovid.[2] Fourthly, the stars according to Ovid are placed in the ether (69–71) but according to Lucretius in the air below the ether (v. 472). Fifthly, there is no suggestion of a divine origin for man in Lucretius as in Ovid. Besides these there are minor differences in the order in which the events of the evolutionary process are related.

Notwithstanding these important differences, certain phrases of *Met.* i are so like expressions found in *De nat. rer.* v that Ovid's use of Lucretian material is a natural assumption.[3] But this need not be more than verbal reminiscence, for, as was pointed out above, a community of commonplace ideas between two poets of this period of eclecticism argues no necessary dependence of one upon the other.

Both Lucretius and Ovid begin by describing a chaotic state of matter. In Lucretius it is the fact that there is no *consilium* to guide them which bring the atoms into this chaos (v. 416–31, especially 429–31). Now, though the conception of a chaotic state is similar in the two, it has already been seen that the component parts, the *semina*, are very unlike, and furthermore the notion of a chaos is so common a thing in ancient writers that Ovid might have taken it from almost any source besides Lucretius, or simply have versified one of the ideas that was in the air in his time.[4] The passages (Ovid 10–14; Lucr. 432–34) in which the poets describe the chaotic state

[1] Cf. Munro on Lucr. v. 534 and 764.

[2] Lucr. v. 534 ff.

[3] Zingerle's work (cited above) conclusively shows that Ovid knew and used Lucretius.

[4] The term "chaos," used by Ovid, is not found in Lucretius; it is not, in fact, a part of the strictly philosophical vocabulary. It occurs in Hesiod *Theog.* 46 and thereafter frequently in Greek poetry. The notion of a chaotic condition at first is extremely common; Euripides (*Melanippe*) fr. 488; Aristoph. *Aves* 693; Apoll. Rhod. i. 496 ff.: *ἦειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα | τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ, | νείκεος δ' ἐξ ὅλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα.* . . . . It was certainly a part of the Epicurean system, as Lucretius shows. Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 31 describes a sort of Epicurean chaos. In the Orphic writers, also, descriptions of a chaos something like Ovid's occur; e.g., (Clem. Rom.) *Recog.* x. 30, Abel, p. 162; and Apoll. Rhod. as cited. Diod. Sic. i. 7 has a description of a chaos. In poetry, cf. (Tib.) iv. 1. 18, where a chaos would naturally precede the ordering process described, though the poet does not expressly say so; also Ovid *Ars am.* ii. 467 ff.; *Fasti* i. 105 ff., which are quite similar to *Met.* i.

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are very similar and may be real parallels (*supra*, p. 403), though they need be considered no more than verbal ones. But when in vs. 15–20 Ovid explains that this condition was due to the conflict of the elements, and Lucretius (435–42) that it was due to atomic motions, they are far from agreement; and the same is true when Ovid ends this conflict by the intervention of the *deus*, Lucretius by the attraction of likes. There are a few other passages the wording of which is similar,[1] but this need be no more than the casual likeness that is to be looked for in poets treating similar subjects with a similar background of well-known ideas—it being admitted of course that Ovid knew the *De natura rerum* and might have adapted some of its phrases to his own use. No more is to be inferred from the passages describing how the parts of the universe came to occupy their present positions:[2] these are commonplaces. In view of the fact that Ovid and Lucretius are, as has been shown, absolutely opposed to one another in their general conception of the world, its evolution, and God, and in the lack of clearer evidence of conscious imitation (only one parallel cited is really of more than secondary importance—Ovid i. 10–14; Lucr. v. 432–34), it must be concluded that the resemblances between them are either merely adventitious or purely literary.

None of the suggestions thus far considered has proved fruitful, yet it is quite certain from their character that Ovid's ideas were derived perhaps from one, perhaps from more than one, philosophic source. In order to throw light upon these sources we may profitably examine certain passages of Cicero which represent views of the uni-

[1] Ovid 22–23: nam caelo terras et terris abscidit undas
et liquidum spisso secreuit ab aĕre caelum.

Lucr. 446–48: hoc est, a terris altum secernere caelum,
et sorsum mare uti secreto umore pateret,
seorsus item puri secretique aetheris ignes.

Other speciously similar passages: concerning the sea and winds, Ov. 36–37; Lucr. 503–4; the making of hills and plains, Ov. 43–44; Lucr. 492–93; cf. also Ovid 68 (of the ether): "nec quicquam terrenae *faecis* habentem," with Lucr. 497 (of the earth): "subsedit funditus ut *faex*." Editors of Ovid here compare Homer P 425: ἀτρύγετον *αἰθέρα*.

[2] Fire rose (Ov. 26–27; Lucr. 458–59) and took the highest place (Ov. 27; Lucr. 470, 500–501); air is next lower (Ov. 28; Lucr. 501; cf. 472, 490); earth is heavy (Ov. 29–30; Lucr. 429) and in the middle (Ov. 31; Lucr. 451); water surrounds the earth (Ov. 31; Lucr. 498).

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verse commonly held in Ovid's own time. They are not so much concerned with the world's origin as with the arrangement of its parts, but still they will be of service. One of these is *Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40: "persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad uniuersi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere, quod κέντρον illi uocant; eam porro naturam esse quattuor omnia gignentium corporum, ut, quasi partita habeant inter se ac diuisa momenta, terrena et humida suopte nutu et suo pondere ad paris angulos in terram et in mare ferantur, reliquae duae partes, una ignea, altera animalis, ut illae superiores in medium locum mundi grauitate ferantur et pondere, sic hae rursum rectis lineis in caelestem locum subuolent, siue ipsa natura superiora adpetente, siue quod a grauioribus leuiora natura repellantur." The second is very similar, *De nat. deor.* ii. 91: "principio enim terra sita in media parte mundi circumfusa undique est hac animali spirabilique natura cui nomen est aër . . . . hunc rursus amplectitur immensus aether, qui constat ex altissimis ignibus," etc.

The similarity of these passages to Ovid's description of the arrangement of the world is obvious (cf. especially vs. 26–31).

Now it is very probable that both these passages were borrowed by Cicero from Stoic sources. In the second case this is sure;[1] the second book of the *De natura deorum* is a Stoic exposition throughout; and the first is quite certainly Stoic as well,[2] both from the fact that it is in juxtaposition with other Stoic passages and from its likeness to the *De nat. deor.* ii. 91. In addition we may note that it is known from other sources that the Stoics made such statements about the universe.[3]

Besides these general agreements, there are several other Ciceronian passages which, each introduced in a Stoic context, parallel the most famous lines of *Met.* i, namely, 84–86:

> pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram
> os homini sublime dedit! caelumque uidere
> iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus.

[1] See Mayor on the sources of *De nat. deor.* ii in his edition, II, xvi ff.

[2] See Dougan, *Tusc. disp.*, Introd. xxi, for a summary of the views of scholars, and p. xxiii for *Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40.

[3] E.g., Diog. Laer. vii. 137, 155.

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In the same Stoic book of the *De natura deorum* Cicero writes (56. 140): "qui [i.e. di] primum eos [i.e. homines] excitatos celsos et erectos constituerunt, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent." This evidently was adduced as a proof of design in the world in the Stoic teleological argument which he copies. Again we find the same thought in *De legg.* i. 9. 26–27: "nam cum ceteros animantis abiecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad caeli quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitauit, tum speciem ita formauit oris ut in ea penitus reconditos mores effingeret."[1] The topic of man's erect stature was a common one among ancient writers[2] and upon this alone one could not base an argument concerning Ovid's sources. Yet, after Plato and Aristotle, it seems to have been fairly distinctive of the Stoic school, and I wish in short to argue that so many of Ovid's utterances are paralleled by the common topics of the Stoic writers, without any serious discrepancies which do not find a natural explanation, that, in view of the ease with which it could have come about, it is probable that the reading of Stoic treatises or of books influenced by Stoicism was the strongest influence exerted upon the poet in *Met.* i. 5–88.

In the first place, to examine the agreements between Ovid and the Stoics, we have the matter of the elements. In i. 19 ("frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis") there is evidently a reference to the Stoic classification of the air as cold, fire hot, water wet, and earth dry,[3] the assignment of one quality only to each being a distinctively Stoic feature, for Aristotle had asserted that each element has two distinguishing qualities. Again in the next line, "mollia cum duris, sine pondere, habentia pondus," there may be a glance at the Stoic distinction between air and fire as light and earth and water as heavy.[4]

In the second place, there is much that can be urged to show that the Ovidian *deus* is modeled after the Stoic theology. In view of the

[1] Also *Tusc. disp.* i. 69: "hominemque ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem"; cf. *Met.* i. 85–86.

[2] See Mayor's note upon *De nat. deor.* ii. 56. 140 and S. O. Dickerman, *De argumentis quibusdam e structura hominis et animalium petitis*, Halle, 1909, 12 and 92, for examples.

[3] Cf. Diog. Laer. vii. 137.

[4] (Plut.) *Epit. plac.* i. 12 (*Dox.* 311 *a* 1); Cic. *Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40 *supra;* cf. Ovid i. 67, "grauitate carentem aethera."

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plainly philosophical character of the whole passage, popular though it be in treatment, it may be safely assumed that the *deus* mentioned was not taken directly from mythology and the creation treated simply as another metamorphosis;[1] in that case the influence of the theogonies ought to be plainly discernible. The *deus* is certainly derived rather from philosophical sources. It has been shown above that the Ovidian *deus* is neither of the Epicurean, Empedoclean, nor Anaxagorean types. By this method of elimination the possibilities are reduced practically to two out of all ancient philosophy, Plato and the Stoics. Now the cosmogony of Ovid differs too much from that of the *Timaeus* to allow us to believe that the latter was its direct source; on the other hand, seeming Platonic reminiscences in Ovid may easily be regarded as coming at second hand to him, in view of the adoption of so many of the topics of the *Timaeus* by subsequent schools, including the Stoics.

The Stoics believed in a supreme deity, who established this world in wisdom and providence.[2] These attributes well suit the *deus* of Ovid, who puts a stop to the warring of the elements: "hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit" (21). In other passages the god is represented as acting for the good of the world, in a providential manner: cf. 32 ff., 47 f., "sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem cura dei": 79, "mundi melioris origo." It has already been pointed out[3] that the epithet *melior natura* (21) may be a reference to the Stoic identification of God and Nature, or Nature permeated by God. It might further be claimed that Ovid's hesitation to name the god concerned in the creation ("quisquis fuit ille deorum," 32) may be due to a certain unclearness on the part of the Stoics who were his sources, who, as the interlocutor in Cicero remarks, identify God now with the world, now with the world-soul, and again with natural law or the ether,[4] and as Diogenes Laertius[5] tells us named the

[1] In this connection note that lightning in this passage (56: "et cum fulminibus facientes frigora uentos") is regarded as a purely meteorological phenomenon rather than as Jove's weapon, as below in i. 197, 253, 259, etc.

[2] Diog. Laert. vii. 138: *τὸν δὴ κόσμον οἰκεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν*; cf. *ibid.* 147: *θεὸν . . . . προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ . . . . εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων . . . .*

[3] Lafaye, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[4] *De nat. deor.* i. 36, 37; cf. Diog. Laer. vii. 148; *Plac.* i. 7. 33.

[5] vii. 147.

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supreme deity Zeus, Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hephaestus, or Demeter according to the particular attribute emphasized. In strict logic, of course, the expression suggests one of a number of gods, rather than one god under various names; but a poet does not have to adhere to strict logic.

It has already been seen (*supra*, p. 407) that Ovid's description of the arrangement of the parts of the world is in accord with that of the Stoics. The passage concerning chaos (5–20) is not so easy to parallel, perhaps because the Stoic cosmogony is not fully known to us; but in one respect at least, the employment of elements and not atoms, the two are in full accord. It may be that Ovid introduced the chaos simply as the general belief of his day and as a common poetic motif,[1] and with this interwove the Stoic ideas of the elements and a Deity; it is possible on the other hand that his notion of a chaos could have been derived from his reading of the Stoics. One account of the Stoic cosmogony at least suggests a chaotic state; Diog. Laer. vii. 136: *κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' αὐτὸν ὄντα* [*sc.* *Δία*] *τρέπειν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου τοιόνδε ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, εὐεργὸν αὐτῷ ποιοῦντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς γένεσιν· εἶτα ἀπογεννᾶν πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν.* The making of the four elements is again described by Diogenes in vii. 142, and it is there stated that by *μίξις* plants and animals were made from them. It is natural to assume that in this process the four elements were thought of as existing together at first, not separated off from one another, just as in *Met.* i. 5–20. The Ciceronian passages quoted above also imply that this state of mixture formed part of the Stoic theory. Ovid, then, would simply omit, as poor poetic material and unsanctioned by poetic convention, the details regarding changes in matter previous to the production of the elements, and the doctrine of the *σπερματικὸς λόγος*, as we find them in Diogenes Laertius.[2]

It is to be noted further that in both the Ovidian and the Stoic

[1] See above, p. 405, n. 4. The notion of a conflict or battle between the elements (*Met.* i. 18 ff.) can hardly be paralleled from Stoic sources, but may well be explained, as a poetic, rather than philosophic, motif, sanctioned by such passages as Lucr. v. 439: "proelia miscens"; Apoll. Rhod. i. 498: *νείκεος δ' ἐξ ὅλεσσε*, etc.

[2] But for the *σπερματικὸς λόγος* doctrine in Ovid see *infra*, p. 413.

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accounts the development of the world from chaos is due to divine agency, therein differing radically from the pre-Socratic cosmogonies with their doctrine of a cosmic whorl, *δίνη*, which sorts things out and generates the universe. *Deus et melior natura*—God, not necessarily an anthropomorphic god, but perhaps rather divine power in nature working for a good end—is the agent of creation in Ovid, just as the Stoic Zeus, remaining in matter and sometimes identified with Nature, is the cause of cosmic evolution.

Lesser parallels with the Stoic writings in considerable number may be pointed out in the Ovidian creation narrative. With verse 45 begins a passage describing the zones of both the sky and the earth:

45: utque duae dextra caelum totidemque sinistra
parte secant zonae, quinta est ardentior illis;
sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
cura dei, totidemque plagae tellure premuntur.
quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu;
50: nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locauit,
temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma.

This topic is one which was treated both by poets and by scientific men. We are informed that Parmenides first defined the inhabited portions of the earth with reference to the zones of the tropics,[1] also that Pythagoras divided the earth into the five commonly named zones.[2] We are upon much firmer ground when we find it stated that the Stoics spoke of the five circles in the heavens and the five zones of the earth. The straightforward account of the Stoic teaching upon this point is very like the Ovidian passage cited: Diog. Laer. vii. 155: *κύκλους δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε . . . .* 156 *ζώνας τε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰσι πέντε· πρώτη βόρειος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν κύκλον, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψύχος· δευτέρα, εὔκρατος· τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διακεκαυμένη καλουμένη· τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεύκρατος· πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψύχος.* There are two parallels to Ovid's lines in contemporary poetry—Vergil *Georg.* i. 233 ff. and *Paneg. Mess.* 152 ff.[3]

[1] *Plac.* iii. 11. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 14. 1.

[3] The Vergilian passage in content is most similar to Ovid but could hardly have been Ovid's direct model; they appear rather to have the same source. Both the passages have more poetic embellishment than that in the *Metamorphoses;* cf. also Cic. *Tusc. disp.* i. 28. 68–69.

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In two other respects Ovid agrees with the Stoics, and disagrees, it may be noted, with the Epicureans, in holding that the stars are in the *caelum*, that is, in the ether (70–71), and that the earth is spherical (34–35).[1]

Finally we must consider the passage which narrates the creation of man, ending with the lines on his erect stature already discussed above:

72: neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba,
astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum,
cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,
75: terra feras cepit, uolucres agitabilis aër.
sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae
deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cetera posset.
natus homo est: siue hunc diuino semine fecit
ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo,
80: siue recens tellus seductaque nuper ab alto
aethere cognati retinebat semina caeli,
quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluuialibus undis
finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum.

The first few lines, 72–75, present the notion, fairly common in antiquity, that each element has its own inhabitant. Plato seems first to have used the topic, but it is important to note that Cicero in the Stoic second book of the *De natura deorum* (42) mentions it as an opinion of Aristotle.[2] This, then, along with so many other ideas of Plato and Aristotle, was apparently appropriated by the Stoics, and Ovid might more probably have taken it at third hand from a Stoic source than directly from Plato or Aristotle.

More closely related to Stoicism is the use of *animantibus*, 72, which shows that the stars, mentioned in 73, are regarded by Ovid as animated—a good Stoic doctrine.[3] In 73 the stars also are called *formae deorum*, which accords with the Stoic belief that the stars are gods.[4]

[1] For Stoic views on the first point, see Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 42, 92, 117–18; for the second, *Plac.* iii. 10. 1; Diog. Laer. vii. 145.

[2] Plato *Tim.* 39E; on the use of this topic see Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature*, Chicago, 1912, 9, n. 5. The reference to Aristotle is probably to the lost *De philosophia;* see Mayor on *De nat. deor.* ii. 42, who collects references.

[3] Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 41–42.

[4] Cic. *De nat. deor. loc. cit.;* Chrysippus *ap.* Plut. *Stoic. Rep.* 38. 5; *Plac.* i. 7. 33. The Stoics, however (and apparently also Ovid), would not identify the stars and the highest god, whose seat is in the ether with the stars; Diog. Laer. vii. 138–39.

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There are two suggestions as to the making of man, that he was made *diuino semine* by the mysterious creator, or that in the clay fashioned by Prometheus lingered some of the fire of heaven, *semina caeli*. The first seems to have been suggested by the very characteristic Stoic doctrine of the σπερματικὸς λόγος, generating principles contained in the πῦρ τεχνικόν, or highest god, "in accordance with which individual things come into existence by Destiny."[1] The second suggestion, though not so philosophic in character and apparently a concession to mythology, is not without its bearing on Stoicism. According to the Stoics the mind of man is of the same pure fire as the heavens, unlike the burning fire commonly seen.[2] The statement in 83, that man was made in the image of the gods, is hardly Stoic in origin;[3] at least, we cannot parallel it from the Stoic sources in our present state of knowledge. But it occurs in a mythological context and really belongs with the stories of the same character later on in the book, where the gods do have human shapes.[4]

The present discussion has at least served to show that it is needless to search for Ovid's sources outside of the beliefs that were currently held in his day. Those who attempt to establish a connection between Ovid and any of the pre-Socratics are forced to rely upon the presence in both of perfectly commonplace ideas and sooner or later meet with grave unlikenesses. Lafaye's arguments in favor of Varro as a source are indefinite and unsupported by evidence. On the other hand, comparing Ovid and Stoic doctrine, we have been able

[1] *Plac.* i. 7. 33: πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμου, ἐμπεριειληφὸς πάντας τοὺς σπερματικοὺς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἱμαρμένην γίνεται; cf. also Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Gr.*, 500 and 500*a*; Diog. Laer. vii. 136; Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos*, p. 114.

[2] Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 41: "contra ille corporeus [*sc.* ignis] uitalis et salutaris omnia conseruat alit auget sustinet sensuque adficit . . . . quare cum solis ignis similis eorum ignium sit, qui sunt in corporibus animantium, solem quoque animantem esse oportet et quidem reliqua astra, quae oriantur in ardore caelesti, qui aether uel caelum nominatur"; *Tusc. disp.* i. 19: "Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur"; Diog. Laer. vii. 157: Ζήνων δὲ . . . . πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν; cf. *ibid.* 156, 143 (the human soul part of the world-soul, which is πῦρ τεχνικόν). For the two kinds of fire see Ritter and Preller, *op. cit.*, 495; also Varro *De l. l.* 5. 59; "itaque Epicharmus cum dicit de mente humana ait: istic est de sole sumptus ignis. idem de sole: isque totus mentis est."

[3] According to the Stoics the highest god was πῦρ τεχνικόν (*Plac.* i. 7. 33 = *Dox.* 305; Diog. Laer. vii. 147). But it is to be noticed that Ovid is speaking of *di*, not the *opifex rerum*.

[4] E.g., i. 213.

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to show agreement in the several items of the elements, their arrangement, the erect stature of man, the characteristic qualities of the elements, the creating deity, the zones, the place of the stars, the earth, the proper inhabitants of each of the elements, the animation of the stars, their divinity, the divine seed of man, and the likeness of his mind to the divine fire. Some of these topics are peculiar to Stoicism; all could have been found in the Stoic treatises on the world and its providential ordering. Stoicism in Ovid's day was well known at Rome, and Stoic sources were perhaps easiest of access to Ovid. He would not, in view of his own character and the nature of his project, seek to outline faithfully and in all its detail the Stoic cosmogony; but it has been seen in how few places he has failed to accord with the latter. In view of all these things I regard it highly probable that the account presented by Ovid is essentially Stoic.

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# A ROMAN ASTROLOGER AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE: JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS

By Lynn Thorndike

During the Italian Renaissance astrological treatises were thought as important as other classical writings, and were frequently printed. As astrology came to be considered a worthless delusion, they were forgotten or were stigmatized as spurious writings when encountered among the works of well-known authors like Ptolemy and Lucian. Today the importance of the magical and astrological writings of the ancient world, if only because of their bulk, has been again recognized. Greek papyri filled with magic texts are being brought to light and published; many dissertations on ancient superstition have appeared. The revived interest in classical astrology is seen, not only in such a work as Bouché-Leclercq's *L'astrologie grecque*,[1] but also in the *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Astrologorum*,[2] a series of volumes now appearing in which a group of European scholars are co-operating under the leadership of Professor Franz Cumont in providing a guide to the many astrological manuscripts in European libraries. Besides this, in recent years several astrological treatises have been edited and published separately. In fact, the movement has advanced so far that already German scholars are busy in detecting in those astrological writings which are extant their indebtedness to, and dependence on, earlier works which we no longer possess.[3] The value of astrological books to the student of ancient religions,[4] or indeed of the whole mental life of the times, is being appreciated; and the influence of astrology

[1] Paris, 1899, 658 pp., illus. One might also note De la Ville de Mirmont, *L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romans*, Bordeaux, 1904.

[2] Brussels, 1898–.

[3] See articles by W. Kroll in the *Catalogus*, and F. Boll, "Studien über Claudius Ptolemaeus," *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.*, Suppl. XXI (1894), 49–244.

[4] See Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1912; or his briefer chapter on "Astrology and Magic" in his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911.



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upon the form of history in the Middle Ages has been interestingly discussed by F. v. Bezold.[1]

I intend to show that an astrological treatise may also give us a picture of past society and thus contribute to the content of history. The point is that in trying to predict the future the astrologers really depict their own civilization. Their scope is as broad as are human life and human interests. Slave and artisan are dealt with as well as emperor and philosopher, and the astrologer can boast with Juvenal

> *quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas*
> *gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.*

Indeed the astrological poet Manilius does boast, proudly contrasting his art to the fictions and sentimentalities of other poets:

> It embraces every sort of fact, every effort, every achievement, and every art, that through all the phases of human life may concern human fate; and it has disposed these in as many varied ways as there are positions of the stars; has attributed to each object definite functions and appropriate names; and through the stars by a fixed system has ordained a complete census of the human race.[2]

Nor is astrology prone to that usual failing of historical records, the omission of what is obvious at the time of writing, since it deals in futurities which are never obvious and must be explicitly predicted.

But what is the historical reliability of astrological works? We must not think of them as compositions by ignorant quacks and impostors for a credulous and inferior minority of the public, full of extravagant promises and terrifying threats. Practically everyone believed in astrology; learned men wrote treatises on the art, which took itself with great seriousness and prided itself upon its scientific methods. Moreover, in an astrological handbook there was almost no occasion for the personal or party prejudice of so many professed historians, or for the satiric bias of a Juvenal. Even Christian and pagan wrote much alike on this theme. "The complete census of the human race" supplied by an astrologer is unsystematic perhaps, and may be more meager than his pretentious prospectus leads one to expect, but it seems to have the merit of being a naïve, unconscious, largely objective and sincere picture of his

[1] *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VIII (1892), 29 ff.

[2] *Astronomica* III. 67.

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own age. There is, however, one difficulty. Does the author really picture his own society, or are his topics, which we suppose to represent the structure of contemporary civilization, merely traditional categories long fixed by the rules of his art? and are the details of his subject-matter his own intelligent adaptation of the general principles of his art to present conditions, or are they slavishly copied from earlier manuals? This question must be determined in each particular case largely from internal evidence.[1]

This article will consider the third and fourth books of the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus as a specific instance of how an astrological treatise may be utilized as a historical source. Firmicus lists various constellations, and states under each its effects upon men born under it. This introduces a quantitative element, since the same phenomenon may be mentioned under several constellations; and one naturally assumes that those matters to which Firmicus devotes most space and emphasis are the most prominent features of his age. Therefore an analysis of his *apotelesmata* (i.e., "effects") should give us a description and to some extent a measurement of fourth-century civilization.

The *Mathesis* contains eight books, but the first two are introductory and not devoted to *apotelesmata*, while the last four have not yet appeared in a critical edition.[2] They do not rest on as early manuscripts as the other books, while the old printed editions of 1497 and 1499 differ considerably, and more than is stated by Boll

[1] Thus the first two books of Hephaestion of Thebes (Engelbrecht, *Hephästion von Theben und sein astrologisches Compendium*, Vienna, 1887) simply reproduce Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*. But Guido Bonatti, a thirteenth century astrologer (*Liber astronomicus*, Augsburg, 1491, 422 fols.), though he cites the ancients, evidently writes for and of his own age, replying to arguments of contemporary theologians against astrology; instructing how to determine whether the candidate for a position as abbot, bishop, or cardinal, will secure the coveted office, and how to find the most auspicious hour for laying a church corner-stone; and mentioning sugar, unknown to the ancient world.

[2] The editions of the *Mathesis* are as follows: Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII ediderunt W. Kroll et F. Skutsch. Fasciculus prior libros IV priores et quinti prooemium continens. Lipsiae, 1897, 280 pp.; Julius Firmicus de nativitatibus. . . . . Impressum Venetiis per Symonem papiensem dictum bivilaque, 1497 die 13 Iunii, CXV fols; Julii Firmici Astronomicorum libri octo integri et emendati ex Scythicis oris ad nos nuper allati. . . . . Venetiis cura et diligentia Aldi Ro. Mense octob. MID. The Basel editions of 1533 and 1551 by M. Pruckner reproduce the Aldine text. The references throughout this article are to the page and line of Kroll-Skutsch; the second fascicle has recently been published.

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in Pauly-Wissowa—for instance, over one-third of Book v in the Aldine edition (pp. 194–214) is omitted in the *editio princeps*.[1] Moreover, although these four books cover more pages than the other two, they do not supply so many details nor so satisfactory a picture of human society. These divergences, mainly ones of omission, do not invalidate the results gained from the third and fourth books, but do raise the question whether the later books, especially the fifth and sixth, were written by Firmicus. In them the wording becomes vaguer, little knowledge is shown of conditions at the time that Firmicus wrote, the predictions are more sensational and rhetorical. Only the latter portion of the eighth book carries the conviction of reality that books three and four do. These two books are both independent units and supply a general picture of human life.

Firmicus flourished during the reigns of Constantine the Great and his sons.[2] Sicily was his native land; he was of senatorial rank and very well educated for his time, showing interest in natural philosophy, literature, and rhetoric. He writes on astrology at the request of a similarly cultured friend, Lollianus or Mavortius, who had held various important governmental posts. Firmicus is also the author of a work *On the Error of Profane Religions*,[3] addressed to Constantius and Constans, and urging them to eradicate pagan cults. The writing of two such books by one man has long given critics pause, and is a splendid warning against taking anything for granted in our study of the past. The assertion of Boll that "there is no question but that he was a pagan when he wrote his book on astrology"[4] seems to me overconfident; but whatever the personal convictions of the author of the *Mathesis* may have been, it is certain that Christianity has made little impression upon his *apotelesmata*. On the other hand, in his Christian work he not only never attacks astrology, but he criticizes certain pagan cults as sharply for their incorrect physical notions as he does others for their travestying of Christian mysteries, while his allusions to the planets, among

[1] I regard these additions in the Aldine as spurious.

[2] For bibliography of Firmicus see Boll's article "Firmicus" in Pauly-Wissowa.

[3] A more critical edition than that in Migne is by Konrat Ziegler, Leipzig, 1907.

[4] Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 2365.

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which is a representation of the Sun making a reproachful address to certain pagans,[1] indicate that he still regarded the stars as of immense importance in the administration of the universe. Moreover, as before, he sets the emperors above the rest of mankind and closely associates them with the celestial bodies and "the supreme God."[2]

Do Firmicus' *apotelesmata* apply to his own century or are they copied from earlier writers? He uses words and phrases that are evidently from the Greek; he frequently mentions authorities, especially the Greeks and "the divine men of Egypt and Babylon"; and regards himself as rendering available for the Latin-speaking world an art which their writers (so he says) have hitherto neglected. Consequently recent investigators of classical astrology have been trying to discover the nature of these earlier writings and to make out how far their contents are preserved for us in the *Mathesis*. Thus far sources have been discovered or suggested only for limited

[1] Ziegler, p. 23.

[2] Compare Kroll-Skutsch, p. 86, with Ziegler, p. 53. Consequently the date of writing the *Mathesis* should be determined without any assumptions as to Firmicus' religion; and I am inclined to dispute Mommsen's contention (*Hermes*, XXIX, 468-72) that "it is beyond doubt" that the *Mathesis* was written between 334 and 337 A.D. To accept this conclusion it is necessary to explain away the mention of Lollianus as *ordinario consuli designato* (Kroll-Skutsch, 3, 27), an office which he held in 355. I think that it is preferable to explain away the apparent mentions of Constantine the Great, upon which Mommsen laid so much stress. The names, Constantine and Constantius, are frequently confused in the sources, and the expression "Constantinus scilicet maximus divi Constantini filius" (37, 25) might as well be read "Constantius, son of Constantine" as "Constantine, son of Constantius." The words "Constantinum maximum principem et huius invictissimos liberos, dominos et Caesares nostros" seem to refer unmistakably to Constantine, but they occur in a prayer to the planets and to the supreme God that Constantine and his children may "rule over our posterity and the posterity of our posterity through infinite succession of ages." As this is simply equivalent to expressing a hope that the dynasty may never become extinct, there seems no reason why the passage should not be left unaltered in a book published after the death of Constantine.

Moreover, Firmicus explicitly states that the writing of his book has been long delayed (1, 3 and 3, 19), and it is evident that he and his friend were scarcely young when the promise to compose the *Mathesis* was first made. Lollianus was then *consularis* of Campania and, according to inscriptions, had already held a number of offices. Firmicus would frequently give up his task in despair, but then Lollianus would urge him on again. Having become "Count of all the Orient," he continued his importunities, until at last when he was proconsul and ordinary-consul-elect the book was finished and presented to him. Meanwhile Firmicus had retired from public life. Yet we are asked to believe, not merely that he writes a vehement invective against profane religions a decade later, but also that, twenty years after, his friend is still a vigorous administrator and praetorian praefect (Ammianus Marcellinus xvi. 8. 5).

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portions of the *Mathesis*, and chiefly in other books than iii and iv, and in these cases it is evident that Firmicus has made additions and alterations and is no mere copyist.[1]

The criticism has been made, however, that where Firmicus is most original he is too rhetorical. Boll asserts that he breathes "the sensational atmosphere of the schools of rhetoric" and of the Pseudo-Quintilian declamations, and that "all the far-fetched calamities which in his pages continually menace mankind reveal the fearful weight with which this superstition afflicted human minds."[2] But "far-fetched calamities" in that day did not merely lurk in superstitious minds, they were perpetrated in the full glare of publicity. If Firmicus predicts death by being thrown to wild beasts, we must remember that even Constantine's panegyrist recounts how he had thrown Frankish chiefs into the arena at Trier and "wearied the raging beasts by the multitude" of victims.[3] Moreover, it is in the later books that Firmicus is most sensational. Death by beasts is mentioned nineteen times in Book viii, only once in Books iii and iv. Furthermore, he is, if anything, more rhetorical in describing contemporary facts, such as his personal experiences or the pagan practices which he attacks in the *De errore*, than in predicting future possibilities. Consequently his rhetoric is no proof of unreality. Rather, if he were entirely unrhetorical, would he leave us with a false impression of his age. Finally, our method of statistical analysis will have the tendency to separate such chaff from the wheat of historical truth. Ideas will be counted rather than words, and only those passages included where Firmicus evidently has some distinct idea in his own mind and makes an express prediction.

The space limits of the present article permit only a summary of the chief results of my analysis rather than a complete exposition of it; and allow specific references in the footnotes only for those passages which are quoted, instead of for all that are enumerated, as I had planned. But I hope that the reader will get a fairly clear idea of the method employed as well as of the historical information gained thereby.

[1] See Boll, *Sphaera*, 401; Kroll in the *Catalogus*, II, 159; V, 2, 143.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 2373.

[3] *Paneg.* vii. 10–12; Eutropius x. 3.

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Firmicus makes more allusions to public life than to any other human activity. This is appropriate in a Roman writer, especially under the bureaucratic paternalism of Diocletian and Constantine. A number of predictions refer unmistakably to their system of government, showing that Firmicus has not heedlessly copied the *apotelesmata* of earlier astrological handbooks, but has interpreted the influences of the stars to fit his own age. He mentions praetorian praefects, *vicarii* (rulers of dioceses), *praesides* (provincial governors), *decemprimi* (governing boards of municipalities), and *curiosi* (special officials connected with the imperial post).[1] He is accurate in saying *scutarios vel protectores imperatorum*, since the *protectores* were originally largely selected from the *scutarii*. He correctly alludes to *cornicularii* and *commentarienses* as bureaucratic officials connected with the administration of criminal justice, though in earlier times these were military offices, and his juxtaposition of the two names is duplicated in the inscription of Lambesia and in Pseudo-Asconius. He mentions *discussio*, the revision of the public accounts in vogue in the late imperial period and cited in Harpers' dictionary from no earlier sources than Symmachus and Justinian. He also speaks of *discussores rationales*, although Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa states that the title *discussor*, "employed since the fourth century A.D. for officials of very different kinds," but with the common characteristic of being extraordinary inspectors connected with the treasury, occurs first in 368 A.D. (*Cod. Theod.*, VIII, 15, 5).[2]

Besides a great number of vague predictions of political life or mentions of well-known magistracies,[3] due attention is given to

[1] *Praesides*, in 4 passages; *decemprimi*, in 5; the others once or twice each. None of these offices is mentioned in the other books of the *Mathesis*.

[2] Kroll-Skutsch, 136, 28; 172, 22; 180, 19.

[3] Administration and administrators, 28 passages; emperors, 8; those concerned with the affairs of emperors or of great men, 4; friends of, known to, or in favor with, emperors and powerful men, 8; rule of the whole world, 5; kings, 29; *fasces* and consular rank, 12, including proconsuls, 8, and *consules ordinarii*, 3; rulers set over great cities or provinces, 18; magistrate of a small place or single city, 3; possessing the *imperium*, 3; ambassadors, 3; messengers, 6; "public acts," 9; public honors and popular favor, 6; *coronati*, 8; those who sell their lives to kings or to powerful men *vitii cuiusdam causa*, 1.

One reference to "overthrowers of emperors," if not also the 8 predictions that persons will become emperors, is inconsistent with the statement made earlier that the emperor alone is not subject to the stars, since as lord of the whole world his fate is

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Roman law.[1] Indeed Firmicus states that he himself had formerly "resisted with unbending confidence and firmness" factious and wicked and avaricious men, "who from fear of law-suits seemed terrible to the unfortunate"; and that "with liberal mind, despising forensic gains, to men in trouble. . . . . I displayed a pure and faithful defense in the courts of law." By this upright conduct he incurred much enmity and danger.[2] In allusions to military affairs generals are mentioned twice as often as soldiers; and while the latter are once called "glorious soldiers" and promised promotion and happiness, in other passages we hear of "miserable soldiers" and "the everlasting burden" of military service.[3] The matter of finance, so prominent in the declining empire, receives due recognition. At least thirty passages have to do with public finance, which receives as much attention and more specific description than private banking and commerce.[4] The two seem closely connected and successful business men are likely to be drawn into public finance. Economic paternalism is suggested by such phrases as "public wares," "public arts but hidden and miserable," "public artificers," "superintendents of the royal weaving establishments." Public games and state education are mentioned.[5] Deposition from power, failure to remain in office, imperial disfavor, exile, captivity, or violent death are occasionally mentioned as the fate of men engaged in

directly determined by the supreme God and he "is numbered among those gods whom the principal divinity has established to make and maintain everything" (Kroll-Skutsch, 86, 19).

Kroll (*Catalogus*, V, 2, 148) thinks the frequent mention of kings an indication of use of Hellenistic works, and does not believe it likely that "the kings of the Bosporani, Armenians, or Parthians, and such monarchs" are meant. Yet when Constantine made his three sons Caesars, he created a kingdom in Asia for his nephew Hannibalianus, and one source states that he was given the title "king of kings." And we have already heard a panegyrist of Constantine apply the term *reges* to Frankish chiefs.

[1] Judges, 19; judicial assessors, 1; jurists, 7; advocates, 5; notaries, court reporters, scribes, etc., 7.

[2] Kroll-Skutsch, 195, 3 ff.

[3] Military leaders (usually *duces*), 41; soldiers, 16.

[4] *Fiscus*, 9; tax collectors (*exactores*, *vectigaliarii*, and *publicani*), 4; farming of the taxes (*conductio*), 4; *procuratores*, 4; *rationales*, 3; public accounts, 4; intrusted with royal treasure or deposits by foreign nations, 5; *annonae*, 5; *horrea*, 2.

[5] There are also allusions to imperial tutors, private secretaries, and men of letters, and to pleasure-makers to royalty.

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politics. Once elevation to a dignified public position is promised to men of the lower classes (*iacentes homines et abiectos*), but only after great toil, obstruction, and sacrifice of property.

To religion Firmicus gives much less space than to politics. There are no clear references to Christianity, but there are few allusions to any particular cults. Firmicus, however, indicates the existence of many cults, speaking five times of the heads of religions, and characterizing men as "those who regard all religions and gods with a certain trepidation," "those devoted to certain religions," "those who cherish the greatest religions," and so on. Temples,[1] priests, and divination[2] are the three features of religion that he mentions most. Magic and religion are closely associated in his predictions, for instance, "temple priests ever famed in magic lore." Sacred or religious literatures and persons devoted to them are mentioned thrice, while in a fourth passage we hear of men "investigating the secrets of all religions and of heaven itself." Other interesting descriptions[3] are of those who "stay in temples in an unkempt state and always walk abroad thus, and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by the gods, such as are wont to be in temples, who are accustomed to predict the future"; and of "men terrible to the gods and who despise all kinds of perjuries. Moreover, they will be terrible to all demons, and at their approach the wicked spirits of demons flee; and they free men who are thus troubled, not by force of words but by their mere appearing; and however violent the demon may be who shakes the body and spirit of man, whether he be aerial or terrestrial or infernal, he flees at the bidding of this sort of man and fears his precepts with a certain veneration. These are they who are called exorcists by the people." Religious games and contests are mentioned four times: the carving, consecrating, adoring, and clothing of images of the gods, twice each; porters at religious ceremonies, thrice; hymn singers, twice;

[1] Temple-robbers, 5; servile or ignoble employ in temples, 5; spending one's time in temples, 4; builders of temples, 3; beneficiaries of temples, 3; temple guards, 2; *neocori*, 3; and so on, making 35 references to temples in all.

[2] Chief priests, 5; priests, 9; of provinces, 1; priestess, 1; priests of Cybele (*archigalli*), 3; Asiarchae, 1; priest of some great goddess, 1; illicit rites, 1. There are 27 passages concerning divination.

[3] Kroll-Skutsch, 148, 8 and 123, 4.

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pipe-players once. Five passages represent persons professionally engaged in religion as growing rich thereby.

We are told that men "predict the future either by the divinity of their own minds or by the admonition of the gods or from oracles or by the venerable discipline of some art."[1] Augurs, aruspices, interpreters of dreams, *mathematici* (astrologers), diviners, and prophets are mentioned. Once Firmicus alludes to false divination but he usually implies that it is a valid art.

From religion and divination we easily pass to the occult arts and sciences, and thence to learning and literature in general, from which occult learning is scarcely distinguished in the *Mathesis*. Magicians or magic arts are mentioned no less than seven times in varied relations with religion, philosophy, medicine, and astronomy or astrology, showing that magic was not invariably regarded as evil in that age, and that it was confused and intermingled with the arts and philosophy as well as with the religion of the times.[2] There are a number of other allusions to secret and illicit arts or writings; these, however, appear to be more unfavorably regarded and probably largely consist of witchcraft and poisoning.

The evidence of the *Mathesis* suggests that the civilization of declining Rome was at least not conscious of the intellectual decadence and lack of scientific interest so generally imputed to it. We find three descriptions of intellectual pioneers who learn what no master has ever taught them, and one other instance of men who pretend to do so. We also hear of "those learning much and knowing all, also inventors," and of those "learning everything," and "desiring to learn the secrets of all arts." This curiosity, it is true, seems to be largely devoted to occult science, but it also seems plain that mathematics and medicine were important factors in fourth-

[1] Kroll-Skutsch, 201, 6.

[2] Cumont says (*Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 188): "But the ancients expressly distinguished 'magic,' which was always under suspicion and disapproved of, from the legitimate and honorable art for which the name "theurgy" was invented." This distinction was made by Porphyry and others, and is alluded to by Augustine in the *City of God*, but it is to be noted that Firmicus does not use the word 'theurgy.' Cumont also states (p. 179) that in the last period of paganism the name philosopher was finally applied to all adepts in occult science. But in Firmicus, while magic and philosophy are associated in two passages, there are five other allusions to magic and three separate mentions of philosophers.

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century culture as well as the rhetorical studies whose rôle has perhaps been overestimated. Let us compare the statistics. Oratory is mentioned eighteen times, and it is to be noted that literary attainments and learning as well as mere eloquence are regarded as essential in an orator. Men of letters other than orators are found in six passages, and poets in only three. A passage reading "philologists or those skilled in laborious letters" suggests that four instances of the phrase *difficiles litterae* should perhaps be classed under linguistic rather than occult studies. There are four allusions to grammarians and two to masters of grammar, as against one description of "contentions, contradictory dialecticians, professing that they know what no teaching has acquainted them with, mischievous fellows, but unable to do any effective thinking."[1] On the other hand, there are fourteen allusions to astronomy and astrology (not including the *mathematici* already listed under divination), three to geometry, and six to other varieties of mathematics.[2] Philosophers are mentioned five times; practitioners of medicine, eleven times;[3] surgeons, once; and botanists, twice. These professions seem to be well paid and are spoken of in complimentary terms.

That education was still widespread is indicated by eighteen mentions of masters, while one phrase suggests educational administration.[4] In two cases where men are said to be strangers to letters they are once diseased and once "of accursed mind."

From the numerous references to music[5] and athletics[6] we infer that they were still prominent features of ancient culture and education. On the other hand, relatively little is said of the stage,[7] and the sole allusion to gladiators describes them as "those who

[1] Kroll-Skutsch, 161, 26.

[2] *Computus*, 3; *calculus*, 2; and "those who excel at numbers," 1.

[3] Including two mentions of court physicians (*archiatri*). See *Codex Theod.*, Lib. XIII, Tit. 3, *passim*, for their position.

[4] There are 7 vague allusions to *disciplina*, *doctrina*, and *sophia*.

[5] Sixteen or 17 in all, including 4 about instrument-makers or -players, 2 concerning composers, 4 in which music is described as a source of pleasure or as evoking admiration and public honors.

[6] Athletes, 10; lovers of athletes, 1; masters of athletes, 1; *palaestrae* and gymnasiums, 7.

[7] Jugglers, mimes or dancers, actors and actresses are mentioned once each.

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perish by an atrociously cruel death in the sight of the people."[1] Firmicus is far from regarding travel as an amusement, and often speaks of its dangers or inconveniences.[2]

Professor Dill has pointed out that it is "curious to note how small a part of the Theodosian Code is devoted to the subject of trade and commerce." He thinks that "the *negotiatores* were in the fifth century probably on a much lower social level than the humblest landed proprietor," and he says that "if fortunes were accumulated in commerce, they have left few traces in the pages of the Code." A reason for this, he believes with other historians, is that "the wars and social confusion of the latter part of the third century gave a shock to commerce from which it never recovered."[3] The predictions of Firmicus scarcely substantiate these statements. He does not, it is true, devote very many passages to commerce,[4] but he says nothing to indicate that the lot of the *negotiator* is a hard or a low one. Rather he mentions it as a path to wealth or to important public positions, and several times gives financiers a high intellectual character. Guardians and agents of persons and property are mentioned in eighteen passages.

Firmicus appears also to have considerable respect for artists and artisans,[5] and draws no sharp distinction between the fine arts and other industries. Architects, sculptors, painters, and mosaic-makers are mentioned, and art still seems to be largely in the service of religion. Five passages listing goldsmiths, gilders, those who adorn garments with gold, workers in gold leaf, and silversmiths, and describing them as normally prosperous, are of interest in view of the fact that in this period only copper coins were in circulation,

[1] Kroll-Skutsch, 121, 20.

[2] In 10 out of 30 passages.

[3] Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century*, 246–47.

[4] Those in charge of accounts, 6; accounts, 3; *negotiatio*, 16; *fenus*, *feneratio*, etc., 7; *mensae*, 3; sureties, guards of money, and secreters of money, twice each; and other vague allusions.

[5] *Artifices*, as well as priests, magicians, and physicians, are among those "who gain their livelihood by these arts and possess such genius that they learn by themselves what no training of a master has transmitted to them." All through the *Mathesis* Firmicus speaks of God in the creation of man as an *artifex*, and in the *De errore* also mentions "the supreme God who composed all things with the moderation of divine artifice" (Ziegler, p. 5).

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and the coinage almost hopelessly debased. There are many references to lapidaries and dealers in precious stones (8 passages), to pigments (8), aromatics (8), dyers (7), those who find or invent colors (3), sellers of unguents (2), pharmacists (1), and medicaments (1). All this suggests the painted courtesan, and one is somewhat surprised at these indications of highly colored and highly scented luxury in an age of approaching political and economic decline and of Christian and ascetic growth.

The following are other occupations, arranged according to the frequency with which Firmicus mentions them: "arts concerned with fire and iron" (12); cooks and tavern-keepers (7); fishermen, tanners, and guards of sepulchers (5); embalmers, gardeners, and pilots (4); makers of tunics, manufacturers of linen, farmers, hunters, keepers of wild beasts, shipowners, and those who draw water from deep wells (3); workers in wool, in bronze, in other metals, miners, fullers, shoemakers, millers or bakers, undertakers, flower-sellers, cattle fanciers, cowherds, shepherds, grooms, fowlers, sailors, water-carriers (2); weavers, diggers of gold, "mechanics," turners, wine merchants, makers of articles for feminine use who are welcome in palaces, swineherd, stable boy, keeper of the royal animals, those who clean drains (1).

Firmicus also occasionally describes the conditions attending different occupations, speaking, for example, of "illustrious and noble arts from fire and from iron, and arts that are brought to the notice of all by the famous stamp of nobility," and again of arts which "will be either sordid or squalid or involving disagreeable stenches, or ones in which constant vigilance is demanded of the workmen."[1] Of nine vague allusions to "acts about water" and aquatic employment, five stigmatize that mode of life as laborious; and one mention of "unceasing labors about water" is immediately followed by a more specific description of "day laborers devoted to unremitting toil and who are wont to hire out their bodies for some job, earning a living by carrying loads on their backs and shoulders."[2] In this connection we may note that the expression *urinatores aquas ex altis puteis levantes* indicates that *urinator* does not always mean "a diver."[3]

[1] Kroll-Skutsch, 261, 3 and 166, 28. [2] *Ibid.*, 224, 22. [3] *Ibid.*, 168, 18.

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The treatment of agriculture seems meager. Possibly this is because farming was largely done by slaves and *coloni*. Owners of great estates are twice mentioned, and farmers are well spoken of as "cultivators of the fields who seek their fortunes with their own strength, efficient, prudent, and who always joy and delight in damp soil"; and again as "respectable farmers of decent habits, and rich, and whose possessions always adjoin the sea or rivers or swamps."[1] Gardeners, on the other hand, are once called "wretched."

From honest employment we pass to the underworld of crime and vice. It does not, however, seem to have been kept under very successfully in Firmicus' day. His descriptions of the ways in which men meet with injuries and death[2] give the impression that he lives in an age of war and violence. Sixty-eight passages predicting accusations, judicial sentences, and forms of punishment also give a sinister impression of his age, whether we choose to take them as signs of a disorderly and criminal society, or as manifestations of a suspicious, cruel, and oppressive government. A dozen passages show the prevalency of capital punishment, and seven others mention executioners. Seven attest the widespread employment of torture in this period, and twenty-two prophesy imprisonment, or mention wardens and prison guards. The squalor of prisons and the unkempt hair and deformity of prisoners are described. Men are sometimes imprisoned for life, or at least die in prison. Twelve passages mention delation, informers, and betrayers. Firmicus seems to regard them and executioners as of the same class with criminals. The following are the varieties of crimes and criminals in the order of the frequency with which they are mentioned in some 36 passages: thieves and unspecified homicide, 7 times each; sorcerers, 6; temple robbers, and death at the hands of pirates or brigands, 5; family murders, burglars, forgers, and those who deny

[1] *Ibid.*, 102, 22, and 254, 22.

[2] Of 135 passages directly mentioning death (and not including such predictions as, "They lose wives and children," or "murderers of wife and children") 53 use the word *biothanati* to indicate a violent death; 10 use *violentus;* an "evil death," 17; from disease, 11; from insanity, 1; from vicious excesses, 1; by falls from heights, 5; by sword, 5; by water, 4; by fire, 3; by ruins, 1; thrown to beasts, 1; in battle, 1; as a gladiator, 1; by robbers, 2; by pirates, 2; by one's domestics, 1; abroad, 5; in the desert, 1; in watery regions, 1; in prison, 2; public, 4; as a judicial penalty, 6 or 8; early death, 8; sudden and painless, 2; sad, 2; glorious, 1.

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deposits intrusted to them, 4; poisoners, and further mentions of brigands and of pirates, 3; vagabonds, 2; cutthroats, and suicide, once each. Poisoners are twice mentioned with sorcery, and secret writings are so mentioned once.

Firmicus gives a shocking and disgusting picture of the immorality of his age, and devotes as much space to lust and vice as to religion. Of sixty-four passages nine mention courtesans and harlots; four speak of panderers; incest and cohabitation with relatives are described in seven places, and four times at considerable length; adultery is mentioned four times; eight passages predict pederasty, the great vice of antiquity; effeminates are mentioned twice; unnatural vices and lusts of men, three times; those of women, also three times. The remaining passages speak either of illicit love and sexual intercourse, or of an impure life, or in a general way of vices and lusts, sometimes described as "preposterous." In nineteen cases vice and lust involve the offender in infamy, which also is predicted in fifteen passages where no specific mention of sexual immorality occurs. Sexual deficiency is often correlated with immorality. It is interesting to observe that in the *De errore* Firmicus criticizes the immoral ritual of pagan cults in the same phrases that he employs in predicting vice in the *Mathesis*.

Nor do Firmicus' predictions give us a favorable impression of family life in the fourth century. Homes seem to be disrupted too frequently, and the members of families are too often separated by death or dissension.[1] Marriage does not appear to be in a normal and healthy state.[2] Finally the evidence is strong for the prevalence

[1] Death of both parents or orphanage of children (*orbus*, *orbitas*), 18 (in some cases, however, the meaning seems to be that children are deprived of their parents' society and care rather than bereaved); death of father, 6; death of mother, 5; sickness of mother, 5; her enslavement, 1; separation from parents, 3; alienation from them, 5.

[2] Remain unmarried, 4; marry late, 4; "marry with difficulty," 4; (5 of these cases of remaining unmarried or marrying with difficulty are due to sterility); an early marriage, only once; many wives, 1; a "good marriage," 3; men gain wealth, happiness, and success through their wives, 10; a wife from a temple, 1; marriage with a prophetess, 1; a foreign wife, 1; 12 undesirable marriages, including one "unworthy" marriage, one unhappy match, one case where the husband "contracts infamy from his wife's conduct," six cases where men wed prostitutes, while wives are described twice as sterile, once as feeble, once as deformed, once as old, once as a virago, twice as not compliant to their husbands, thrice as slaves, once as degenerate, once as of lower birth than the husband, and thrice as widows, who seem almost as unfavorably

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of much sterility and childlessness, yet the old practice of exposing infants seems to continue unabated.[1] All this goes to prove the depopulation and decline of the empire. Nine passages show that the principle of primogeniture is observed in transmitting family property and suggest a selfish spirit on the part of the younger brothers, who would seem to be hoping for the death of their older brothers.[2] In comparing eighteen mentions of family dissensions with seventeen indications of family affection it should be remembered that the latter is probably usually taken for granted. It is, in fact, generally mentioned incidentally, not predicted expressly. One pleasing picture is of "fathers of families, removed from all luxurious pleasure, just, having leisure for self-communion, apart from the uproar of public intercourse."[3]

From Firmicus' descriptions of human personalities we can perhaps gain some further notion of the men and moral standards of his time. His character-sketching seems frank, unprejudiced, and true to life; he occasionally mingles good and evil traits in the same persons. Among desirable characteristics three stand out, namely, goodness, charm, and intellectual ability.[4] Men possessed of personal charm succeed in life much oftener than those who are merely good, and slightly oftener than men with brains. They also get along with their wives better than good men do. The good, however, are often attractive too, as in one case of justice, piety, firm

regarded as the others. Unstable affection of husband toward wife or quarrels between them occupy 8 passages, in 3 of which the children too are concerned. Yet in 3 of these same cases the men are given high characters. In other passages actual divorce is mentioned but once; separation, however, occurs 4 times; widowhood, 7; death of wife, 4.

[1] No children, 12; "either one child or none," 1; "hardly have children," 1; extinction of an entire family, 1; a large family, 2; children of both sexes or twins, 1; death of one's children, 4; loss of their affection, not including cases already listed, 2; adoption, 5; viragoes, 2; hermaphrodites, 4; eunuchs, 4; *archigalli*, 3; exposed, 13.

[2] Such passages as, "He will be older than all his brothers, or if anyone was born before him, such a one will be alienated from his parents." Kroll-Skutsch, 97, 17; 97, 21; 105, 20; 105, 28; 127, 16; 131, 8; 131, 12; 187, 5; 247, 17.

[3] Kroll-Skutsch, 253, 18.

[4] *Boni, justi, honesti, honestis moribus*, etc., 30; in 8 charming also and twice lovers of pleasure, in 4 serious and grave, in 3 successful, once easily deceived, once critical.

*Venusti, grati, suaves, decori, decentes, amabiles*, 22; of whom 3 are lustful, 9 successful. *Ingeniosi, cordati, arguti, acuti, magnae mentis*, 19; of whom 1 is good, 1 modest, 2 efficient, 6 successful.

We may also note men who are great, 2; or "divine," at least in certain respects, 5.

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love of friends, and a pure and noble life, combined in men who are not only "delightful, gay, musical, continually at play, lovable, pleasing, charming . . . . tall and blonde, their eyes flashing with a bright fascination," and with beautiful hair, but who are also "lustful lovers . . . . often ardently inclined to sexual intercourse." To complete this description of the attractive sons of the planet Venus, we must add that they are large drinkers, moderate eaters, blest with excellent digestion, and that their "life, spirit, and profession ever adheres to music's delights."[1] Efficiency, prudence, bravery, seriousness, temperance, truthfulness, reliability, fidelity, stability, humanity, sociability, and simplicity are other desirable qualities bestowed by the stars. With such traits as ambition, imperiousness, being puffed up with lofty pride, luxury, show, and profusion we near the boundary of undesirable characteristics; but these are stated as attributes of good as well as of evil men. The repellant traits most frequently named are badness and slowness,[2] which are to some extent correlated with inefficiency and stupidity. We also hear of violence and passion, falsehood, fickleness, cruelty, avarice, miserliness, covetousness, jealousy, enmity, treachery, ingratitude, bitterness, and lugubriousness.

Besides predictions concerned with specific occupations and phases of life, much of Firmicus' space is taken up by vaguer prophesy of prosperity or adversity. It is here that he is most rhetorical. At first sight it may seem that such passages, even taken in the conglomerate, are unlikely to yield any historic facts. Yet one may get from them some idea of the goods most highly prized, if not actually most frequently attained, by the men of that age, and some knowledge of the miseries which they dreaded most or which were in fact their lot.

Forecasts of well-being may be grouped for the most part under three heads: happiness, wealth, and the kindred matters of power, honor, and fame. To this last group 120 passages apply.[3] To wealth 125 refer, but many of these do not imply that the persons concerned

[1] Kroll-Skutsch, 249, 19.

[2] *Malus, malignus, malitiosus, malivolus, iniustus*, 21; *tardus, piger*, 11.

[3] Distributed as follows: power, 44; glory, 41; nobility, 30; honor, 23; dignities, 17; greatness, 15; *clarus*, 9; *famosus*, 5; *notus*, 5; *principatus*, 5; authority, 3; splendor, 3.

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are to be very rich. In many cases men grow rich through the regular pursuit of callings already listed; there are also eight general descriptions of self-made men. Inheritance, however, is a great source of wealth, or at least is one eagerly anticipated by those consulting astrologers.[1] If, however, we think that seven passages which hold out hopes of finding hidden treasure are visionary, we are mistaken, since there are three laws on the discovery of hidden treasure in the Theodosian Code.[2] Women seem often to be property-holders.

The treatment of the theme, happiness, is most extraordinary. With a very few exceptions Firmicus has but one word to denote happiness, *felix* or *felicitas*, which occurs in 101 passages. When other words modify and qualify it, they are merely quantitative or quite colorless. We hear often enough of "the greatest felicity," and of "increase of felicity," of "the trappings of felicity," and "the adornments of felicity," while a few times "superfluous felicity," and "happiness beyond measure" are mentioned. But qualitative and descriptive modifiers are lacking. In his descriptions of human personalities and of family life Firmicus gave us a few glimpses of a really happy existence, but in passages dealing primarily with prosperity and well-being he seems able to define happiness only in terms of wealth, position, and power. Thus felicity seems to consist largely of the possession of externals and one rather gets the impression that fourth-century humanity was not happy after all, or at least that Firmicus himself derives little satisfaction from the prospect. In predicting wealth, fame, and power his vocabulary is only a little less restricted and stereotyped than in his monotonous reiteration of promises of felicity. He expresses himself without gusto in formulae which possess little vividness or concreteness. His few allusions to amusements point in the same direction. This attitude may express the spirit of an age of decline; it may be partly due to a certain incapacity for gaiety inherent in Roman character; it may be to some extent the product of Firmicus' own temperament and outlook on the world. From this hard world where Socrates and Plato suffered while Alcibiades and Sulla prospered, from his

[1] Twenty-one passages.

[2] Book X, Title 18, Laws of 315, 380, and 390 A.D.

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own perilous and thankless post as defender of the wretched and oppressed against the avaricious and the wicked in the sordid sphere of law courts and forum, he tells us that he has gladly retired to spend his leisure with the divine men of old of Egypt and Babylon and to purify his spirit by contemplation of the stars and of the supreme God who works through them.

It is with a richer vocabulary, a more vivid style, and apparently a deeper sympathy that our author paints the life of the unfortunate and writes "the short and simple annals of the poor." This becomes the more impressive when we remember that he is a man of senatorial rank and writes for an official high in the imperial service. The condensed formulae of an astrological handbook may seem the last place where one would look for *lacrimae rerum*, but Firmicus often alludes to the weary and heavy laden of the ancient world. Professor Dill has noted the same tone in the language of the legislation of the declining empire in the next century. He speaks of its "minute and circumstantial description of oppression and wrong," and again says, "Many of these edicts betray the style of the school rhetorician, and yet there is in many of them the ring of genuine sympathy for misery."[1]

The predictions of adversity do not fall as naturally into three great groups as did the promises of prosperity, but I will try to maintain somewhat the same division for purposes of comparison. The 120 predictions of power, nobility, and fame may be offset by 132 passages containing allusions to slavery, captivity, toil and hardship, a low and ignoble existence, unpopularity and infamy.[2] Against the 125 allusions to wealth may be set 50 predictions of loss of property and 40 descriptions of poverty and destitution. Corresponding to the 101 cases of felicity are 104 passages in which a greater variety of terms is used to denote adversity and unhappiness in general. In fine, whereas generals were mentioned more often than soldiers, and kings than day laborers, the unfortunate are described as often as the prosperous. Moreover, there are fewer duplicates than before. Wealth and happiness went together 33 times, misfortune and

[1] *Roman Society in the Last Century*, 230–31.

[2] Slavery and servitude, 39; captivity, 13; degenerates, 3; ignoble, 10; inglorious, 2; abject, 2; subjected, 4; dejected, 5; a life of toil, 34; *invidia*, 6; infamy, 34.

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poverty are mentioned in the same passage only 22 times; happiness went with power, honor, and fame 32 times, misfortune goes with their opposites only 22 times; wealth was associated with power, honor, and fame 33 times, poverty is mentioned with their opposites only 10 times. That Firmicus saw other factors in unhappiness is further manifested by the fact that he associates it 9 times with danger, 17 times with disease, 9 times with death, 6 times with imprisonment and other penal afflictions. Danger he mentions 51 times in all. Finally against 17 predictions of success that have not yet been recorded may be set 27 failures.[1]

Death, injury, and disease loom up large in Firmicus' prospectus for the human race, making us realize the benefits of nineteenth-century medicine as well as of modern peace. No less than 174 passages deal with disease and many of them list two or more ills. Mental disorders are mentioned in 37 places;[2] physical deformities in six. Other specific ailments mentioned are as follows: blindness and eye troubles, 10; deafness and ear troubles, 5; impediments of speech, 4; baldness, 1; foul odors, 1; dyspeptics, 4; other stomach complaints, 7; dysentery, 2; liver trouble, 1; jaundice, 1; dropsy, 5; spleen disorders, 1; gonorrhoea, 2; other diseases of the urinary bladder and private parts, 6; consumption and lung troubles, 6; hemorrhages, 6; apoplexy, 3; spasms, 5; ills attributed to bad or excessive humors, 12; leprosy and other skin diseases, 6; ague, 1; fever, 1; pains in various parts of the body, 6; internal pains and hidden diseases, 9; diseases of women, 5. There remain a large number of vague allusions to ill-health: 21 to debility, 12 to languor, 3 to invalids, and 49 other passages. Only eight passages allude to the cure of disease. Among the methods suggested are cauterizing, incantations, ordinary remedies, and seeking divine aid, which last is mentioned most often. The eleven references to medical practitioners should, however, be recalled here. The predictions as

[1] Under success I class description of persons "who get whatever they desire," or "who gain all things easily," or "who are always accustomed to do well"; failures are those who "are impeded in all their acts," or who are easily deceived, cheated, and gotten the better of, whether by man or by fate.

[2] *Aestus animi*, 5; insanity, 13; lunatics, 10; epileptics, 8; melancholia, 3; inflammation of the brain (*frenetici*), 4; delirium, dementia, demoniacs, alienation, and madness, one or two each; vague allusions to mental ills and injuries, 5.

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to length of life are inadequate to the drawing of conclusions on that point.

Such is the census of the human race given in the third and fourth books of the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus. Taken altogether, the description seems to fit the age and to give us a fairly clear photograph, even if it is taken by the flashlight of astrology, of ancient civilization in one of its last phases.

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# ADVERBIAL USAGE IN EUGIPPIUS

By Charles Christopher Mierow

The style of Eugippius is exhibited almost solely in the *Vita Severini*, inasmuch as his only other surviving work, a book of excerpts from St. Augustine, is unimportant in this connection.

One of the most striking stylistic traits of the *Vita Severini* is the profuse use of adverbs and adverbial phrases. In this brief *Commemoratorium* (including the introductory letter to Paschasius and the *Capitula*) he uses 310 different adverbs (exclusive of adverbial conjunctions), 44 of which occur five times or more.

It would be interesting to trace all the separate divergences from strictly classical usage in the employment of adverbs and connectives by Eugippius, but the documents necessary for such a continuous tracing are missing. The literary antecedents of Eugippius are unknown to us except in a vague and incidental way. But he clearly belongs to his time, the opening of the sixth century, and belongs stylistically to the better group of writers. His style, while reflecting the general post-classical break-up and rearrangement of adverbial usage, is also marked by an effective and graphic manner which is evidently his own. His literary technique is without a trace of illiteracy such as appears in the self-confessed "*agramatus*" Iordanes.

In preparing this paper all the adverbs, adverbial conjunctions, and conjunctions in the *Vita Severini* were first collected and classified[1] according to derivation and then studied in regard to their literary use. The material will be presented under the following heads: I, Stylistic use of the adverbs; II, Use of connectives, including adverbs, adverbial conjunctions, and conjunctions.

## I. STYLISTIC EMPLOYMENT OF THE ADVERBS

### 1. COMPARATIVES

Eugippius is very fond of using adverbs in the comparative, although in the majority of cases there is no real comparison either

[1] Although the complete list of adverbs classified by derivation is not printed in this paper, it is worth noting that adverbs ending in *-ter* and adverbs in the comparative degree are unusually frequent.



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expressed or implied, and the comparative form is employed merely for the purpose of securing greater intensity of expression. Yet no real intensity of expression is secured thereby, because in nearly all cases little or no difference between the force of the comparative and of the positive can be detected. This is particularly evident in those instances where the same adverb is used in both degrees, as may be seen in the following examples:[1]

*ex supra dicto oppido* (3, 1).
*in loco . . . . superius memorato* (36, 1).

*sed quid vos ultra demoror* (43, 6).
*rogans . . . . ne ulterius experta requie privaretur* (cap. 16).

*quos aqua saepe superfluens transcendebat* (cap. 15).
*ad secretum habitaculum . . . . saepius secedebat* (4, 7).

*in nomine domini perge velociter* (4, 3).
*perge velocius, denuntians eis* (24, 2).

*instanter ac mirabiliter talia prosecutus aiebat* (43, 1).
*Maximianum . . . . instantius imperat admoneri* (24, 2).

*multis cito plurima largiturus* (7, 1).
*adiecit citius illos . . . . probaturos* (32, 2).

*habens Gothos . . . . vehementer infensos* (5, 1).
*dum vehementius turbaretur* (5, 1).

Note also the comparatives in the following sections: *evidentius* (3, 3), *studiosius* (9, 1), *religiosius* (12, 2), *attentius* (13, 1), *fortius* (27, 1), *districtius* (30, 2), *longius* (39, 1).

Once a double comparative is found:

*cum se magis . . . . enixius commendaret* (41, 2).

### 2. ADJECTIVES USED FOR ADVERBS

Eugippius uses with noticeable frequency an adjective in agreement with the subject (especially an omitted subject) of a verb, where an adverbial modifier of the predicate would seem more natural. The effect of this is a distinct gain in vividness.

[1] In all references the numbers refer to chapter and section of Mommsen's edition (Berlin, 1898) in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum; ad Pasch.* means the *Epistola ad Paschasium* and *cap.* refers to the *Eugippii Commemoratorii capitula.*

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Perhaps the most striking example of this construction is the use of *matutinus*[1] for *mane:*

*Cui tota nocte festinans . . . . matutinus occurrit* (31, 2).

(But *mane* is found in cap. 30 and 12, 5.)

*festinus* is twice used instead of *velociter* or *properanter:*[2]

*de contumaci, ait, oppido . . . . festinus abscedo* (1, 3).
*vade ergo festinus* (4, 3)

(exactly equivalent in meaning to *perge velociter* which appears just above in the same chapter).

*laetus* is used in the same way instead of *libenter* or another adverb of similar meaning (the adverb *laete* does not occur in the *Vita Severini*):

*cum . . . . laetus abscederet* (5, 3).

So too *sollicitus:*

*cum . . . . diem . . . . celebraturum sollicitus intimasset* (41, 1).

Other examples are:

*cito securus . . . . regnabis* (5, 2).
*velox itaque secuta correptio prostravit animos arrogantis* (8, 3).
*cumque pavens et concitus sequeretur* (19, 4).

See also cap. 14 (*fortis*); 12, 4 (*anxius*); 14, 2 (*lacrimabundus*); 24, 2 (*inlacrimans*); 40, 3 (*humillimus*).

### 3. ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Aside from adverbs that are adverbial phrases in origin, such as *admodum, denuo,* and the like, the *Vita Severini* contains a large number of phrases which are not only adverbial in force but sometimes actually equivalent to single adverbs. The following may be mentioned: *sine cessatione* (34, 1) for *incessabiliter;*[3] *miro modo* (cap. 3) for *mirabiliter; animo promptiore* (ad Pasch. 2) for *properanter; in tantum* (9, 1; 13, 1; 22, 3) for *ita; iam ex hoc* (40, 3), *in futuro* (42, 2), *in posterum* (36, 2), for *post* or *postea; qua causa* (27, 1), *quam ob rem* (31, 2), *ob quam rem* (12, 6), *ad hoc* (9, 4), for *ideo* or

[1] See *Aeneid* viii. 465.

[2] Eugippius does not use *celeriter*, except in the superlative form *celerrime*, which appears only once.

[3] All these suggested equivalent adverbs are actually used by Eugippius in the *Vita Severini.*

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*itaque; sine dilatione* (24, 2), *sine cunctatione* (24, 1), *sine ulla mora* (45, 1), *nec mora* (23, 1), *e vestigio* (19, 3), for *statim.*

Other adverbial phrases are: *solito more* (19, 1), *de more* (cap. 13; 6, 3), and *ex more* (1, 2 and in ten other sections); *improvida mente* (5, 3); *de cetero* (12, 6); *in crastinum* (41, 1); *per momenta* (42, 3); *omni modo* (43, 9); *per ordinem* (43, 8).

### 4. USE OF NEGATIVES

*haud, nihil, nec, non, minime,* and *nullatenus*

*haud* (2)[1] occurs only in the phrase *haud procul.*

*nihil* (7) is twice used instead of *non* (6, 1 and 28, 3).

*nec* (25) is most frequent in the double form *nec . . . . nec* "neither . . . . nor" (6). It is also commonly used in the meaning "and not" and in a number of phrases (*nec non et* (2), *nec mora, nec ante, nec aliter, nec solum . . . . sed et*). The longer form *neque* does not occur.

*non* (75), aside from its usual use, appears instead of *-ne* (1, 5) and *nonne* (12, 2); and *non . . . . non* once takes the place of the correlatives *nec . . . . nec* (29, 2). With the hortatory subjunctive (5, 2; 18, 2; 43, 5 three times) *non* is regularly used instead of *ne.*

The following phrases occur: *nec non et* (2), *non . . . . sed* (3), *non solum . . . . verum etiam, non tam . . . . quam, non tantum . . . . sed, numquid . . . . et non potius.*

Instead of *non* Eugippius sometimes uses *minime* (3) and *nullatenus* (see 24, 3; 13, 1; 17, 2; cap. 13; [for *penitus* in negative expressions see I, 6, *c*]).

### 5. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

The particle *-ne* as the sign of a question occurs once only:

*putasne possum invenire hominem* (9, 2).

*non* occurs once in its place:

*putas non ipse est* (1, 5).

It is also used for *nonne:*

*"non legistis," ait* (12, 2).

[1] A single numeral inclosed in parentheses indicates the number of times a word occurs in the *Vita Severini.*

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*numquid* and *num* appear once each, and in the same section (ad Pasch. 4).

*utrum* twice introduces an indirect question, but is never used with the first member of a double question (4, 2; 16, 2).

*an* is found once (40, 2).

### 6. SPECIAL ADVERBS

#### (a) *ita, sic, tam*

*ita* (18) is twice used to refer to what has preceded:

*ita media hieme . . . . patientiae dabat indicium* (4, 10).
*sanctus itaque vir cur ita fleret interrogatus* (22, 3).

Six times it refers to what follows:

*famulus dei ita respondit* (41, 1).

It is also used as a correlative (10) with *ut, tamquam, sicut,* and *quo:*

*ita sunt barbari . . . . exterriti, ut* (2, 1).
*tamquam de domo servitutis . . . . ita* (43, 5).
*sicut . . . . constat . . . . ita . . . . oportet* (40, 4).
*ut ita cum sibi subiectis ageret quo se . . . . cogitaret* (40, 2).

*sic* (8), like *ita,* may refer to what precedes (5):

*sic liquor ille gratissimus . . . . subtractus est* (28, 4).

Twice it refers to what follows:

*hanc ergo memoratus sic increpavit* (16, 3).
*Batavinis . . . . dubitantibus sic adiecit* (27, 3).

Once it is a correlative with *ut:*

*cuncta sic, ut vir dei praedixerat . . . . invenit* (9, 2).

*tam* (11) may modify an adjective and refer back to what has preceded (5):

*non est virtutis meae praestare tam grandia* (6, 2).

Once it modifies an adverb in like manner:

*illuc . . . . ubi tam impudenter excesserat* (22, 5).

As a correlative with *quam* it means "so much," or "as much" (2):

*non tam materialibus armis quam . . . . orationibus praemuniti* (27, 2).

Three times correlative with *ut:*

*tam celeberrima . . . . flagrabat opinio ut* (11, 1).

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(*b*) *solum, tantum*

*solum* (2) occurs only in connection with other adverbs in a correlative adversative phrase:

*non solum aeterna mercede . . . . verum etiam commodis . . . . praesentibus* (18, 2).

*nec solum sanitatem corporis sed et mentis* (36, 4).

*tantum* (9) is found once in this same construction. In the meaning "only" (8) it is regularly used instead of *solum:*

*curatus est, non tantum daemone sed . . . . vanitate* (36, 3).

*de praesenti tantum salute sollicitus* (5, 2).

*tantum in nomine domini perge* (4, 3).

(*tantum ne, tantum non,* and *tantum nec* are found with the subjunctive, 5, 2; 18, 2; 4, 5).

(*c*) *omnino, penitus*

*omnino* (2) is used, once with an adjective and once with a participle:

*manifestabat hominem omnino Latinum* (ad Pasch. 9).

*aliis autem . . . . omnino negantibus* (6, 4).

*penitus* (7) occurs once in the same sense, without a negative:

*cum de vita sua penitus desperarent* (29, 2).

Except for this one instance, *penitus* is always used to express a strong negative and means "at all," or "absolutely":

*nec ullus ab eo penitus auderet inquirere* (ad Pasch. 7).

*calciamento nullo penitus utebatur* (4, 10).

(*d*) *potius, magis, plus, amplius*

*potius* (9), "rather," invariably follows a negative either expressed or implied:

*ut tela . . . . non eis inferant vulnera, sed arma potius subministrent* (4, 4).

*magis* (11) means "rather" (5) or "the more" (3):

*ora magis ut corde plus videas* (cap. 35).

*etiam hominem saecularem, quanto magis monachos* (43, 6).

As correlatives with *quam* (5), *potius* and *magis* are used with no difference of meaning. *Plus . . . . quam* does not occur; *amplius . . . . quam* is found once:

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*subveni tibi potius quam pauperibus* (3, 2).
*fide magis quam gressibus* (29, 2).
*quis credat amplius eos . . . . quam eos* (11, 5).

In general *amplius* is used in a distinctly quantitative sense:

*viginti et amplius* (24, 1; see also 12, 2; 41, 1).

(*e*) *Temporal adverbs*

*iam* (14) is found usually in connection with a participle or an adjective, with the past, present, or future connotation:

*de quo iam . . . . praecipis* (ad Pasch. 3).
*exsequiis iam paratis* (14, 1).
*iam videbitis amodo fluvium . . . . prohibitum* (15, 2).

But it is sometimes merely transitional:

*iam utique non expecto* (ad Pasch. 3).

*nunc* (8) usually means "now." But it occurs once with the future indicative, meaning "soon" or "straightway," and is once merely transitional in force:

*vade, vilissimus nunc pellibus coopertus* (7, 1).
*nunc ex hostibus armabuntur* (4, 3).
*nunc ergo, rex optime* (31, 5).

*inde* is not used with temporal force.

*deinceps* is once used for *deinde:*

*quod signum deinceps aqua penitus non excedebat* (cap. 15).

But *deinde* is found also (see 4, 6; 25, 1; 40, 1; 44, 6).

*dudum* (2) is used in connection with a relative pronoun and refers to what has happened very shortly before:

*senex qui dudum . . . . tanti hospitis susceptor exstiterat* (1, 5).
*quae magno dudum miraculo . . . . conspeximus* (12, 1).

*mox* (25) is usually to be translated "presently" or "thereafter." Sometimes it is used in connection with a conjunction (*igitur* [3], *itaque* [2], *enim, tamen*) in which case it usually stands first in its clause:

*cadaver . . . . mox . . . . aperuit oculos* (cap. 16).
*egressus mox a barbaris Danuvio transvectus est* (10, 1).
*mox igitur eo descendente* (22, 4).

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*tunc* (39) is always used in the sense of *tum*.[1] It is especially common (29) as the introductory word in a sentence, and is sometimes directly followed by another adverb:

*spiritalium qui aderant tunc virorum* (13, 2).
*tunc ergo . . . . protinus exclamantes* (11, 4).

*quo* (14) is used six times in a temporal sense, while *ubi* invariably means "where."

*tempore quo Attila . . . . defunctus est* (1, 1).

Eugippius uses no less than twelve different adverbs to denote immediate action. The favorite words are *protinus* (16) and *statim* (13). The colloquial form *ilico* (4) is also found:

*receperunt protinus sanitatem* (46, 3).
*tunc . . . . statim incolumis . . . . surrexit* (33, 2).
*fusis ad deum precibus ilico sanavit infirmum* (6, 3).

The other expressions used are: *confestim, continuo, instanter, instantius, nec mora, e vestigio, sine ulla mora, sine cunctatione, sine dilatione.*

## II. USE OF CONNECTIVES

The frequent use of connectives is a marked characteristic of this very literal-minded author. He turns to them and relies on them with almost amusing helplessness. Adverbs and conjunctions alike are thus used to give liveliness and to indicate with particularity the progress of the narrative, setting off with sharpness as separate items the various details which are strung along and joined together to make one historical account. These connectives are used freely and interchangeably. Many adverbs which by his time have lost their original shades of meaning are in fact no longer adverbs in the strict sense, though it is not possible to form an absolute judgment in every instance.

These adverbs and conjunctions, then, can no longer be differentiated and separated as adversative, causal, and conclusive, although in a few cases they do retain their original and exact meaning. In the greater number of instances they are to be roughly grouped together, merely as co-ordinating connectives with little or

[1] *Tum* does not occur in the *Vita Severini*.

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no distinction between them. The following examples, each of which is the first phrase of a chapter, serve to show lack of sharp differentiation in Eugippius' use of such words:

*Quidam vero nomine Maurus* (10, 1).
*Alio rursus tempore* (12, 1).
*Accidit etiam* (14, 1).
*Accidit autem* (16, 1).
*Talibus igitur . . . . muneribus opulentus* (17, 1).
*Cives quoque ex oppido* (18, 1).
*Ad habitatores praeterea oppidi* (24, 1).
*Deinde quidam de Norico* (25, 1).
*Cives item oppidi Lauriaci* (30, 1).
*Nonis itaque Ianuariis* (43, 1).

The following is a complete list of the various connectives used in 685 instances in the *Vita Severini: ac* (19), *at* (10), *atque* (19), *aut* (4), *autem* (10), *deinde* (4), *enim* (16), *ergo* (22), *et* (178), *etenim* (3), *etiam* (31), *igitur* (33), *itaque* (37), *item* (3), *nam* (9), *namque* (4), *nempe, nec* (25), *praeterea* (3), *quapropter* (2), *-que* (69), *quidem* (4), *quippe* (6), *quoque* (23), *rursus* (2), *sed* (33), *seu, simul* (3), *siquidem* (3), *tamen* (20), *tunc* (38), *-ve, vel* (25), *vero* (18), *verum* (6).

From this enumeration and classification, which covers every instance of adverbial usage in the *Vita Severini*, the following conclusions may be drawn in regard to this striking feature of the style of Eugippius:

1. There is a free interchange of the positive and comparative degrees as equivalents in intensity.

2. Adjectives and phrases are frequently used instead of adverbs.

3. There is a disappearance of the fine distinctions between certain adverbs of similar meaning.

4. The adverb is losing its definite adverbial quality and is often appearing as a mere conjunction.

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# THE ASSUMED DURATION OF THE WAR OF THE *ILIAD*

By John A. Scott

Professor J. Van Leeuwen (*Mnemosyne*, XXXIV (1906), 193 ff.; XXXVIII, 396 ff.; and republished as part of chap. I in his *Commentationes Homericae*, Leiden, 1911) advanced with convincing arguments and great assurance the theory that the *Iliad* describes not the end of a long war, but a campaign embracing only a single summer. The Greeks, he believes, having ravaged the islands which lay along their course, and having sacked the allied towns in the Troad and adjacent regions, prepared to storm the walled city itself. The Trojans, as soon as they learned of the landing and intended assault, formed an army and advanced to meet the Greeks; the action described in the *Iliad* immediately follows, and in a few weeks the war is at an end.

The purpose of the present investigation is to offer a new study of the *Iliad* with reference to the theory just stated. It must be said in advance that definite chronological references in the *Iliad* are surprisingly few, and that most of the scenes of the poem are as undatable on internal evidence as the soliloquies of Hamlet, or the Sermon on the Mount.

The definite references are practically all confined to the action or speeches just before the preparations for fighting begin. These references are not dragged in, but we learn as if by accident that the army has already been at Troy for many years, and we know that the action which is to follow is the culmination of a long struggle. The artistic effect of giving this definite information just in advance of the fighting is very great.

The only such references are the following: Agamemnon in the speech in which he attempts to arouse his men to action by pretending to discourage them says:

B 134: ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοὶ
καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται·

The fact that the war has been a long one and that it would be a shame to have waited so many years and then return home with



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their task not yet accomplished is the burden of the speech of Odysseus:

B 295: ἡμῖν δ' εἴνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτὸς
ἐνθάδε μιμνόντεσσι.

also his arguments in the same speech based on the omen of the bird and her young destroyed by the serpent:

B 313: ὀκτώ, ἐτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα [repeated in 326].
327: ὣς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίξομεν αὖθι,
τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἱρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν.

No other definite reference is found until in the twelfth book:

M 15: πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ.

While this reference does not assign the events of the *Iliad* to any particular year, yet the inference from the preceding verses is that the fall of Troy followed close upon the anger of Achilles and the death of Hector. The only other definite date is found in the lament of Helen, as she weeps beside the dead body of Hector:

Ω 765: ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδ' εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,
ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν ἔβην καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης·

These words assume a lapse of ten years before the Greeks finally reached Troy to engage the Trojans, and Hector's death in the tenth year of that war; hence, of course, the action of the *Iliad* belongs to that tenth year. Of these four definite references three are in speeches and one is by the poet himself. These exact indications of the duration of the war present no difficulty to Van Leeuwen, since he simply rejects each as being in conflict with his theory, and therefore out of harmony with the *Iliad*.

There are no better attested verses in Homer than the references to the long war in the speeches of Agamemnon and Odysseus. They created no impression in ancient times that they contradicted the rest of the poem. Such a theory presupposes that the *Iliad* was in the keeping of men who had complete control of the text so that they were able to change it at will. Unless there was such absolute control, how was it possible to effect the adoption of additions or mutilations which were out of keeping with the whole? If the *Iliad* teaches that the events all belong to a single summer, how, in the face of this teaching, did the other tradition become so powerful?

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When once the *Iliad* became generally known, such interpolations would have been impossible; hence the two traditions must have been practical contemporaries. Why was the tradition of the one summer's war so strong that it could form the background of the *Iliad*, and then immediately so weak that it must yield to the tradition of the ten years' war? How in the face of the *Iliad* did the later tradition arise? The very conception of changing the plan or details of a poem involves the existence of a group of men having that poem in absolute control. Such a group would be more interested in preserving an old tradition than in incorporating a new. A guild which preserved would be inclined to defend the inherited tradition. However these definite statements of time are not the only reasons for assuming that the *Iliad* has for its setting a long-continued war.

The following indefinite references are in harmony with and presuppose such a period of fighting:

B 13: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἀθάνατοι φράζονται·

115: [Agamemnon says:] ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν·

120: μὰψ οὕτω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν
ἄπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι
ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισι, τέλος δ' οὔ πώ τι πέφανται·

161: Ἀργείην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο κτλ·

272: ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε
βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων·

344: Ἀτρεΐδη, σὺ δ' ἔθ' ὡς πρὶν ἔχων ἀστεμφέα βουλὴν
ἄρχευ' Ἀργείοισι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·

Not only the definite but the vague references to the long war abound in this book, and the hearer is so thoroughly impressed with this idea that he hardly feels the incongruity of the scenes which immediately follow.

Further vague references to a long struggle are:

Γ 99: [Words of Menelaus:] ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε
εἵνεκ' ἐμῆς ἔριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἀρχῆς·

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When Helen is first seen she is at work with her needle:

Γ 125: τὴν δ' εὗρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἕθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάων·

Γ 132: οἳ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα . . . .
οἳ δὴ νῦν ἅαται σιγῇ – πόλεμος δὲ πέπαυται –

The words spoken by the Trojan elders, when Helen approached, give the impression that there has already been much fighting:

Γ 156: οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·

After the fighting has once begun the chronological references are few and vague, since each act is represented as taking place for the first time. To refer to an act as habitual, well-known, or customary would rob the poet of the chance to describe it.

Unless the war has lasted long, these following verses would be without meaning:

E 788: ὄφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλέσκετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
οὐδέ ποτε Τρῶες πρὸ πυλάων Δαρδανιάων
αἴχνεσκον· [Words of Stentor–Hera.]

A similar implication is found in the words spoken to Glaucus:

Z 123: τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὄπωπα μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
τὸ πρίν· [Words of Diomede.]

Z 419: Andromache tells how her father was slain by Achilles, his dead body treated with honor, a mound erected in his memory, and elms encircled this mound: περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες. This, of course, implies the lapse of several years. She tells also how her mother was carried away with the spoils, ransomed by her own father, and died a sudden and painless death in his palace. The manner in which this is told implies that her mother has long been dead and that she is not telling the story of a recent sorrow. When Paris overtakes Hector as he is returning to battle, Hector says:

Z 521: δαιμόνι', οὐκ ἄν τίς τοι ἀνήρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη,
ἔργον ἀτιμήσειε μάχης, ἐπεὶ ἄλκιμός ἐσσι·

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If this is the first day's fighting of the war, Paris has had little opportunity to show his bravery.

When Menelaus offers to accept the challenge of Hector, Agamemnon tries to dissuade him from this seeming rash attempt:

H 113: μηδ' ἔθελ' ἐξ ἔριδος σεῦ ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,
Ἕκτορι Πριαμίδῃ, τόν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι·
καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι.

Odysseus tries to stir the ambition of Achilles by telling him:

I 304: νῦν γάρ χ' Ἕκτορ' ἕλοις, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι,

to whom the disillusioned Achilles replies:

I 316: ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν
μάρνασθαι δηίοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμὲς αἰεί·

348: ἢ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πονήσατο νόσφιν ἐμεῖο,
καὶ δὴ τεῖχος ἔδειμε καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ
εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν·
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς δύναται σθένος Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
ἴσχειν· ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἕκτωρ,
ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν·
ἔνθα ποτ' οἶον ἔμιμνε, μόγις δέ μευ ἔκφυγεν ὁρμήν·

It was the altered policy of the Trojans that forced the Greeks to build the wall. The fact that Achilles speaks of Hector as "the man slaying," exactly as he did in A 242, shows that this title or reputation must have been won in battles fought before the quarrel described in the first part of the *Iliad*.

I 401: οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν
Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι, εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον,
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν·

This depletion of Trojan resources can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the city has undergone a long siege. In N 95 ff. Poseidon tries to arouse the Greeks by contrasting the present aggressive attitude of the Trojans with their former policy of avoiding a struggle.

When Meriones starts for his tent to get fresh arms he meets Idomeneus who says (N 259): "You will find an abundance of spears

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here in my tent, spears I have seized from fallen Trojans, for since I joined in the combat there has come to my hand an abundance of arms of every sort." To whom Meriones replies:

N 267: καί τοι ἐμοὶ παρά τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
πόλλ' ἔναρα Τρώων·

He adds that his bravery has been seen by Idomeneus on many an occasion. As neither of these warriors has thus far more than fleshed his sword in the action of the *Iliad*, where did they capture all this armor and in what battles did they perform these mighty exploits?

When Polydamas urges the Trojans to return to the city and endure the siege, Hector shows that already they are so impoverished that their only hope is in driving the invaders out of the Troad; a changed policy is thus obligatory:

Σ 287: ἦ οὔ πω κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι ἔνδοθι πύργων;
πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι
πάντες μυθέσκοντο πολύχρυσον, πολύχαλκον·
νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐξαπόλωλε δόμων κειμήλια καλά,
πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην καὶ Μῃονίην ἐρατεινὴν
κτήματα περνάμεν' ἵκει.

These verses show that the siege has lasted for many years, since the Trojans have been so long reduced that their wealth has had time to reach distant lands. Priam complains (Ω 257) that the war has deprived him of three mighty sons, Mestor, Troilus, and Hector. Of these three sons Hector is the only one to have any part in the action of the *Iliad*; hence the career of the others must belong to earlier events. All of the above passages must be interpolations, if the theory of Van Leeuwen that the first intimation that came to the Trojans of the landing of the Greeks is found in the speech of Iris who assumed the form of Polites (B 796 ff.), and if the first struggle of the two peoples followed the duel between Paris and Menelaus.

By accepting all references as genuine and original and combining them with the evidence from commerce and geography, as presented by Doctor Leaf in his *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography*, we may safely assume the following background for the *Iliad*.

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The Greeks in large numbers and well-prepared came to attack Troy, but the Trojans strongly protected by the great walls of their citadel refused to meet the Greeks in the open field and contented themselves with occasional sallies on the camp or on scattered divisions of the enemy. Supplies came steadily into the besieged city, and the Greeks seemed unable to capture it by storm or to reduce it by starvation. Such sieges could be indefinitely prolonged as Herodotus tells—(ii. 157) that the city of Azotus withstood for twenty-nine years the siege made by the armies of Psammetichus; while the resistance of Plataea in the Peloponnesian War shows the great difficulties encountered in capturing a walled city.

After several years of waste labor the Greeks see that Troy cannot be taken so long as she has open communication with her sources of food on the mainland, hence the determination to cut this communication, and "The Great Foray" in which Briseis and Chryseis find their place in the spoils of war. The Greeks are already in control of the sea, and now that they have been able to intercept or threaten supplies coming by land Troy must fight or fall, and thus for the first time she summons her allies. Inasmuch as the ability to withstand the siege depended on the presence of supplies, it was to the interest of the beleaguered city to have as few as possible to feed. Had she summoned her allies, while she still pursued the defensive policy, she would have hastened her own ruin and would have done for herself the very thing Lysander did for Athens after the victory at Aegos-Potami.

This forced assumption of the offensive after the success of the Greek raid takes all the force out of the chief argument used by Van Leeuwen in support of his theory, namely, the fact that so many of the allies of Troy have just come or are still coming to the scene of action. Sarpedon speaks of his "baby boy" back in Lycia E 688; Asteropaeus and his Paeonian warriors have been at Troy but eleven days in Φ 156; hence must have arrived during the time in which the events of the *Iliad* fall. Rhesus and his followers come when the action of the *Iliad* is almost half over. These are enough to show that Trojan allies are rushing to the help of the invested city. A long list could be made of those warriors who have newly arrived to join in the struggle.

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The exhausted resources of the Trojans and the resulting presence of their allies caused a complete change in the plan of the war:

N 105: ὣς Τρῶες τὸ πρίν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν
μίμνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐναντίον, οὐδ' ἠβαιόν·
νῦν δὲ ἑκὰς πόλιος κοίλῃς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ μάχονται·

The Greeks are no longer the attacking but the attacked. The real cause of this change is the success of the Greek efforts in forcing the Trojans to starvation, but the poet hides the true motive under the poetic device of the "Wrath." This is put at the very moment in which the economic causes have forced the Trojans to assume the aggressive. With this changed policy of the Trojans the Greeks must prepare not for attack but for defense; hence the necessity of building the wall and digging the great ditch. The wall would have been an absurdity during the earlier stages or years of the war, but now with the Trojans desperate and reinforced by allies the position of the Greeks must be intrenched. It is the unexpected prowess of the Trojans, but above all the sudden presence of the allies, which crushed the spirit of Agamemnon. After the siege has been pressed for ten years he finds the Trojans suddenly strengthened. This unanticipated accession of allied forces explains his words of disappointment:

B 130: ἀλλ' ἐπίκουροι
πολλέων ἐκ πολίων ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἵ με μέγα πλάζουσι καὶ οὐκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα
Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαι εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον·

Just when he thought the siege had ruined the power of Troy and that the Trojans were his only antagonists, he finds his hopes baffled by the arrival of allies. Immediately the whole aspect of the war is changed; the Greeks who previously thought only of the ruin of the Trojans must now provide for their own safety; a wall was built (H 436), pickets were posted (I 81), spies were sent out (K 205), and military tactics are described, as if it were indeed the beginning of the war. That the "Wrath," the assumed poetic reason for the Trojan change from defensive warfare, was not the actual reason is shown by such passages as the following: "The Trojans fought compelled by hard need" (Θ 57, χρειοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ); Achilles speaks (I 420) of the wealth possessed by Troy before the war began; Hector especially

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bases his offensive campaign on the straits to which Troy has been reduced by the long siege (Σ 286 ff.). These verses have been quoted above. A similar reference to the poverty thus caused is found in the words spoken by Achilles:

Ω 543: καὶ σέ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι.
ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἕδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων,
τῶν σε, γέρον, πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἱάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι·

Van Leeuwen lays especial stress on the fact that the actors of the *Iliad* have not aged since their arrival at Troy; his two most emphasized examples are the following: Hermes, in the form of a young man, came to guide Priam into the presence of Achilles:

Ω 347: βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἐοικώς,
πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη·

Hermes, then, assumed the character of a youth of hardly more than eighteen years. He assures Priam that he is the son of Polyctor and a soldier of Achilles, also that he was selected among seven brothers to follow with the Greeks to Troy. "How," asks Van Leeuwen, "can a soldier who has been nearly ten years in the field give the impression that he is a lad in his early young manhood?" *Ineptus fere mihi ipse videor talia rogans* (*Mnem.*, XXXIV, 202). Even worse is the case of Helen who says of herself that she is now in her twentieth year at Troy (Ω 765). Paris, however, had told her but a few days previously that he had never had stronger passion for her than at that moment (Γ 442 ff.). The veteran Hellenist and critic can never restrain his mirth when he thinks of her years and his passion. *Quis sine risu legat Ω 765 collatis Γ 442–446* (*Mnem.*, XXXIV, 194). These two illustrations show an utter failure to grasp one of the fundamental laws of Homeric poetry, namely, when once an actor is given or supposed to have a definite age or form he maintains each unchanged throughout. Telemachus is introduced in the first book of the *Odyssey* as a young man just reaching his majority, ready and anxious to assume the duties of manhood; but nine years previous to the time assumed as the setting for this first book Odysseus meets his own mother, Anticleia, in his visit to Hades; Telemachus by actual counting is at that time not over twelve years of

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age, yet he is just as old as he was when introduced in the early scenes of the poem:

λ 185: Τηλέμαχος τεμένεα νέμεται καὶ δαῖτας ἐίσας
δαίνυται, ἃς ἐπέοικε δικασπόλον ἄνδρ' ἀλεγύνειν·

In this same scene in Hades, Agamemnon refers to Telemachus as a man among men:

λ 449: ὅς που νῦν γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἴζει ἀριθμῷ·

These evident contradictions in the age of Telemachus are no proof of independent authorship or interpolations, but show strict adherence to epic usage.[1] A striking example of chronological inconsistency is furnished by Elpenor, the companion of Odysseus, who, heavy with wine, forgot to go down from the roof on the ladder and so lost his life, and who is spoken of as immature and "very young" (νεώτατος, ι 552). Yet he must have been an old and seasoned veteran, since he has seen ten years' service at Troy, as is implied in all parts of the narration of Odysseus, and more than a year has elapsed since the departure of the Greeks.

Hermes appeared to Priam in exactly the same form as he appeared to Odysseus in κ 279. When Hermes came to Priam he came in the form he was wont to assume when appearing to mortals, and when he left he did not assume some other appearance. The poet had no intention of giving the god the form and attributes of the son of Polyctor; his attention was fixed only on describing Hermes.

The poet of the *Odyssey* regards Penelope as the mother of an adult son; the father and husband has been gone for nearly twenty years, hence he has been as long from Penelope as Helen has been at Troy, when she laments for fallen Hector. In the case of Penelope the twenty years cannot be called in question, and she is surrounded by youthful suitors, while in the *Iliad* Paris must have aged along with Helen, yet the passions of the suitors seem like the emotions of Paris:

α 365: πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι·
σ 212: τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρῳ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν·

[1] Altendorf, *Aesthetischer Kommentar zur Odyssee*, p. 41, has an unusually good discussion of the character of Telemachus in Books one and eleven.

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The chronology of the *Iliad* may be wrenched by the excision of a few verses, but no amount of excision in the *Odyssey* can make a young woman out of Penelope, when a grown son stands at her side. If the age of Helen makes the passion of Paris a subject of mirth to Professor Van Leeuwen, what hilarity he must find in the story of Penelope and the suitors!

The poet of the *Odyssey* builds on the chronology of the *Iliad* in determining the years of Nestor. In the *Iliad* he is now ruling in the third generation, in the *Odyssey* the rule of the third generation is completed (A 252; γ 245). Nestor has added to his years, but has grown no older. The repeated references in the *Iliad* to the feebleness of Nestor because of his age presume that the end of his strength if not of his life is near, yet he shows no decline in the story of the *Odyssey*. Nestor is there the wise and intelligent host, he plans the sacrifice, begins the rites with water for the hands, makes use of the ceremonial grains, cooks the meat on spits, pours out the offering of wine, and arranges the journey which Telemachus is about to make to Sparta. The Nestor of the *Iliad* remains unchanged in body and mind.

How does Helen appear in the *Odyssey*? Is the charm all gone? Here she cannot hide her age, since we have seen the marriage of Hermione and Hermione's younger paternal brother, Megapenthes. Hermione's wedding has been long delayed, so that we hardly dare to estimate the years of her mother.

Whom does Helen resemble when she appears in the *Odyssey*, Hecuba or Tithonus?

δ 121: ἐκ δ' Ἑλένη θαλάμοιο θυώδεος ὑψορόφοιο
ἦλυθεν, Ἀρτέμιδι χρυσηλακάτῳ ἐικυῖα·

This is the very goddess to whom the maiden, Nausicaa, is likened both by the poet and by Odysseus (ζ 102, 150). It never occurred to the poet that she was growing old, or could grow old. Just as she first appears in the *Iliad* hard at work with her needle, so here she comes in as the industrious wife busy with her wool and her spinning. This little trait of industry common to both poems is a neat indication of a single conception and a single author. Helen had not aged; she was still in the poet's vision the youthful beauty whose charms

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had brought to Sparta a Trojan prince, and for whose recovery a race dared risk a foreign war. To sit down with paper and pencil for the purpose of auditing her charms by her years is to fail to appreciate the very essence of Homeric poetry. These illustrations are taken from the *Odyssey*, since the few days involved in the action of the *Iliad* give no space for testing the lapse of time. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited before the same audience and observed the same poetic proprieties, so we cannot assume that anything which would have been absurd in the *Iliad* would be acceptable in the *Odyssey*.

Many events, such as the muster of the troops, the report of Iris-Polites as to the multitude of the Greeks, the duel between Paris and Menelaus, the *Teichoskopia*, and the advice of Nestor in regard to military tactics, do not strictly belong to the tenth year of a siege, but the poet must give some impression of the appearance of the army, of the tactics to be employed, of the regal bearing of Agamemnon, of the beauty of Helen and her mental attitude regarding her present and former husband,[1] and also the contrast between Paris and Menelaus, but since he did not describe the earlier years of the war he must insert them in the only part he did describe. The change in the character of the war was due to the success of the Greeks in intercepting the Trojan supplies and it was the genius of the poet which substituted the "Wrath" with its personal hero for the impersonal causes which forced the Trojans to assume the offensive.

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[1] Professor Rössner, *Beiträge zur Lösung der homerische Frage*, Magdeburg, 1913, p. 54, shows that the purpose of the *Teichoskopia* is to picture the mental attitude of Helen when she sees the leaders of the Greeks, and also that the duel is not to settle an issue, but to show us Menelaus and Paris; hence these character-sketches are timeless and are not out of place in the tenth year of the war.

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# THE FUTURE PERIPHRASTIC IN LATIN

By R. B. Steele

The development of the form "going to be" in English is an interesting one, and is a good example of grammatical evolution along the lines of least resistance. The difficulties in the use of "shall" and "will" have been solved to some extent by substitution. We do not know that it was inconvenient for the Roman to maintain two different ways of conjugating the future, and one of these with internal change of vowel. However this may have been, the use of the periphrastic gave uniformity of expression, and so far as it went was a distinct gain. But it was serviceable not only for statements concerning the future, but also for the expression of conditions both direct and indirect. It is in this field that its chief syntactical value is shown. But apart from this, the periphrastic indicates something of the extent to which the distant scene occupied each writer, and the differences in frequency of occurrence in different writers must be the principal point to be considered.

In the expression the form of *sum* gives the fact of existence at a certain time, and the participle the mental or physical inclination or tendency. Just how strong this inclination or tendency may be is a matter of interpretation, and this varies from free inclination to fixed tendency. Sjögren (*Zum Gebrauch des Futurums im Altlateinischen* [Uppsala, 1906], pp. 196 ff.) gives different interpretations of the periphrastic. Postgate (*I. F.*, IV, 258), speaking of the future and the periphrastic, says: "Plautus felt very little difference between them." Morris, on the sentence-question (*A. J. P.*, X, 397; XI, 13 ff.) in Plautus and Terence, makes no distinction between them. Some Germans support the view that the periphrastic sometimes expresses that which must be. Sjögren's conclusion (p. 227) is: "Sie bezeichnet im allgemeinen eine in der Gegenwart bevorstehende, dem Willen oder der Absicht nach vorhandene Handlung"; and (p. 228): "Die im klass. Latein öfters vorkommende Bedeutung des Sollens oder der Bestimmung, Wahrscheinlichkeit u.s.w. ist nicht .... die ursprüngliche, sondern im Altlateinischen noch im Entstehen



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begriffen und zwar m.E. nach Muster von *futurum est*, das im Zusammenhang der Rede dessen Sinn öfters annimmt." This developed force is discussed by Hoppe (*Program*, I, 13–14, Gumbinnen, 1875), and illustrated by examples from Cicero, e.g., *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "quoquo enim modo nos gesserimus, fiet tamen illud, quod futurum est; was kommen soll, kommt; *quod futurum est* giebt eine Beschaffenheit an, charakterisiert, *fiet* bezeichnet den Eintritt der Handlung in der Zukunft." Similar to this passage are *ad Att.* xi. 18. 1: "sive enim bellum in Italia futurum est (sein soll), sive classibus utetur (sein wird), hic esse me minime convenit; quorum fortasse utrumque erit, alterum certe (wird eintreten); and *ad Att.* xiv. 13. 2: si est bellum civile futurum (sein soll) quod certe erit si (eintreten wird, wenn)."

A discussion of this question dealing with all the data might be as the counseling of those who

> . . . . reason'd high
> Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate;
> Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
> And found no end in wandering mazes lost,

for the interpretation is dependent on the attitude assumed toward fate. This is well illustrated in Cicero's *de Divinatione* and *de Fato*. Assuming that "omnia fato fiunt," it follows, *de Div.* i. 55. 125, "nihil est factum, quod non futurum fuerit, eodemque modo nihil est futurum, cuius non causas id ipsum efficientes natura contineat. Ex quo intellegitur . . . . id, quod physice dicitur, causa aeterna rerum, cur et ea, quae praeterierunt, facta sint et, quae instant, fiant et, quae sequantur, futura sint." And again (ii. 7. 19): "quamquam dicebas omnia, quae fierent futurave essent, fato contineri." Other conclusions of similar import might be quoted. At the same time the opposite view is also expressed by the periphrastic, e.g., *de Div.* ii. 6. 15: "potestne igitur earum rerum, quae nihil habent rationis, quare futurae sint, esse ulla praesensio"; and again (17): "qui potest provideri quicquam futurum esse, quod neque causam habet ullam neque notam, cur futurum sit."

Cicero and his correspondents, freed from all philosophical preconceptions, continually speak of the future as if the power of choice were left to themselves. And this is true whatever may be the person

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of the verb: *ad Att.* iv. 16. 7: "certum non habeo, ubi sis aut ubi futurus sis"; ix. 1. 2: "quaero . . . . quid acturi sint, iturine ad Pompeium et, si sunt, qua quandove ituri sint." This sense of freedom is especially indicated by the past tenses, as in v. 20. 9: "Deiotarus ad me venturus erat"; vi. 8. 4: "tranquillitates aucupaturi eramus." In these the actions appear untinged by any idea of necessity inhering in "shall." And in general it may be said that the periphrastic action is free from constraint, as *est* or *fuit* according to the point of view terminates each *futurus est*, that is, *futurus est. . . . . est*, and in the future view *futurus est* there is no more necessity than there is in the realization *est*.

The noticeable extension in the use of the future participle (*A. J. P.*, XIX, 275) indicates that the force of the participle combined with *sum* was extended to the independent relation. If it is logical to assume that the origin of *venturus* expressing design was in the preceding *venturus est*, then the periphrastic expressed the free inclination of the actor posited, theoretically, in any temporal plane, but practically, at first, judging by Plautus and Terence, confined to the present. This inclination varies from that of mere being, expressed by *futurus est*, to different forms of activity which, interpreted from the mental standpoint of the actors, may be held to be anything from a passing fancy to a dogged determination. In the same way *futurum est*, which in itself is colorless, indicating merely the unconditioned forthcoming, may, incorrectly we think, be interpreted as determined futurity.

There are frequent illustrations of the fact that the boundary line between *est* and *erit* is not always clearly kept in view. But in the temporalization of the inclination by the periphrastic the periods of time are kept distinct. *Est* may enter the sphere of *erit*, but *venturus est*, *erat*, or *fuit* keeps true to the time of the form of *sum* used, and the last two lie outside of the sphere of *veniet*. The pluperfect so noticeable in the *de civ. Dei* of Augustine is, if possible, still further removed.

## I. POETRY

The comedies of Plautus and Terence furnish a fine field for study, though they give little that is striking in the use of the tenses. By far the larger part of the occurrences are in the present as we should

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expect in the words of men talking chiefly about the affairs of the present. Sjögren (pp. 196 ff.) discusses the periphrastic in Plautus and Terence, and (p. 227) gives the number of occurrences for Plautus, 120 in the indicative and 16 in the subjunctive, and for Terence, 30 and 6 respectively. Postgate (*I. F.*, IV, 257) gives for Plautus 101 and 27. While the present indicative is generally found, there are some interesting exceptions: Plaut. *Cist.* 152: "quod si tacuisset, tamen | ego eram dicturus, deus qui planius." The perfect is found *Asin.* 621; *Most.* 437; and Ter. *Heaut.* 816: "audiuisse gaudeo | quam argentum haberes, quod daturus iam fui." More noticeable is the pluperfect, Ter. *And.* 542: "atque ita uti nuptiae | futurae fuerant"; and 587 where Simo repeats negatively a part of his previous statement. In the subjunctive, outside of the present, we find only *Persa* 296: "scis quid hinc porro dicturus fuerim"; and in the imperfect, *Cist.* 243: "quae esset aetatem exactura mecum in matrimonio;" and also Ter. *Heaut.* 569: "metui, quid futurum denique esset."

The Latin poets from Lucretius to Silius Italicus do not for the most part use the periphrastic freely. This is especially true of Lucretius and of the epic poets. There are, it is true, some occurrences, as Lucr. iii. 862: "si forte aegreque futurumst"; iii. 949: "si numquam sis moriturus"; Verg. iii. 154: "quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est | hic canit"; and Val. Flaccus vii. 534: "o utinam o nullo te sim visura labore." The portrayal is largely descriptive of past events and without statement of their attitude toward the future. However, as we should expect, Lucan in his prose poem shows the most flexibility, generally using the present, but also the perfect, viii. 96: "cur inpia nupsi | si miserum factura fui?" and in the subjunctive ii. 16: "quantis sit cladibus orbi | constatura fides superum."

Satire in its philosophical aspects gives us the reflections of the writers, and does not freely use the periphrastic, though we find Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 112: "quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum"; and also Juv. vi. 200: "si . . . . non es amaturus"; vi. 567: "an sit victurus adulter"; x. 353: "qualisque futura sit uxor." The freer conversational type comes nearer to comedy, as in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 7: "nec sum facturus"; ii. 6. 56: "an est Itala tellure daturus?"

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ii. 8. 65: "eoque | responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori"; and also in the narrative *Sat.* i. 5. 27: "venturus erat"; ii. 3. 261: "redituras erat."

Martial has in the introduction to Book ii "quid hic porro dicturus es," and "quid si scias cum qua et quam longa epistola negotium fueris habiturus?" but in his epigrams there is only an occasional instance. Two occurrences in the indicative are in temporal clauses and noticeable for the use of the future:

ii. 5. 9: te duce gaudebit Brutus, tibi Sulla cruentus
imperium tradet, cum positurus erit;

xiv. 181: Clamabat tumidis audax Laeandros in undis:
"mergite me fluctus cum rediturus ero."

Two conditional statements are also noticeable:

xi. 91. 9: si tam praecipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
debuerant alia fata venire via;

v. 34. 5: inpletura fuit sextae modo frigora brumae,
vixisset totidem ni minus illa dies.

There are about one hundred occurrences in the works of Ovid, most of them in the indicative, usually present or imperfect tense. The former is in the words of the supposed story-teller, as in *Met.* ix. 530: "quam, nisi tu dederis, non est habitura salutem"; or in descriptions by Ovid, as in *Am.* i. 15. 23:

carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

The imperfect sometimes expresses a contemplated action, e.g., *Her.* ii. 36: "per quod saepe ieras, per quod iturus eras." Not unfrequently an interrupted or prevented action is given by the imperfect. As this is characteristic of Ovid, we shall quote several illustrations: *Ep.* xvii. 11: "adscensurus eram, nisi quod"; *A. A.* i. 755: "finiturus eram, sed"; *Met.* i. 253: "iamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras | sed timuit"; iii. 201: "dicturus erat, vox nulla secuta est; v. 198: "incursurus erat tenuit vestigia tellus"; vi. 214: "adiectura preces erat . . . . 'desine'"; *F.* iii. 215:

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Iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae,
iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat:
cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque;

iii. 806: et iamiam flammis exta daturus erat;
Iupiter alitibus rapere imperat;

iii. 697: praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos
cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis.

The imperfect is rather freely used in the apodosis of conditions, and the perfect less freely, and both can be illustrated by *Am.* ii. 14.

9–18: Si mos antiquis placuisset matribus idem,
gens hominum vitio deperitura fuit . . . .

Ilia si tumido geminos in ventre necasset,
casurus dominae conditor urbis erat;

Si Venus Aenean gravida temerasset in alvo,
Caesaribus tellus orba futura fuit.

The pluperfect is found, if we mistake not, but three times in the *Met.*, ii. 504; ix. 513; and [xiv. 72]. The future was noticed only in *A. A.* ii. 287 and ii. 349.

The subjunctive does not present much that is of interest, as there is little occasion for its use in a narrative that is generally direct. The present occurs a few times, the imperfect, *Met.* iii. 347; the perfect in connection with some conditions, *Am.* ii. 14. 21: "cum fuerim melius periturus amando"; and the pluperfect, *Ep.* xvi. 91: "his ego blanditiis, si peccatura fuissem | flecterer."

## II. PROSE WORKS

The other works examined embrace the larger part of the prose to the time of Suetonius, and will be presented in two divisions, the first including the writings of Cicero together with those of the Senecas, Quintilian, and Pliny the Younger; the second, Livy and the other historians. The main features can be seen from the following table which gives a fairly correct statistical view, the figures for Cicero being taken from two programs by F. Hoppe, I, Gumbinnen, 1875 (25 pp.); and II, 1879 (19 pp.), in which is presented the usage of Cicero and his correspondents, and of the *Auctor ad Herennium.*

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As shown by table below, the subjunctive is the prevailing mood, excepting in the Seneca group, and is emphasized most of all by Cicero. In the matter of tenses the present, both indicative and subjunctive, occurs most freely in the rhetorical division; the imperfect, in the historical. The perfect and future are most noticeable in the Seneca group, while the pluperfect is sporadic.

| | Pres. | Perf. | Imp. | Plup. | Fut. | Ind. | Pres. | Perf. | Imp. | Plup. | Subj. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cicero..... | 217 | 16 | 60 | 1 | 9 | 303 | 398 | 20 | 156 | 5 | 579 | 882 |
| Seneca *et al* | 313 | 28 | 59 | 3 | 18 | 421 | 165 | 35 | 60 | 3 | 263 | 684 |
| Livy..... | 69 | 9 | 70 | 4 | 2 | 154 | 51 | 35 | 135 | 5 | 226 | 380 |
| Caesar *et al* | 40 | 5 | 45 | 1 | .. | 91 | 23 | 15 | 93 | 3 | 134 | 225 |
| | 639 | 58 | 234 | 9 | 29 | 969 | 637 | 105 | 444 | 16 | 1,202 | 2,171 |

Considered as a whole the occurrence of the periphrastic in the apodosis of conditional sentences is the most noticeable feature. As the participle is always prospective, the future periphrastic gives the personal inclination, whatever may be the basis assumed. The rhetorical and the historical attitudes are not always the same, and for that reason the usage is diversified in the different authors, and what may be prominent in one is unemphasized in others. The periphrastic frequently occurs in relative clauses also, the participle giving a characterizing tendency of the subject, e.g., Livy xxii. 39. 10: "ratio, quae fuit, futura, donec res eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est." Other clauses of time, cause, etc., occur less frequently, and in this respect the periphrastic is not differentiated from the regular indicative.

### A. INDICATIVE

1. *Present.*—The present is occasionally used to give the intention of the writer in regard to the subject-matter of his book: Sall. *Jug.* v. 1: "bellum scripturus sum"; Hirtius *B. G.* Praef. 8: "dicturi sumus"; Val. Max. 1, Praef.: "dicturus sum"; iii. 2. 12; iii. 2. 21; viii. 2. 2: "relaturus sum"; cf. ix. 13. 2: "referam nunc"; Tac. *H.* v. 2. 1: "traditurus sumus"; Just. xliv. 1. 1: "Hispania sicuti Europae terminos claudit, ita et huius operis finis futura est." There are also a few occurrences of the first person in the speeches recorded or invented, but most of the events are viewed from the standpoint of an objective narrator. There are forty instances in Cicero in

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conditional statements, and the usage for Livy is about the same; see Steele, *Conditional Statements in Livy*, p. 6. The speeches introduced by Curtius enabled him to use the present with considerable freedom, and about one-half are with the relative; but with the exception of vii. 8. 13: "si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum silvis . . . . gesturus es bellum?" the present is not used in dependent clauses.

2. *Perfect.*—Cicero uses the perfect for the most part in relative and interrogative statements, and in the protasis of a condition: *ad Att.* xiii. 27. 1; *Marcell.* viii. 26; *de Div.* ii. 8. 20. Of the writers in the Seneca group, Quint. Decl. uses the perfect most freely, and with about the same associations as in Cicero. In contrast with these Livy, with the exception of xxviii. 28. 5: "consilia communicastis et arma consociaturi fuistis," has the perfect only in conditional sentences or their equivalents, as in xxi. 4. 4: "deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt"; and xl. 14. 11: "quomodo autem trucidato te ipsi evasuri fuerunt?" or with the relative, xl. 10. 2: "qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat . . . . qui periturus fuit, habeat." The conditions are usually past unreal of which there are scattering examples in the other historians.

3. *Imperfect.*—Cicero has the imperfect chiefly in the *Epistles*, for in the philosophical and rhetorical works it is confined to *de Div.* i. 15. 26: "conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perrexisset." There is a similar example, *Mil.* x. 28, with the imperfect in the protasis, as also in *Mil.* xviii. 47; and *Verr.* iii. 47. 112. In the other writers examined the imperfect is usually found in relative or conditional sentences, though no instance of the latter was noticed in Pliny's *Epistles*. Caesar has in *B. G.* i. 5. 3: "quod secum portaturi"; and in iii. 66. 4: "quod in eo loco plures erat legiones habiturus . . . . adiecerat"; cf. *B. G.* viii. 51. 2; *Bell. Al.* xxxv. 3; lvi. 5; and xvi. 1: "omnia erant futura in incerto." A few other illustrations in different kinds of statements will also be given: Vell. Paterc. ii. 110. 2: "cum Caesare iuncturae erant, cum arma . . . . corripuit"; Curt. vii. 2. 20: "iam venturi erant, cum . . . . nuntiaverunt"; Sall. *Jug.* xiv. 3: "quoniam venturus eram, vellem"; Tac. *Agr.* xxxv. 14: "quamquam porrectior acies futura erat."

4. *Pluperfect.*—Cicero has one example, *ad Att.* iv. 17. 4: "senatus hodie fuerat futurus." The other instances are in relative or con-

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ditional statements: Pliny *Ep.* v. 16. 7: "quod in gemmas fuerat erogaturus"; Livy x. 11. 4: xxxv. 42. 3; xlv. 27. 7: "quibus imposituri statuas regis Persei fuerant, suis statuis victor destinavit"; xxii. 22. 19; "maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat"; Just. xxvii. 1. 8: "quam defensuri fuerant": Quint. *Decl.*, p. 146, 14: "hic si non imperasset, aut occisurus fuerat aut moriturus"; 301, 24: "nihil interest, quod genus iudicii fuerit, si eventus eodem rediturus fuerat."

5. *Future.*—The examples in Cicero are scattered through all his works, as in *ad Fam.* ix. 9. 3: "quod si eris facturus, velim mihi scribas"; *Orat.* i. 52. 223: "apud quos aliquid aget aut erit acturus." Seneca has it the most freely of all the writers, generally in conditions, as in *de Ben.* iii. 13. 1: "tardiores futuros, si periculum . . . . adituri erunt et innocentiam sollicitiore habituri loco." Livy has two instances in the terms of a treaty; xxxviii. 38. 2: "gesturus erit," and 8: "illaturus erit."

### B. SUBJUNCTIVE

Cicero uses the subjunctive most freely in indirect questions, Hoppe (II, 4) giving the following numbers for the different tenses: present 242; imperfect 64; perfect 8; pluperfect 1. Other occurrences are in relative statements (45), and with a number of particles, as *quin*, *si*, and *ut*. More than a hundred different terms (Hoppe, II, 1) are followed by indirect questions introduced by a large number of interrogative expressions. The usage for the other writers of the division is similar, but in the historians the usual retrospective view makes the imperfect predominant.

1. *Present.*—The present is freely used by Cicero in *quin*-clauses, there are a dozen occurrences in Livy, and occasionally one elsewhere, as in Nepos xxiii. 3. 6: "dubium esse, quin . . . . sim futurus"; Caesar *B. G.* i. 17. 4: "neque dubitare quin, si superaverint, sint erepturi." Not unusual are contrasts with other tenses, generally the perfect, as in Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* ii. 3. (11) 16: "non quod peccaverit, sed quod peccaturus sit"; Sen. Phil. *Ep.* liv. 5: "cum illa et praecesserit et secutura sit"; Quint. 7 Prooem. 4: "sed cum infinitae litium formae fuerint futuraeque sint"; Quint. iii. 6. 40: "quaestio enim tractatur rei, an facta sit? an fiat? an futura sit?" Val. Max.

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vii. 2. Ext. 2: "quam multi luctus sub his tectis et olim fuerint et hodieque versentur *et* insequentibus saeculis sint habitaturi"; Just. ii. 15. 2: "tantum incrementi dedisset, quantum sit datura munita civitas." As an illustration of variation in form of statement will be given some occurrences with negative verbs of knowing. Cicero has in *de Orat.* i. 14. 61 and *de Am.* xii. 43: *haud scio an*, but usually *nescio an*, as also Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* i Praef. 13; i. 4. 10; ii. 5. (13) 4; and Sen. Phil. *Ep.* xxv. 2, but in xxix. 2: "non possum scire an." Livy varies slightly iii. 47. 7: "passurine haec isti sint, nescio"; and in the Praef. 1: "facturusne . . . . sim, nec satis scio." As between *quasi* and *tamquam* the latter is preferred, as in Cic. *de Inv.* ii. 1. 3; Sen. *de Clem.* i. 1. 4; *Ep.* xxxii. 1; lxi. 2: "t. mors evocatura sit"; and Quint. xii. 9. 7: "t. infra eum sint aut detractura sit materia." *Quasi* was noticed only in Cic. *de Agr.* ii. 18. 47: "*proinde quasi*"; *de Dom.* xii. 31; and also *de Petit. Cons.* ii.

2. *Perfect.*—The perfect is least prominent in Cicero and with the least variation in form of statement, *quin* five times, as also *ad Brut.* i. 11. 1; *cum* and the relative three each, and eight times in conditions. It is especially noticeable in Quint. Decl. of the rhetorical writers, and in Livy of the historians. Indirect questions, *quin-* and *ut-*clauses in indirect apodoses are not infrequent. The few occurrences in the other historians exhibit several forms of statement: Vell. Paterc. ii. 85. 6: "dubitesne . . . an"; Curt. vii. 5. 26: "incertum est an"; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53. 7: "nescio an"; *H.* ii. 38. 11: "non discessere . . . . nedum posituri belli fuerint"; ii. 47. 13: "tamquam perituri pro me nedum posituri belli fuerint"; ii. 47. 13: "tamquam perituri pro me fueritis"; Suet. *Claud.* xxxviii: "quod aliter evasurus perventurusque . . . . non fuerit."

3. *Imperfect.*—The imperfect is used far more freely by the historians than by the other writers, 63 per cent in the one, but only 25 per cent in the others. In general, the occurrences represent the same types of clauses as are given by the present, but thrown into the past. Livy has a comparatively large number with relatives having temporal terms as antecedents, e.g., xxvi. 5. 5: "quo tempore adgressurus esset"; xxx. 21. 8: "ille dies futurus esset, quo visuri essent"; xl. 39. 4: "dies . . . . qua successor venturus esset"; xxvii. 28. 5: "nocte quae diem illum secutura esset." In the com-

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parative conditional statements Cicero has *quasi* in *Verr.* ii. 74. 183; *Cluent.* lxvi. 187; *de Sen.* xxiii. 82, and, co-ordinate with *quasi*, *tamquam* in *Verr.* iv. 22. 49: "neque enim ita se gessit, t. esset rediturus, sed prorsus ita q. . . . . esset futurus . . . . venturus esset." The other writers of the division favor *tamquam*, while *velut* is the favorite with Livy. Cicero uses *ac si* in *de Fin.* iv. 24. 65; and Livy in xliv. 22. 5, but *quam si*, xlv. 28. 5, which is in Just. xx. 2. 14; Sen. *de Ben.* iv. 31. 2: "non aliter quam si ore excepturus esset."

4. *Pluperfect.*—Instances of the pluperfect are sporadic, Cicero having, *Planc.* xxxvii. 90: "qualis futurus in me fuisset," two occurrences with *cum*, *ad Fam.* xiii. 10. 3; and *Phil.* iii. 9. 24; and in conditions, *Milo* xviii. 48; "si quidem exiturus ad caedem e villa non futurus"; and *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "etiamsi obtemperasset auspiciis, idem eventurum fuisset." The occurrences in the rhetorical writers are in Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* i. 2. 19; Sen. Phil. *de Ben.* v. 20. 6; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 73, 7. The five instances in Livy are in interrogative clauses (x. 45. 3; xxxviii. 46. 6; xxiii. 39. 2; xxviii. 24. 2; and xxxvi. 5. 6.). Other examples are found Caes. *B. G.* i. 40. 13: "quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum"; *Vell.* ii. 125. 1: "neque diu latuit aut quid non impetrando passuri fuissemus aut quid impetrando profecissemus"; Curt. vi. 8. 10: "nec ceteri dubitabant, quin coniurationis indicium suppressurus non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps."

### III. INFINITIVES

#### A. FUTURUM ESSE

Hoppe, II, 17, says: "Caesar setzt *esse* zu dem partic. fut. act. nur aus grammatisch-logischen Grunde; das Partic. fut. act. ohne *esse* ersetzt den Infin. fut., das Partic. fut. act. mit *esse* ist der Infin. der Conjugatio periphrastic; *iturum* ist der Infin. von *ibo*, *iturum esse* aber der Infin. von *iturus sum* und *sim*." If the rule given is correct, then it must follow that those writers who use *-urum* without *esse* dealt with the future, not the present subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*, though they may use the periphrastic in their narrative. This is an improbable assumption when we consider the freedom with which the periphrastic is used in conversation and in speeches. The statement does not hold true for late writers for we find the same statement given both ways by different writers, e.g., Orosius i. 21. 4:

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"nisi Messena expugnata numquam esse redituros": Just. iii. 4. 1: "non priusquam Messenam expugnassent reversuros"; Orosius ii. 9. 7: "nusquam honestius quam in castris hostium esse perituros"; Just. ii. 11. 13: "nusquam victores honestius quam in castris hostium perituros"; Val. Max. vi. 4. 1: "eum interempturum"; Livy viii. 5. 7: "venturum se esse . . . . interempturum," where *esse* does service for both verbs. It does not hold true for Cicero: *ad Att.* xiv. 13. 2: "si Sextus in armis permanebit, quam permansurum esse certo scio"; *de Fato* vi. 12: "Fabius non morietur . . . . morituram . . . . esse morituram;" and it does not hold true for Plautus;

*Asin.* 607: Ar. nam equidem me iam quantum potest a vita abiudicabo.
611: Ph. cur ergo minitaris mihi te vitam esse amissurum?

*Casin.* 480: Ly. lepide repperi:
mea uxor vocabit huc eam ad se in nuptias, . . . .
ego iussi, et dixit se facturam uxor mea.

552: Al. flagitium hominis, qui dixit mihi
suam uxorem hanc arcessituram esse: ea se eam negat morarier.

771: Par. sed nimium lepide dissimulant, quasi nil sciant
fore huius quod futurumst.

788: Par. fit, quod futurum dixi.

Cf. Ter. *H.T.* 160: salvom adfuturum esse hic confido propediem;
176: et illam simul cum nuntio tibi hic adfuturam hodie scio.

These passages indicate the equivalence of the two forms, just as the equivalence of the future and the periphrastic is indicated by such passages as

Plaut. *Cist.* 507: Al. non remissura's mihi illam.
Me. pro me responses tibi.
Al. Non remittes?
Me. scis iam dudum omnem meam sententiam.

*Persa* 146: To. hoc, si facturu's, face.
Sa. faciam equidem quae vis.

See also Sjögren, p. 198, 2.

The opinion of Postgate, *I. F.*, IV, 256, is as follows: "We finally dismiss the hypothesis that the future infinitive active is formed from the future participle either with or without the addition of *esse*." And again, p. 257: "We are then left with the *Future Infinitive Active* in *-turum* as the original inheritance of the Latin

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language." However, as we are concerned here only with the use of the infinitive, we shall consider not more than the mechanical rule for the transference of the finite forms into the infinitive whether it be periphrastic or not.

Independent of the question of the origin of the form, the frequency of occurrence of *-urum* and *-urum esse* is a matter of some interest. Some of the writers examined, e. g., Nepos, Vell. Paterc., Tac., and Suet., avoid the use of *-urum esse*. Others have it only rarely, as Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* vii. 6. (21) 15: "scivit illam non esse passuram"; Val. Max. iii. 2. 17: "negavit se quicquam vi esse acturum"; Just. xxi. 1. 1: "firmius futurum esse regnum . . . . arbitrantur." Sen. Phil., Quint., and Pliny the Younger use it with a little more freedom—more than a score of examples. In the work of Curtius, and the orations and epistles of Cicero *esse* is found in nearly one-fourth of the examples, in Caesar and Livy in 8.5 per cent. One of the most pronounced differences is in the use of the singular and the plural forms, Livy having 60 per cent in the plural, and Cicero and Curtius 80 per cent in the singular, indicating that Livy had more to do with masses of men, the latter with individuals. There are also some noticeable differences in the arrangement of the participle and *esse*.

Weissenborn, on Livy xxxix. 26. 12, calls attention to the fact that Livy very rarely places *esse* before the participle, citing xl. 41. 8 and xxxv. 49. 5. To these are to be added iii. 47. 7; xxxi. 13. 7; and xxxv. 35. 7—all with the plural, for in the singular Livy steadfastly adheres to the order—*urum esse*. In 80 per cent of the occurrences the infinitive ends a sentence or a clause, and in the remainder it is penultimate, being followed by the principal verb, as in i. 41. 6: "de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat"; xxvii. 5. 15: "dictatorem dicturum esse aiebat"; xxxiii. 24. 6: "id regem facturum esse dicerent"; xxi. 39. 6: "Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus"; xlii. 10. 15: "in provinciam abituros esse denuntiarunt"; and in a few instances by some other expression, as in xxi. 45. 5: "agrum sese daturum esse in Italia." The following exceptions were noticed: ii. 48. 6: "aut mox moturos esse apparebat Sabinos semper infestos"; v. 34. 3; i. 32. 3; xl. 34. 11; and xlv. 35. 9: "plebem urbanam secuturam esse militum iudicia."

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The rule for the orations and epistles of Cicero can be stated: The order is *-urum esse* at the end of a clause, but *esse -urum* when penultimate. Caesar and Curtius follow the same rule. The following table will show the position of the infinitive in the clause for these writers as well as for Livy:

| | *-urum esse* | | | | *esse -urum* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Init. | Medial. | Penult. | Ult. | Init. | Medial. | Penult. | Ult. | Total. |
| Caesar | 1 | .. | 1(2) | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | 11 | 17 |
| Cic. *Ep. Or* | 5 | 1 | 68 | 8 | .. | 2 | 10 | 93 | 187 |
| Curtius | .. | .. | 19 | .. | .. | 2 | 1 | 15 | 37 |
| Livy | 2 | 3 | 16 | 87 | .. | .. | 2 | 3 | 113 |
| | 8 | 4 | 104 | 98 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 122 | 354 |

In Caes. *B. G.* iv. 27. 1: "Obsides daturos, quaeque imperasset, facturos [esse] polliciti sunt," the *esse* is bracketed, and in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 32. 80: "aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit," as well as in a few similar passages, the infinitive without *esse* has not been counted.

The arrangement is to meet the demands of sentence cadence, and in this respect, as shown by the table, Cicero and Livy do not agree. The initial position is unusual in all writers, as in Caesar *B. G.* i. 31. 11: "futurum esse paucis annis"; Cic. *ad Att.* x. 8. 8: "utrum factum videam, an futurum esse multo ante viderim." A medial position is still less common: Cic. *de Harusp. Resp.* iv. 7: "statim me esse arrepturum arma iudiciorum atque legum"; Curt. iii. 8. 11: "sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen"; v. 9. 3: "scio me, inquit, sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam . . . . gratam." When the infinitive is penultimate it is usually, as in Livy, followed by the principal verb, and only occasionally by some other word. While there are general tendencies shown in the position of *esse*, that for any individual passage is indeterminate, as is shown by *ad Fam.* iii. 5. 3: "dixi me esse facturum itaque fecissem, nisi"; iii. 6. 1: "ita me dixi esse facturum"; 2: "dixi ei me facturum esse"; 2: "respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum."

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The correspondents of Cicero seem to avoid the use of *esse* with *-urum*, though Plancus has it, *ad Fam.* x. 21. 1: "confidere me bono Lepido esse usurum communique consilio bellum administraturum." Caesar's *Bell. Gall.* and *Bell. Civ.* agree in the use of *esse* with *-urum*, but it does not occur with *-urum* in the *Bell. Af.* The *Bell. Al.* has in xxiv. 1: "bellum esse gesturum," but in xlii. 5: "bellum instauraturum esse credebat"; and in lxviii. 1: "se cogniturum esse dixit." The *Bell. Hisp.* has *esse -urum*, and with the exception of ix. 1: "non esse commissurum Caesarem," only at the end, xiii. 3; xix. 5; xxix. 6. Quintilian and Pliny the Younger have *esse -urum* ultimate, but *-urum esse* penultimate, while Seneca has both arrangements at the end, as in *Dial.* xii. 1. 4: "te non esse negaturum"; *Ep.* cxvii. 28: "argumentum habeo nondum praesentis futurum esse"; but also *Dial.* xi. 18. 5: "qui negant doliturum esse sapientem"; and more noticeable *Ep.* lix. 14: "illuc venturum esse te speras"; cvi. 11: "quod dicturu n esse te video"; and cxvii. 8: "speras me dicturum non esse aliud cursum, aliud currere."

*Esse* is not usually separated from *-urum*, though a negative or the subject is sometimes included, and there is an occasional instance of wider separation, as in Ter. *And.* 976: "facturum quae voles scio esse"; Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 16. 7: "iturum te in Asiam esse putas." Still wider separation is found in Livy, e.g., xxvii. 39. 2: "armata coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse"; and in general the freedom shown by him in separating the parts of the infinitive corresponds to that shown in separating the parts of the ablative absolute; see *A. J. P.*, XXIII, 306 ff.

### B. FUTURUM FUISSE

*Futurum fuisse* seems to have been too abstract a combination for the simple logic of the actors in Plautus and Terence, but occurrences are fairly common elsewhere. Terrell (*A. J. P.*, XXV, 71 ff.) cites nearly two hundred examples. Most are in the apodoses of conditional sentences indirectly stated, as in Livy iv. 2. 9: "si divinassent . . . . subituros fuisse"; xxvii. 1. 14: "Herdoniam quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit, nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset"; xxxiii. 44. 7: "nisi avertisset vana spes . . . . mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse." With these may be

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compared Just. xxix. 3. 2: "sed omnia illa fuisse existimaturos, si ea . . . . extra terram illam se effuderit." Instances in other connections are comparatively infrequent, as in Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 14. 2: "de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum, sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse." An example is found in Sen. *Ep.* li. 12: "habitaturum tu putas umquam fuisse in mica Catonem"; and occurrences are fairly common in Quintilian. Livy has a few instances, e.g., xxxvi. 13. 8: "respondit vel Romanis vel Thessalis se crediturum fuisse"; as also Curt. v. 12. 1; and vi. 9. 28: "neminem . . . . fuisse rediturum"; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 56: "existimat rescripturum et correcturum fuisse."

The nominative rarely occurs, as in Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 14. 2: "eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur"; *ad Brut.* i. 6. 2: "[Brutus] quem ne utilitas quidem impulsura fuisse ad facinus"; *Lig.* viii. 24: "facturus fuisse videatur"; Livy xxvi. 23. 2: "conlegam absentem daturus fuisse videbatur populus"; xxxviii. 50. 1: "dimittitur senatus in ea opinione, ut negaturus triumphum fuisse videretur"; xxxix. 40. 4: "fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur."

Of some interest from a rhetorical standpoint are the following features: (1) the use of an equivalent for the protasis; (2) the omission of *fuisse*; (3) the use of *fuisse* alone, though this is not periphrastic.

1. There is an occasional instance in which a particle or a participle does service for the subjunctive with *si*, as in Quint. *Decl.*, p. 66, 6: "alioqui puto non tam levem subituros fuisse poenam"; p. 274, 6: "non dico, desiturum alioqui fuisse"; Curt. vi. 8. 10: "auditis, quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem fuisse cursurum"; Caes. *B. G.* vi. 41. 3: "neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse."

2. The omission of *fuisse* is a Tacitean feature, as is shown by Draeger, *Syntax u. Stil*, 36 *c*. It is omitted in conditional statements, *A.* ii. 31. 10; ii. 73. 12; iv. 18. 8; as also in *H.* ii. 37. 16; *A.* iii. 22. 17; and in the nominative, *A.* i. 33. 7: "credebatur, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus." However, *fuisse* occurs in *H.* i. 50. 15; *A.* xiv. 29. 8; and xv. 35. 11. Neue (III, 171) quotes Sil. Ital. xvii. 404, and similarly stated Ovid *Met.* viii. 347. Elsewhere the status of the case is dubious: Draeger and Neue cite Livy xxiv. 5. 12, where

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Weissenborn-Müller reads "arsuros *fuisse*," and *ad* xxiii. 2. 5 comments on *placiturum* "näml. *esse*." Terrell p. 70 quotes Cicero *Quinct.* 92 "si causa cum causa contenderet, nos nostram perfacile cuivis probaturos statuebamus"; and *de Div.* i. 11. 19: "hoc ne statuam quidem dicturam pater aiebat, si loqui posset." The first of these sentences states Cicero's attitude toward the case, "We held to it that we would easily prove our case to anyone you pleased, if plea clashed with plea"; and the second tells us, "Father used to say that not even a statue could say this, if it could speak," and neither statement is unreal.

3. Draeger (II, 732) quotes a number of instances in which the regular perfect *fuisse* is used instead of *futurum fuisse*, to indicate clearly the form of the direct statement, as in Cic. *Planc.* xxxvi. 88: "vinci autem improbos a bonis fateor fuisse [direct: fuit] praeclarum, si finem tum vincendi viderem"; and Livy iii. 50. 6: "sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisset, si liberae vivere licitum fuisset"; cf. sec. 7: "futurum fuisset, nisi . . . . habuisset." Similar to these are Caes. *B. G.* i. 14. 2: "si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; Nepos xiii. 3. 4: "proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi . . . . desertus esset"; Livy iii. 72. 7; xxx. 10. 21: "haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam classem, ni cessatum a praefectis suarum navium foret et Scipio in tempore subvenisset," the indicative in the apodosis being a common form of statement with *ni* and the pluperfect subjunctive. Notice also in an implied condition, xxxv. 32. 8: "optimum fuisse omnibus . . . . ait, integris rebus Philippi potuisse intervenire Antiochum"; and also in a subordinate clause xxxv. 15. 3: "id specimen sui dederat, ut, si vita longior contigisset, magni iustique regis in eo indolem fuisse appareret."

## IV. SYNTACTICAL FEATURES

Looked at from a syntactical point of view we find the periphrastic in all kinds of clauses, but only two may be presented in detail, the relative and the conditional, to return to phases which have been mentioned before. The relative clauses often indicate some probable trait of character or some attribute, as in Sen. Phil. *de Ben.* ii. 14. 2: "sic omnia quae nocitura sunt . . . . perseverabimus non dare; and Curt. vi. 3. 11: "nihil quod nociturum est medici relinquunt."

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In these the character of *omnia* and of *nihil* may be determined or merely inferred, for physicians in those days would have included water among the things injurious in case of fever. But whether the quality be determined or merely inferred, the clause is characterizing. Occurrences in *oratio obliqua* are the same, e.g., Livy xxvi. 26. 11: "consules bellicosos . . . . qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri" these consuls war-exciting in peace, and not allowing (in the future) a breathing spell, the first giving the ascertained qualities for the present, the other the assumed qualities for the future.

The use of the periphrastic in conditions is a much broader question, and has to do with both the direct and the indirect forms of statement. Terence has the periphrastic in a condition, *Hec.* 739: "si facis facturave es." Plautus has several in the direct (Sjögren, p. 211), and indirectly stated *Mil.* 1188: "nisi eat, te soluturum esse navim." He also has the periphrastic in the apodosis of an unreal condition *Cist.* 152: "quod si tacuisset, tamen | ego eram dicturus," but as Sjögren says (p. 222): "Ein abhängiger *Acc. c. Inf. auf. -urum esse oder -urum fuisse* kommt m. W. nicht vor. Allgemein üblich ist dagegen die der Volkssprache überhaupt geläufige Parataxe." Or in other words, Plautus and Terence give us only the basis for the development of *-urum fuisse* in the apodoses of unreal conditions in *oratio obliqua.*

Although the perfect indicative periphrastic occurs only one-fourth as frequently as the imperfect, there are two-thirds as many occurrences in conditions. One-third of these have the periphrastic in the protasis, and then the apodosis has the perfect, as in Cic. de *Div.* ii. 8. 20; Livy v. 52. 12; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 37, 1; Quint. x. 1. 115: "fecit illi properata mors iniuriam, si quid adiecturus sibi, non si quid detracturus fuit"; or the present indicative, as in Quint. vii. 4. 12: "subiacet . . . . si . . . . futurum fuit"; or *vide*, as in Cic. *Marcell.* viii. 26; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 54, 11: "nam si [non] fuisti perseveraturus, vide an crimen sit." Only one subjunctive was noticed, Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 27. 1; "aliter enim fuissemus . . . . si illum offensuri fuimus." With the imperfect in the protasis, in the apodosis may be used the indicative present, perfect, or imperfect, as in *Verr.* iii. 47. 112: "quam ob rem removebat, si hae tabulae nihil tibi

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offuturae erant"; Sall. *Or. Macri* 11; Livy xxxvii. 36. 4. Notice in a concessive statement *ad Brut.* i. 12. 1: "etsi daturus eram . . . . tamen . . . . nolui."

When the imperfect or the perfect periphrastic occurs in the apodosis, one-fourth have the imperfect, and three-fourths the pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis. Though Cicero has only the imperfect in the apodosis, yet the usage of other writers shows the fitness of both the imperfect and the perfect for the apodoses of both present and past unreal conditions. These transferred to the indirect became *-urum fuisse* (giving the backward view of the ideal, not realized, expressed by *-urum esse*), and this was taken as the form for all apodoses of unreal conditions in *oratio obliqua*, excepting when the perfect infinitive was retained to show the use of the indicative in the apodosis of the direct statement.

The periphrastic is freely used in connection with the tenses of the regular indicative or subjunctive, one action being stated definitely and the other extending indefinitely into the future, as in Livy xxii. 43. 11: "id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat"; xxxii. 26. 9: "omnia, quae facta futuraque erant, exposuerunt"; xlii. 41. 4: "quem neque ante videram nec eram postea visurus" xxviii. 28. 5: "consilia communicastis et arma consociaturi fuistis"; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 310, 8: "tibi vixi, tibi moriturus fui." These illustrate common contrasts, but as curiosities in the use of the periphrastic will be given Nepos xvii. 3. 4: "neque dubitaturos aliud eum facturum"; and with this we may compare Just. xi. 15. 6: "quod apud intellecturum locuturus esset"; and xxii. 6. 2: "crediturum adversum profecturos prodigium esse."

The periphrastic expresses an action immediately about to be, as in Martial iv. 73. 1: "cum extremas duceret horas | et iam per Stygias esset iturus aquas"; and Pliny *Ep.* iii. 16. 8: "nempe enim, inquit, daturi estis consulari viro servulos"; or the time may be that required for the performance of a long work, e.g., Sall. *Jug.* v. 1: "bellum scripturus sum"; Livy Praef. 1: "facturusne operae pretium sim." But the immediateness or the remoteness of the action does not inhere in every verb, but depends on the character of the verb. In Cic. *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "nihil autem est pro certo futurum," the verb stretches out to the end of time. But the action is usually

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connected quite closely with the present, as in Cic. *Verr.* iv. 67. 150: "haec sum interrogaturus: navem populo Romano debeantne?"

Although the periphrastic is well suited for use in conversation, it is not freely used by Appuleius in his *Metamorphoses*, and in Petronius is noticeable only in 45; *habituri sumus; daturus est* (twice). It is freely used in direct address whether given in comedy or in oratory, as in the speech of Scipio, Livy xxviii. 28, with half a dozen occurrences and also in the highest types of prose, so that if it did have its origin in conversation, it was well fitted for all forms of literary expression. As an element in conversation, it may be compared with "am going" in English, or more correctly speaking American. And it may not be out of place to note the point at which the substitution for "shall" and "will" has been the most complete. Taking the *Uncle Remus Tales* as representative, we find that Uncle Remus regularly says "I'm gwinter," the little boy says "am going," and the author uses "shall" and "will."

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# NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

## NOTE ON ARISTOTLE'S *ETHICS* ii. 3. 5. 1104 *b* 21

δι' ἡδονὰς δὲ καὶ λύπας φαῦλαι γίνονται, τῷ διώκειν ταύτας καὶ φεύγειν, ἢ ἃς μὴ δεῖ ἢ ὅτε οὐ δεῖ ἢ ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἢ ὁσαχῶς ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου διορίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα. κτλ.

In the *Classical Review* for June 1913, pp. 113 ff., Mr. J. Cook Wilson discusses the force of ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου in the passage, the problem for him being whether λόγος here means "reason," or, as many editors take it, "definition," "rule," "formula." To the interpretation, "definition," or "rule," he rightly objects, after others, that the definition or formula has not yet been given. Accordingly with the aid of many parallel passages he decides that the meaning is Reason, nearly, if not quite, in the sense in which ὀρθὸς λόγος is used frequently throughout the *Ethics*. That λόγος may sometimes be a virtual synonym of ὀρθὸς λόγος needed no proof. But in assuming that to be its meaning here, Mr. Wilson overlooks, I think, another characteristic Aristotelian use of λόγος which is the true key to the passage. Aristotle[1] not infrequently opposes λόγος or κατὰ τὸν λόγον as "a priori" to "a posteriori" reasoning based on the facts, or induction, ἐπαγωγή, or perception, αἴσθησις.

By "a priori" I mean, of course, not metaphysically a priori, but something apparent to logical, verbal, or dialectical inspection, without further investigation of the concrete facts. In many such passages the λόγος in question is the definition, and the a priori method is simply deduction from the definition. These cases we may disregard: cf., for example, *de partibus animalium* 653 *b*, 22; *pol.* 1326 *a*, 29.

But in others the thing that is apparent by or through λόγος is a generalization, an alternative, a classification, or indefinite list of categories and distinctions, and that is the case here. Mere a priori logical or dialectical reflection tells us at once that wrong action may be wrong either substantively in the content of the act or in respect of time (or place or quantity, and so forth), and all the other distinctions which the reasoning faculty suggests to us. The turn of phrase ὁσαχῶς ἄλλως, etc., is in itself, perhaps,

[1] Cf. *de generat. anim.* 760 *b*, 27; 729 *b*, 8: κατά τε δὴ τὸν λόγον οὕτω φαίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων; *de part. animal.* 666 *a*, 18; *de generat. animal.* 740 *a*, 4; *de generat. et corrupt.* 336 *b*, 15; *de juvent. et senect.* 468 *a*, 20; *de part. animal.* 646 *a*, 29; *phys.* 210 *b*, 8; 262 *a*, 17; *de part. animal.* 653 *b*, 22, etc.



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a sufficient warning that this is the meaning. For this or something like this is Aristotle's ordinary way of summing up in παράλειψις the categories and other obvious and indispensable logical distinctions which he does not care to enumerate in full, cf. *Met.* 1005 *b*, 19: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὑπάρχειν τε καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προσδιορισαίμεθ' ἄν, ἔστω προσδιωρισμένα πρὸς τὰς λογικὰς δυσχερείας. *Met.* 1030 *a*, 18: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τί ἐστιν ἕνα μὲν τρόπον σημαίνει τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τόδε τι, ἄλλον δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν κατηγορουμένων, ποσόν, ποιὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; *Met.* 1026 *a*, 36 ff; *Top.* 146 *b*, 20; πάλιν ἐπ' ἐνίων εἰ μὴ διώρικε τοῦ πόσου ἢ ποίου ἢ ποῦ ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας διαφοράς, οἷον φιλότιμος ὁ ποίας καὶ ὁ πόσης ὀρεγόμενος τιμῆς. Observe in the last passage the purely logical connotation of διώρικε. I would not press this argument too hard, for the verb may presumably be used of a concrete ethical decision or determination, though Mr. Wilson gives no example. But that its normal use relates to precise dialectical and logical distinctions is abundantly apparent from *Met.* 1005 *b*, 29, already quoted, and from *Top.* 130 *b*, 24, 131 *b*, 6, 10, 14–15, etc.

The phrase διορίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, then, refers, not to the separate, concrete judgments of right reason which direct the impulses of the good man right in particular cases, but to the indeterminate list of relevant distinctions apparent to the logical reason. This appears further from the language used by Aristotle himself two lines below, which is in the style of the passages from the *Topics* and evidently implies the logical and definitional point of view: οὐκ εὖ δέ, ὅτι ἁπλῶς λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὡς δεῖ καί ὡς οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ὅτε, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προστίθεται. It is also implied by the language of the ancient commentators, who speak only of the distinctions and ignore the λόγος altogether, which they could hardly do if they conceived it to be the ὀρθὸς λόγος of instinctively right ethical decisions.

Heliodorus, for example, writes, *paraphras. in Eth. Nicomach.* 1104 *b*, p. 30, l. 20: ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς λύπης αἱ φαῦλαι γίνονται ἕξεις, δηλαδὴ τοῦ διώκειν τὴν ἡδονὴν ὥσπερ οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ὅτε οὐ δεῖ, καὶ πάλιν φεύγειν τὴν λύπην ὅτε οὐ δεῖ, καί ὡς οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὅπου οὐ δεῖ· καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι περιστάσεις πονηρὰν ποιοῦσι τὴν ζήτησιν τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς λύπης.

The reason here is not, then, the ὀρθὸς λόγος or right reason of ethics, but the dialectical reason that notes categories, distinctions, classifications. It is undoubtedly true that from the metaphysical point of view Aristotle is not always able to keep them apart in the theory of the ethics. But such ultimate metaphysical difficulties would not warrant us in confounding plain, practical distinctions in his ordinary terminology.

It is interesting to observe that while nearly all editors known to me make unnecessary difficulties about the passage, the translations of Williams and Weldon instinctively give the right meaning. Williams renders: "the various forms of error that are logically conceivable."

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## ΤΑΝΤΑΛΩΘΕΙΣ IN SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE* 134

The usual interpretation of τανταλωθείς makes τανταλόω, found only here, equivalent either to ταλαντεύω and ταλαντίζω, "swing like a balance" (τάλαντον), or to ταντταλίζω, "shake" (σαλεύω, Hesychius, and διασείω, Anacreon, frg. 78, according to the scholiast on *Antigone* 134, who cites the fragment). Neither of these interpretations is satisfactory. Capaneus does not fall "swung down" (Jebb) like a scale-pan, for the nature of the latter is to descend slowly: ταλαντεύεσθαι means "to oscillate"; it is the opposite of ἰσορροπεῖν (Plat. *Tim.* 52E). Nor is the rendering "violently shaken," even if the scholiast be right in thus interpreting ταλαντίζεσθαι, sufficiently strong to describe the effect of the "brandished fire" which hurls Capaneus with a crash to the ground (ἀντιτύπᾳ δ' ἐπὶ γᾷ πέσε). One of the more recent editors, Ewald Bruhn (1904), declares: "Man wünscht den Begriff 'geschleudert,' doch findet das Wort nur hier und die Etymologie lehrt nichts sicher." I propose to find this meaning, "hurled down," in ταντταλωθείς by deriving ταντταλόω from Τάνταλος, following the gloss, ταντταλωθείς. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ καλαζομένου Ταντάλου (Wex, *Antigone*, Leipzig, 1831, note on vs. 134), Eustathius, p. 1701, 18, τὸ τοῦ Ταντάλου παθών, and the second scholium on the verse under discussion, ἄλλως. . . . . ὅτι τῷ Ταντάλῳ ἡ Σίπυλος ἐπικατεστράφη.

To form a word directly from a proper name is not far different from dallying with the etymology of a proper name, and this is common throughout Greek literature beginning with Homer. Sophocles himself is not averse to it (cf. Nestle, *Classical Philology*, V [1910], 135, note 2, to which add *Trach.* 126 f., ὁ πάντα κραίνων Κρονίδας). Although I find in Sophocles no parallel to ταντταλόω, the occurrence in Greek of ταντταλίζω, which has found a place in our modern vocabularies; ἐκχαρυβδίζω, Pherecrat. frg. 95; σισυφίζω, Bekk. *Anecd.* 64; ταρταρίζω, Plut. *De prim. frig.* 948F, and ταρταρόω, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185, to mention only a few, is sufficient justification for this derivation. The poet plainly meant that Capaneus was "made a Tantalus of" in his fall. It remains to determine the connotation of the word in this connection.

The assumption that the roots, τάνταλο and τάλαντο, are identical (first made, apparently, by Erfurdt, and adopted by Liddell and Scott and most British editors), which led to the rendering "swung down," was doubtless due to their similarity of sound (cf. Eustathius, p. 1701, 8 ff. Ταντάλου τάλαντα . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὀνόματός φασιν ὁμοιότητος). The name Tantalus is probably to be derived like Atlas (Wilamowitz, *Heracles*, II², 96) from the stem τλα with reduplication as in Τάρταρος, and substitution of ν for λ (cf. ταντθαλύζω [Hesychius], another form of ταντθαρύζω; G. Hinrichs, *Philologus*, XLIV [1885], 425, compares Spartan φίντατος for φίλτατος). Tantalus, like Atlas, supported the heavens, according to the scholiast on Eur. *Orestes* 981 f., and a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. 692, 3). He was a

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Titan (Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, and Mayer, *Giganten und Titanen*, p. 89) whose overthrow was a natural catastrophe personified. It is this violent downfall of Tantalus at the hands of Zeus (Anton. Lib. I. 36) which I believe the poet had in mind when he used the word ταντα λωθείς.

This reference to Tantalus in connection with the fate of Capaneus would be most fitting. Tantalus seems to be closely connected with the Theban myth (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, 1906, pp. 1022, 277), and as Sophocles compares the fate of Antigone with that of Niobe, daughter of Tantalus (vs. 824 ff.), so it would be entirely appropriate to mention Tantalus in telling of the fate of the one hero (aside from the two brothers of Antigone) whom he singles out for detailed notice in his description of the fight at the seven gates. The likeness of Capaneus to Tantalus was striking: Capaneus was a γίγας among the warriors (Aesch. *Sept.* 424); Tantalus was a Titan. Both incurred the displeasure of Zeus for an act of insolence which consisted, partly at least, in the "vauntings of a proud tongue" (for Tantalus, cf. Eur. *Or.* 10; Eustathius, p. 1700, 57), and both were hurled down by Zeus in the heyday of their glory. It might be added that Euripides, who may have been influenced by the *Antigone* when he wrote the *Phoenissae* (cf. *Phoen.* 543 with *Antig.* 104; 750 with 141; 840 with 999 f., and 1099 with 106), likens the falling Capaneus (*Phoen.* 1185) to Ixion, another sinner against Zeus whose punishment was famous in myth. By the reference to Tantalus, Sophocles gained another illustration of the certain punishment of ὕβρις, which, it is to be noted, plays a prominent part in bringing about the punishment of Creon.

That the poet had in mind also the other punishment of Tantalus, mentioned by the Homeric poet (*Od.* xi. 582–92—a later form of the myth, Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 821) is altogether probable. Capaneus was "made a Tantalus of" not only in being hurled down by Zeus for his "overweening pride" but also in having the satisfaction of his desires snatched away in the moment of their consummation—βαλβίδων | ἐπ' ἄκρων ἤδη | νίκην ὡρμῶντ' ἀλαλάξαι. As the fruit and the refreshing waters recede from the grasp and the lips of Tantalus, so the victory is plucked just at the finish of the race (cf. President Wheeler in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, 35 [1904], p. lxvii), from the grasp of the winning driver of the Argive chariot. This twofold reference in the word ταντα λωθείς—an excellent illustration of the richness of connotation for which the diction of Sophocles is famous—may be preserved by translating the verse thus: "With a crash he fell to earth like Tantalus of old"—the aorist denoting the moment before the beginning of the fall as the dative with ἐπί indicates the moment after the fall is over. But if this does not render sufficiently the force of the participle we may at least translate ταντα λωθείς, "hurled violently down like Tantalus"—a meaning which is in keeping with ῥιπτεῖ, vs. 131.

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## A NOTE ON HERODOTUS i. 66

The Lacedaemonians in their desire to conquer Arcadia consulted the oracle at Delphi. The Pythia in her reply denied their request for Arcadia, but held out hope for Tegea.

> Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
> Καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

When the reply was brought to Sparta, the Spartans eagerly marched to Tegea, and in their confidence took along fetters in order to enslave or bind the inhabitants. In the battle which followed they were themselves defeated, and as subjects they wore the very shackles which they had brought for the Tegeans. The oracle was vindicated, since they measured the plain, not as masters, but as subjects. The priestess clearly had not foreseen this outcome, since she had turned them from attacking Arcadia as a whole and had encouraged them to attack Tegea.

What did the Pythia have in mind in the phrase σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι? There must have been early and powerful Delphic influences in Asia, since no small influence could have led Gyges, the founder of the dynasty ending with Croesus, to send so many and so valuable gifts to Delphi. Even before Gyges these same forces caused Midas of Phrygia to part with his own royal throne from which he delivered his public decrees and to dedicate it to the god at Delphi. The early and continued influence of this oracle was doubtless based on the wide knowledge and information at its command. The success of the Pythia as a guide and adviser for colonists can be explained only on the assumption that Delphic representatives were in remote and widely scattered regions. What the priestess meant by the phrase σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι is explained by a similar expression in II Sam. 8:2: "And he [David] smote Moab and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground, even with two lines he measured to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive." The Septuagint reading is καὶ διεμέτρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν σχοινίοις κτλ.

Evidently the Pythia had received from some source the information about this Asiatic method of treating the conquered, and really intended to predict victory for her favorites, the Spartans. The prediction led them astray, but the ambiguity of the phrase and the fact that the custom was unknown to the Greeks permitted the Pythia to save her reputation.

The priestess must have constantly sought for the unknown as well as for the vague, thus giving an added obscurity to her deliverances.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

*Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung.* Von HUGO EHRLICH. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912. Pp. xi+275. M. 8.

The unparalleled conservatism and transparency of the Greek vowel system has generally been regarded as a result of the musical accent—or, more accurately, of the level stress—of that language. In late years, however, several scholars have assumed rather extensive influence of the Greek accent upon the phonology. Shall we, then, conclude that Greek had after all a fairly strong stress accent from very early times, or shall we take a skeptical attitude toward the utilization of the facts of Greek accent for the explanation of sound changes?

This is the question that Ehrlich has set himself. Although he clearly prefers the second alternative, he goes about the examination of the evidence quite judicially. He does not even cite the great intrinsic probability that a language with a remarkably conservative vocalism did not have enough stress to affect the phonology at all.

As an example of his method we may consider the treatment of apocope in the first chapter.

A tabulation of all the occurrences in Homer of the prepositions ἀν(ά), κατ(ά), and παρ(ά) not in composition leads to the formulation of this law: a succession of three short vowels, separated by single consonants, is avoided by the suppression of the middle one if that stands at the end of a word. There are only 53 exceptions out of a total of 1,203. The same prepositions in composition with verbs show 88 exceptions to the rule out of a total of 649 occurrences. The greater irregularity here is plausibly explained as due to leveling within the paradigm: κατθέμεν led to κατθήσω, etc. Most of the apocopated forms in noun compounds conform to Ehrlich's law. He admits exceptions in κάμμορος from *κατ-μμορος, ἐπασσύτεροι from *ἐπαν-σσύτεροι, ἐπητής and ἐπητύς from *ἐπ-ϝητ-.

The restriction of the monosyllabic forms to certain rythmical surroundings is usually supposed to indicate that apocope was a matter of tradition with the epic poets and was used only on account of metrical necessity. Hence it was confined to the thesis where short syllables are impossible. Ehrlich finds this explanation inadequate because it does not account for (1) the lack of scansions such as πᾱρὰ Διός – ⏑ ⏑ – (like εἰν ἀγορῇ, ὑπεὶρ ἅλα), and (2) the rarity of phrases like ἆμ πύργους ⏑ – | ⏑. He is surely over-



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stating his case here: there is no difficulty in supposing that the poets avoided πᾰ́ρ where they could, but nevertheless preferred it to *πᾱρά, and the phrase ἀνὰ πύργους can be got into the verse by merely putting the preposition in the arsis. Ehrlich's other objection to the appeal to metrical necessity has more weight. Apocopated παρ and ἀν were perfectly good Ionic forms (παρ, *SGDI* 5434, 9, etc.; ἀν-, Hdt., Herodas, etc.), and the poets would not have avoided them.

The Homeric exceptions to Ehrlich's rhythmic law are easily accounted for as the earliest extensions of the shortened forms. The full forms have scarcely spread beyond their original sphere. They can, of course, stand before single consonant and short syllable only in case of metrical lengthening (e.g., κατακείαται), and this occurs only three or four times. Of the other dialects, only Aeolic-Thessalian is as near the primitive stage as Homer in respect to apocope. All the others show extensive modifications in its use.

It was analogy which confined the operation of Ehrlich's law almost entirely to a few prepositions; *πατέρ for πατέρα beside πατέρας could not survive in view of ἄνδρα beside ἄνδρας, etc. It is, however, still possible to find a few stereotyped case forms that have lost a final short vowel. Thus ἀγκάς, "in the arms," is plausibly explained as a locative plural of ἀγκών. ὄφρα and τόφρα may well contain *ὄ-φι (from *ὅ-φι) and *τό-φι, instrumental adverbs. Since the final syllable of the first member of a compound is treated as an absolute final, ταναύποδα must come from *ταν̆ᾰ́ρό-ποδα. φερέσβιος from *φερεσίβιος is a formation of the type of ἑλκεσίπεπλος. Ehrlich discusses several similar formations.

While one can hardly say that our author has proved his case in regard to apocope, still his theory is decidedly the most attractive one that has yet been presented. It is certainly preferable to J. Schmidt's notion that apocope was a result of proclisis.

A similar verdict must be passed on several sections of the book. But Ehrlich everywhere shows that the accentual theories which he combats are both unsatisfactory and unnecessary. We shall probably hear no more of a stress accent[1] in Greek prior to the fourth century B.C.

Our author, however, credits the evidence which has been adduced to show that the stress accent began during that century (pp. 149 ff.). By far the strongest of this evidence consists of four clip-forms from the dialect of the lowest classes in Athens. The comic poet Amphis ridicules a fish dealer for saying, 'ττάρων 'βολῶν and 'κτὼ 'βολῶν, and the verb, σκορακίζεσθαι, Dem., presupposes the phrase 'σ κόρακας. We must probably admit that in the fourth century certain individuals at Athens used a stress accent.

Ehrlich attaches more weight to Kretschmer's well-known argument that the confusion of ε with η and of ο with ω (Ehrlich adds αι=ῑ with ῐ) in inscriptions and papyri indicates a breaking-down of the distinction

[1] Here and elsewhere, by "stress accent" is to be understood, of course, a fairly strong stress accent, such as might be expected to affect the phonology.

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between long and short vowels, and therefore a relatively strong stress accent. The reviewer has shown (*TAPA* XLII, 45 ff.) that the confusion between ε and η and between ο and ω was really due to the loss of the distinction in quality which had originally led to the use of two characters for the *e*-sounds and for the *o*-sounds. It is probable that the occasional use of αι for ῐ is similar to this.

The third piece of evidence for a stress accent in the fourth century is a law which was first pointed out by Kretschmer, *Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* 1899, 5, to the effect that an unaccented vowel in the neighborhood of a nasal or a liquid is dropped if the next syllable contains the same vowel. Kretschmer assumes the operation of the law from early times, but Ehrlich finds the first certain instance of it in σκόρδα for σκόροδα in Crates of Thebes, who flourished at Athens about 328 B.C. The next example is Βερνείκης for Βερενίκης in *Pap. Petr.*² 1. 2. 7 (237 B.C.). There is no doubt about the validity of Kretschmer's law, but we may still hesitate to accept it as evidence for a stress accent. As Ehrlich acutely remarks elsewhere (p. 2): "Nicht einmal ein Lautwandel, der auf unbetonte Silben beschränkt ist, muss in jedem Falle eine Wirkung schwacher Expiration sein." It is clear that we have before us a law of dissimilation rather than of syncope, and who can say, in the present state of our knowledge, whether or not a purely musical accent can determine which of two vowels is to be lost by dissimilation? There is therefore no objection to admitting such of Kretschmer's earlier instances as are plausible in themselves. For example, πλέθρον is more likely to be a younger form of πέλεθρον than a different ablaut grade. (In this case and in some others one may doubt whether the accent played even a secondary rôle.)

In the fourth place, the author discusses the "weakening" of unaccented α to ε in the neighborhood of ρ. The phenomenon appears, from the third century on, in such words as ἐρρηφόροι (for ἀρρη-), καθερίζειν, μυσερός, etc. But among the instances cited are Ἀμφιέραος (five times in Attic inscriptions) and ῥέφανος, where the altered vowel is accented! It is difficult to see why we should suppose that the accent had any connection at all with the change.

There is no convincing evidence for a stress accent in Greek before the Christian era, except in the speech of some very low social stratum at Athens in the fourth century.

Ehrlich treats in detail a number of points which concern his main thesis only indirectly, and these excursuses embrace some of the most valuable contributions in the book. We may examine one which is devoted to an important point in Latin grammar.

Our author's elaborate argument in favor of Ebel's hypothesis that the Thessalian genitives in -οι are locatives in origin may or may not win general approval. Much more attractive is a theory which he advances in this connection in order to rescue the old identification of the genitive and locative

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singular of the Latin *o*-stems (pp. 71 ff.): "Während in der ältesten (lateinischen) Sprache unbetontes *oi* und *ai* gleichwie betontes *ei* sich in *ē* wandelten, wurde unbetontes *ei* zu reinem *ī*." In that case early genitives like *Latini* and *urbani* (*SC. de Bacchanalibus*) and contracted genitives like *Pomponi* in the dramatists are no longer evidence for an original *-ī*. In Celtic also it is possible to trace the genitive ending *-ī* to earlier *-ei*, and the Messapian *-ihi* in the genitive of *io*-stems may represent earlier *-iei*.

Ehrlich is able to point out several incidental advantages of his new theory: we are no longer compelled to assume that Oscan *-eis* in the genitive of the *o*-stems represents a transfer from the *i*-stems; it is the Italic genitive-locative in *-ei* plus *-s* which is the final sound of the genitive singular in all other stems (cf. early Lat. *isti-s*, etc.).

Kent has demonstrated (*AJP* XXXII, 272 ff.[1]) that Lucilius' rules for the use of *ei* and *i* are in general accurate, but he felt compelled to admit an error in the line (369 Marx): "hoc illi factum est uni," tenue hoc facies *i;* for *illi* and *uni* could not be separated from Oscan *altrei*. On Ehrlich's hypothesis Lucilius is right here too.

Another point deserved rather more space than Ehrlich has allotted to it. Although *quoiei*, dative singular of *qui*, does not occur in inscriptions until after the confusion of *ei* and *ī* had become general, it is usually assumed that the original form of the case was really **quoi̯i̯ei*, with *-ei* which stood in some relation to the ending of the dative singular of *iste*, *unus*, etc. It has, however, been difficult to derive the various historical forms from this (cf. Husband *TAPA* XLI, 22). The theory of Sommer, *Handbuch*, pp. 465 f. (cf. Exon *Hermathena* XII, 218), that *i̯i̯* of *quoi̯i̯ei* dropped before following *-ī*, which then united with the preceding *o* to form a diphthong (cf. gen. sing. *Pompeî* from **Pompeii̯ī̆*), could not be accepted while it was supposed that original unaccented *-ei* was pronounced *-ę̄* in Plautus' day. Now, however, the difficulty is removed; **quoi̯i̯ei* regularly became **quoi̯i̯ī̆* > **quo-ī* > (Plautine) *quoi*. (So far we have been following Ehrlich.) The spondaic *quoi-i* which occurs several times in Plautus (Neue-Wagener II, 454; Sommer, *Handbuch*, p. 465) and epigraphic *quoiei* are re-formations on the basis of the genitive. The reviewer does not recognize the "Plautinische Messung *quŏ̄ī̆*" which Ehrlich cites (p. 77). If there really is any such form, it should rather be spelled *quŏ-ī* and explained in the same way as *ĕī* (below).

The history of the dative of *is* runs parallel; **ei̯i̯ei* regularly developed into monosyllabic *ei*. Spondaic *ei̯i̯ī̆* is due to the influence of the genitive. The iambic form probably arose from the analogy of *isti* and the other pronominal datives; *istum* : *isto* : *istī̆* = *eum* : *eo* : *eī̆*. That the early dramatists used both the spondaic and the iambic forms of the dative of *is* there is no doubt, but for monosyllabic *ei* the evidence is not so satisfactory. None of the passages cited by Neue-Wagener (II, 378 f.) really demands a

[1] One misses a reference to this article on p. 73.

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monosyllable; that pronunciation has metrical guaranty only in Cat. 82. 3 (hexameter):

> eripere *ei* noli multo quod carius illi
> est oculis . . . . .

But if there was a monosyllabic dative of *is* in Catullus' time there may have been one a hundred and fifty years earlier. The reviewer has shown (*Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-stems*, p. 18) that the nature of early prosody prevents our distinguishing a long monosyllable from an iambic word in the iambic and trochaic verses of the early dramatists unless it occurs (1) as the final syllable of an iambic cadence, or (2) as the second syllable of a resolved thesis or arsis, being shortened by the iambic law, or (3) where the meter requires the complete loss of the word by elision. Consequently our failure to prove the presence of such a form in the dramatic poets does not create a presumption that it is non-existent. We need have little hesitation about reading *ei* as a diphthong where, for example, it balances the monosyllabic genitive, as in Ter. *Ph.* 188: "Eíus me miseret, *ei* nunc timeo, is núnc me retinet. . . . ." The point with which we are at present concerned is that this monosyllabic *ei* is the regularly developed dative parallel with *quoi* and *hoic*.

There are, of course, some difficulties in the way of assuming that unaccented *ei* became -ī in preliterary times, but they are none of them fatal. The locatives *Brundisii* (Enn.) and *Sunii* (Ter.) beside contracted genitives such as *ingeni* were long ago adequately explained by Lachmann: "illud *i*, quod est ante notam casus, Graecum videbatur, ut more Latino praeteriri non posset." Cato's *Lavini* is in all probability correctly recorded.

*Tibei*, etc. (*sibei*, *SC. de Bacch.*), can no longer be directly connected with Osc. *stfei* and Paelignian *tfei*. The Latin forms, like OB. *tebě*, *sebě*, contain Indo-European *-bhoi*, while the Umbrian and Paelignian words go with OPr. *tebbei*, *sebbei*, and show the *e*-grade, *-bhei*. The reduced grade of the suffix appears in Greek *-φι*.

Since the dative singular of consonant stems is found with diphthongal spelling several times before the sound *i* begins to be written *ei* (e.g., *virtutei*, *CIL* I, 30), it is necessary to give up Solmsen's (*KZ.* XLIV, 161 ff.) connection of it with Oscan *medíkeí*, etc., on the basis of an Indo-European dative ending *-ei*. This is the more regrettable in view of *recei* in the old Forum inscription. If this form contains a dative suffix *-ai*, we must assume that the inscription is later than the weakening of unaccented *ai*.

Ehrlich is probably wrong in assuming (p. 72) on the basis of Plautine *dī*, *dīs*, ĭ, and ĭs that in dissyllabic words even unaccented *oi* and *ai* had become ĭ in Plautus' day. It is far simpler to suppose that the sound group *-eę̄* contracted to *-ę̄*, which later became *-ī*. The forms *dii*, etc., were merely orthographical representations of *dī*, etc. (See my *Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-stems and of deus, is, and idem*, pp. 15 ff.)

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Ehrlich's treatment of his subject is independent and suggestive throughout. Even where his conclusions fail to be accepted, his novel grouping of the evidence will lead to numerous advances in our knowledge.

Misprints are very few. The only one of any consequence that has been observed is in l. 3 of p. 28, where one should read ⏑ – | ⏑ for ⏑ | ⏑.

E. H. STURTEVANT

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*I Fasti Consolari Romani.* By GIOVANNI COSTA. Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1910. Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2. Pp. x+547; 150.

*L'Originale dei Fasti Consolari.* By GIOVANNI COSTA. Rome: E. Loescher & Co., 1910. Pp. 77.

These books are a monument of zeal and patience if not of wisdom. In the preface of the first the author states that he proposes to initiate a "radical and fundamental" reform in the study of Roman history by substituting a consistent inductive method for what he regards as the more or less haphazard method of criticism hitherto in vogue. With this laudable purpose in mind he devotes this volume to an exhaustive study of the lists of magistrates of the republic, intending in the second volume to restore the original, which he calls the *spina dorsale* of Roman history, and to draw such conclusions as may be based upon it. It is perhaps unfair to pass final criticism before the constructive part of the work is in our hands, but it is at least proper to express grave doubt as to the surpassing value of this *spina dorsale*. It is not of great importance, for our real appreciation and understanding of the development of the history of Rome, that we should know whether a Fabius or a Claudius was consul in any particular year. So our eagerness to know what revolutionary use Costa will make of such facts when determined is all the more keen.

His theory is in brief this: In literature and on the monuments we have two distinct traditions of the list of magistrates of the first three centuries of the republic, both derived from the records of the pontiffs, the *Annales pontificum*. One, which he calls the chronographic, was that of the revised form of the *Annals*, published by Q. Mucius Scaevola, and known as the *Annales maximi*. This was the basis of the chronicles of Nepos and Atticus and of Varro's work, and is preserved for us with varying degrees of accuracy in Diodorus, Cicero, Velleius, the *Fasti Consulares* and *Triumphales* on the Regia, Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Pliny, and the *Chronograph* of 354 A.D. The other tradition was based on the *Libri lintei* made up from the *Annales pontificum* in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. This was a simple list, and preserved for the earlier period a greater degree of authenticity than the more elaborate *Annales* themselves, which suffered at the hands of editors

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from Cn. Flavius to Scaevola. This was the version employed by the earlier annalists—Fabius, Cato, Piso, Tubero, Licinius—and found in Livy, Dionysius, Appian, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch. Valerius Antias distorted it to suit his own purposes, and the combination of his version and the more genuine one of Livy is seen in the *Epitome* of the latter. Besides these two traditions we must, for the later period, take a certain amount of contemporary evidence into account, but it is with the period before the Second Punic War that the investigation is mainly concerned.

The task that the author has set before himself is to establish from the extant material the existence of these two traditions, to differentiate them satisfactorily, to show that each historian or writer is following one or the other, and to explain apparent discrepancies and contradictions. Furthermore, as the tradition seems in some cases to have been contaminated, it is necessary to show how this condition has come about. For instance, Plutarch represents the annalistic tradition, but certain statements of his can be traced to the chronographic tradition as given by Cicero, Varro, and the source of Velleius which was here akin to Fenestella as represented by Asconius—all three of which influenced Plutarch at different times!

To the accomplishment of this task—the magnitude of which is only equaled by the naïve assurance of the author that he has been successful—Costa brings ripe scholarship, an astonishing command of the material, and a still more astonishing degree of ingenuity in the combination of data. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, his elaborate argument fails to carry conviction. It is developed by successive inferences from quite uncertain hypotheses, which in the author's mind have gradually established themselves as facts. There is no weight of cumulative evidence, and each step in the process is less certain than the preceding. The method is the same for each source discussed, and the same criticism holds for each, but to illustrate the process in any adequate way would require too much space.

Failure to prove his main thesis, however, does not by any means render all of Costa's work idle, and much valuable information may be gathered from the painstaking analysis to which each of the sources in question has been subjected, although this is carried too far and often becomes fanciful. In the second part of the volume the author presents in tabular form, with annotations, lists of magistrates made up from Cicero, Diodorus, Asconius, Cassius Dio, Pliny, Polybius, the *Epitome* of Livy, and the sources of Eutropius and Orosius. This material is arranged in convenient form and will be found very useful for reference.

The second of the two books under consideration illustrates again the imagination and ingenuity of the author. From his study of the lists of military tribunes with consular power for the thirty-four years in which these lists are given in our sources with variations in number and order, he comes to the conclusion that these variations are to be explained primarily by the boustrophedic method of writing employed in the original. Furthermore, the

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lists of successive years were not written on separate lines but followed each other without spacing, and therefore might be read in different ways. For instance, for the year 350 AUC we find in the *Fasti Capitolini* and Diodorus the names arranged in this order: P. Cornelius, Cn. Cornelius, Fabius, Nautius, Valerius, Sergius; while in Livy the last two precede the others. This Costa regards as evidence that the original read thus—

1. P. Cornelius 2. Cn. Cornelius 3. Fabius 4. Nautius
6. Sergius 5. Valerius

and that this original reading was copied in different ways. This is a simple case compared with some, but each apparent exception furnishes another opportunity for an ingenious combination.

This boustrophedic method, therefore, having been proved for the lists of military tribunes, must be applied to the entire fasti of the earlier period, and, in the author's opinion, it is this that was the ultimate cause of variation between the two subsequent traditions, the chronographic and annalistic. In an appendix we have a table which represents Costa's idea of the appearance of the original *fasti* from 330 to 387 AUC. Much that he says is plausible, but the theory is pushed too far, and the superstructure topples of its own weight.

S. B. P.

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*A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis.* By JOHN S. MCINTOSH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. x+130. 75 cents net.

This dissertation, after a few introductory pages which review various theories of the origin and nature of the Old Latin Bible, selects for especial attention the Book of Genesis as it is known from quotations in the works of Augustine. The study falls into three main divisions: (1) a reconstruction of the text; (2) an analysis of the varying forms of the quotations found in different places in Augustine's writings; and (3) a consideration of the Latinity of the Old Latin Genesis.

In the first part Dr. McIntosh follows wherever available the modern editions of Dombart, Knöll, and the editors of the Vienna *Corpus;* elsewhere, ignoring the work of the Benedictines of St. Maur, he follows the text of its reprint by Migne. The quotations collected are printed continuously on pp. 13–43, but the list of passages from which they are taken is inconveniently deferred to pp. 125–30. Tested by a random examination of the *indices locorum* of several volumes of the Vienna *Corpus* and a hasty search through a few hundred pages in various volumes of Migne's edition, the collection of quotations appears fairly exhaustive. There should be added to it, however, Gen. 6:22 (found in *Retract.* 2, 80, and apparently noted by McIntosh himself later, on p. 49), and Gen. 10:1 (found, in part, in *De civ.* 16, 3). In Gen. 17:3 the proper reading is *suam* not *tuam.*

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For chaps. 1–3 we are happily able to compare nearly complete versions in Augustine's two works, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and *De Genesi ad litteram*, and again in chap. 1 these two with a third very full version from *De Genesi imperfectus liber*. These texts have been printed in parallel columns. Yet it is unfortunate that both in these chapters and elsewhere the author does not attempt to cite every passage in Augustine in which a given quotation appears, but merely gives every variant found. For the value of full testimonia is not to be despised, especially in cases of doubt as to whether Augustine is quoting freely or verbatim. The collection of variant readings (pp. 43–57) attempts at first to give not only variants in different works by Augustine but also variants in the MSS of a single work. Since, however, the latter readings are very vaguely cited as those of "some MSS," little is gained by this sort of precision, and it is at once discarded.[1] To the list of variants additions might be made, for example: 3:5; cf. *Con. Iul.* 5, 17; 3:18; cf. *Con. Iul.* 1, 17; 3:24; cf. *Retract.* 2, 50; in 6:7 the best reading of *Retract.* 1, 26 is not identical with that cited from *De Trin.* 1, 1; 6:9; cf. *De civ.* 16, 12; 22:18 is indeed often quoted in the form noted on p. 54, but sometimes also with the omission of *terrae*.

Much of the detailed analysis on pp. 58–65, with its classification of differences in the quotations, appears to the reviewer to prove little save that variants vary, but the view maintained in the following pages that Augustine used different texts of Genesis at different times, that, as a whole, his earlier works employ a freer and his later works a more literally translated version, and that the points of likeness between these different versions are so many and striking that they must be derived from the same original translation seems not improbable.

In his third section Dr. McIntosh discusses the Latinity of the Old Latin Genesis under the headings of Word Formation and Inflection (following Cooper's *Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*), Vocabulary, Syntax, and Style, and concludes that for the peculiarities found in the work the influence of Greek (and of Hebrew through the LXX) is responsible in much larger degree than is the Vulgar Latin, and that of the latter too little occurs to enable one to point with any certainty to the country in which the Old Latin translation was made.

A considerable number of misprints have been noted, and a few inadvertences apparently not due to the printer, e.g., p. 1, Sabatier's work "was published at Remis"; p. 44, "In Epist. Ioannem"; p. 47, "in Speculum Mark"; on p. 89, n. 1, the citation of Servius should be made directly rather than through the medium of Lindsay's *Latin Language*.

The author contemplates, as he announces on pp. 10 and 79, an enlargement of his work, to include a study of the Old Latin Genesis as quoted by other Latin Fathers. If this can be made with greater consideration of the

[1] A similar indefiniteness in stating the worth of MS variants is found on p. 70, ll. 10 ff.

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textual variations involved and with more complete citations of all sources than the present work contains it should be a useful contribution to our knowledge of one of the most perplexing fields in Latin philological study.

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*Companion to Roman History.* By H. STUART JONES. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Pp. xii+472. $5.00.

The purpose of this book, a companion volume to Barnard's *Companion to English History*, is to treat those subjects that can be illustrated from material remains. The introductory chapter is devoted to a discussion of the earliest settlements of the Italians, the development of their town and land systems, including the city of Rome, and roads and sea routes. Then follow chapters on architecture, war, religion, production and distribution, money, public amusements, and art. Each section is provided with a short bibliography; and there are seven maps, eighty plates, sixty-four cuts, and the necessary indexes. Footnotes are admitted, but not in such numbers as to be burdensome. The bibliographies do not pretend to be exhaustive, but are in general quite up to date and ample, the only striking omission noted being that of Narducci, *Sulla Fognatura della Città di Roma*, Rome, 1889, from the list of works on p. 154 that deal with the drainage system of the city. The illustrations are excellent and well selected.

Immediate comparison is suggested between this book and Sandys' *Companion to Latin Studies*, which covers a far wider field, contains almost twice as many pages, and costs only a dollar more. All the topics treated by Stuart Jones are also treated in Sandys' book, but in less detail. Excluding the chapter on architecture, the space devoted to other topics by Stuart Jones is nearly twice that given by Sandys, while the former's chapter on architecture is five times as long as the latter's. The most striking difference between the two books is that Sandys' is the work of several scholars, while the other is entirely the work of one. In the nature of the case it must be largely a compilation, and the author acknowledges his obligations, but the book has the advantage of possessing unity of plan and method.

To undertake alone so comprehensive a work in these days of collaboration demands a considerable degree of self-confidence, and a willingness to expose oneself to criticism from many sides, but so far as the reviewer is able to judge the author has done his work remarkably well. There are of course statements that may be challenged, but the author will usually be found to have good reasons for his own views, or to be relying on recognized authorities. Even in those fields farthest removed from art and architecture, where he speaks as a master, the result is eminently satisfactory, and the book is characterized by a clearness and directness of statement that leaves little

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to be desired. If any criticism is to be passed on the plan of the book it is that the space devoted to architecture seems disproportionately long.

A very few minor inaccuracies may be noted. On map 3 the cippus of Claudius near the porta Salaria, discovered in 1909 (*NS.* 1909, 45; *BC.* 1909, 130), is not marked. The statement on p. 56 in regard to the relative widths of brick and mortar at different periods will probably have to be modified in view of the recent investigations of Miss Van Deman (*AJA.* 1912, 387). Fig. 13, the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma, is incorrect in exhibiting a staircase on the north side between the apses. The actual ruins show that such a staircase existed only on the south side (cf. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, II, 100 ff.; *Nuova Antologia*, 1910, 631 ff.). The existence of a *portus lignarius* (p. 155) on the Tiber is probably an unjustifiable inference from Livy xxxv. 41, although it has been admitted by topographers, including the reviewer. The remark in n. 1 on p. 290 that the "Romans sat at meals" should be modified; and how the statement on p. 304 that the *Georgics* is the "greatest didactic poem ever written" is to be justified in the presence of the *De rerum natura*, the reviewer does not know.

There are a few misprints but they are insignificant. It does seem a little strange, however, to find an English scholar writing (p. 171) that the *villa rustica* "borrowed something of the commodity of the Italian pleasure-house" when "commodity" in this sense has been marked as obsolete by Webster for at least thirty years; and again on p. 95, "such market-places gave birth to urban communities" where the figure is as inappropriate as possible.

This book deserves a hearty welcome and will prove a very useful and convenient manual.

S. B. P.

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*Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edunt E. Kalinka et A. Zingerle.* IV.

The fourth volume of this series contains three articles. The first, by Zingerle (pp. 1–5), contains a brief summary of the philological manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts—fifteen in all—in the libraries of the Tyrol, that have been published or commented upon, with references to the literature. The second article, "Zur Würdigung Polyäns," by Guido Müller (pp. 5–16), is a study based on a careful comparison of the στρατηγήματα of Polyaenus and the parallel sections of the similar work of Frontinus. The differences are such as one might expect between the work of a Greek rhetorician and lawyer and that of a Roman expert on the subject. Müller's characterization of Polyaenus is apt and fair. The last article, by Lechner (pp. 17–104), is an elaborate description and collation of an Innsbruck manuscript (No. 579), containing Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, with marginal and interlinear annotations. The peculiarities of spelling, the abbreviations,

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etc., are discussed at length, the annotations are printed in full (31 pages), and a tabulated comparison with the readings of a large number of manuscripts and early editions is given. The codex is found to be closely related to the Gudianus and the Sedlerianus and to the editions printed at Venice and Bâle. The labor expended in this study is out of all proportion to the results obtained; the writer deserved a better manuscript for his investigations.

CHARLES H. BEESON

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*Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.* Herausgegeben von ALOYS MEISTER. Bd. I, Abteilung 1, "Lateinische Paläographie." Von BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ. Zweite Auflage. Pp. 112. M. 2.40.

Although the present treatise is intended primarily for students of mediaeval and modern German history, it appeals to a wider circle of readers and can be used to advantage by a student whose interest is purely philological. It has been made available for this larger circle by the fact that it, like the other articles in the *Grundriss*, is published separately. This arrangement makes it possible, through the independent revision of the various parts as occasion demands, to keep the work as a whole on a level with the latest investigation and saves the purchaser the expense of buying the whole work when some of its parts have become out of date. That this flexibility is not without its advantages for the publisher is shown by the fact that a second edition of the "Latin Palaeography" was called for even before all the parts had appeared in a first edition.

Bretholz has divided his work into two parts. In the first part (pp. 6–35) he discusses the *Schriftwesen* in three chapters, "Schreibstoffe," "Formen der Schriftwerke," and "Verbreitung und Aufbewahrung der Schriftwerke." Nothing important has been omitted, and the full bibliographies, both here and in the second part, supply the student with a complete apparatus for a more detailed study.

The second part (pp. 35–112), "Entwickelung der Lateinischen Schrift," seems a little distorted from the standpoint of the classical philologist—over three pages are devoted to the script of the Curia as against about one and a half pages for the Beneventan and two pages for the Visigothic script—but from the point of view of the historian the relatively fuller treatment of the cursive and of the later periods of the book scripts may be justified. Bretholz traces the evolution of the script from stage to stage, describes the different scripts, citing specimens from the various collections of facsimiles, and states the problems connected with them, giving full references to the literature on the subject. He has condensed a surprising amount of information into a relatively small space.

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In a compendium of this sort that deals with such a vast amount of details a few lapses are inevitable. On p. 5, Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* is cited in the second edition (1894); the third edition appeared in 1906 and the fourth, which has just been published, has been announced for some time; p. 33, Bretholz seems to adhere to the old view that Cassiodore was a Benedictine; p. 61, n. 5, Westwood's *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts* (London 1868) should be mentioned along with the Palaeographical Society as furnishing "das reichste und schönste Material an Proben irisch-angelsächsischer Schrift insularer Provenienz"; p. 97, the practice of putting strokes over two *i*'s began in the eleventh century rather than the twelfth; p. 110, the Salzburg Computus of 1143 is not, as Bretholz states, the earliest European manuscript that contains Arabic numerals; neither is it, as Steffens claims (*Lateinische Paläographie*, Einleitung, p. xxxix), the earliest German manuscript containing them. Hill, "Early Use of Arabic Numerals in Europe" (*Archaeologia*, LXII [1910], 170, 171), cites MSS from Madrid, Zürich (St. Gall), Erlangen (Altdorf), Rome, Chartres, and Paris that are older. A few misprints occur: p. 34, read "library" for "liberey"; p. 38, read "Glauning" for "Glanning"; p. 39, read "Van den Gheyn" for "Van den Ghein"; p. 55, read "Jarrow" for "Tarrow"; p. 61, the English word "and" (=*et*) has crept into the text.

CHARLES H. BEESON

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*The Apostolic Fathers.* With an English Translation by KIRSOPP LAKE. In two volumes. ("Loeb Classical Library.") New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. viii+409; 396. $1.50 each.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers fill two volumes of the "Loeb Classical Library." The work of Professor Kirsopp Lake in editing them is of the scholarly standard to be desired in presenting for the first time in a really accessible form for general reading works so important for the early history of Christianity. The first volume contains the two Epistles to the Corinthians ascribed to Clement of Rome, the seven genuine Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and the Epistle of Barnabas; and the Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus make up the second. The introductions, giving in each case a summary of information about the author and the manuscripts of the work, are carefully and concisely written. The text, as the editor informs us, has been revised, and enough of the variants have been noted for an edition of this kind; in cases where there has evidently been corruption and the true reading is in doubt, he usually prints the suggested emendations at the bottom of the page and in the translation gives what the context most probably calls for. In I Clement 44:6, for example, ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως

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αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας is translated "from the ministry which they fulfilled blamelessly," with Lightfoot's emendation of τετιμημένης to τετηρημένης noted.

The translation, however, is the really important part of a volume of the Loeb series. In this particular case the editor is to be congratulated on his accuracy; but the criticism can justly be made that sometimes through close following of the text his translation has lost in the qualities of flexibility and life. This is more noticeable in the first volume than in the second, and is no doubt due to the style of the original. Where the Greek style is jerky, as in the Epistles of Ignatius, the translation shows, perhaps rightly, the same qualities; but in the more smoothly flowing Shepherd, for example, the English too has more grace. The editor has apparently taken the King James Version of the Bible to a certain extent as a model, though not entirely, even in the scriptural quotations; however, "I cannot away with your new moons and sabbaths" (Barnabas 2:5; 15:8) may prove disconcerting to those who do not recall the obsolete expression of the King James translators. As a specimen section of the translation, Ignatius *ad Rom.* 8 may be cited: "I no longer desire to live after the manner of men, and this shall be, if you desire it. Desire it, in order that you also may be desired. I beg you by this short letter; believe me. And Jesus Christ shall make this plain to you, that I am speaking the truth. He is the mouth which cannot lie, by which the Father has spoken truly. Pray for me that I may attain. I write to you not according to the flesh but according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it was your favour; if I be rejected, it was your hatred." It will be seen that Professor Lake strives to write in an extremely simple manner and to translate literally. The result is admirable from the utilitarian point of view if not from that of English style.

Though in most passages the meaning of which might be disputed Professor Lake has indicated in a footnote other possible translations, he has made no such comment upon perhaps the best-known expression of Ignatius, ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται κτλ. (Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7:2). This he translates, "My lust is crucified, and there is in me no fire of love for material things," without informing the reader that Origen (*Prol. in cant. cantic.*) understood ἔρως to be used in the sense of "object of affection" and to refer to Christ, and that among modern scholars the late Dr. Bigg in a recent work (*The Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, p. 106) interprets it in the same way.

In very few places, however, would one care to question the accuracy of Professor Lake's translation. In the Epistle to Diognetus, 7:3, "Yes, but did he send him, as a man might suppose, in sovereignty and fear and terror?" ἐπὶ τυραννίδι would perhaps be better rendered by "with a view to," etc. Certainly in the Shepherd, *Sim.* V. 6. 5: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν κτλ., where the text agrees with that in the *corpus Patrum Apostolicorum*, the English translation, "The Holy Spirit *which goes forth*," is in

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error. But these faults are few. There are, however, too many typographical errors in Vol. II; I have noted no less than 23 which have escaped the proofreader's eye.

It should also be noted that the "General Index" and Index of Scriptural References at the end of the second volume add much to the usefulness of the work. The one thing to be regretted in the physical appearance of this handy little edition is that the lines are not spaced uniformly from page to page. Otherwise it is well adapted to its purpose and deserves wide circulation.

FRANK EGLESTON ROBBINS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

---

*The Governors of Moesia.* By SELATIE EDGAR STOUT. Dissertation. Princeton University, 1911. Pp. xii+97. $0.75.

Scholars of the last generation were all too prone to underrate the individuality of different parts of the Roman world. Now we are coming to realize the need of minute investigations of each province in order to understand the empire as a whole. The historian and the epigraphist are as helpless without an up-to-date prosopographia and accurate chronological tables as the student of literature without a lexicon. Dr. Stout, therefore, is doing useful work when he discusses the evidence for identifying and dating the governors of Moesia. He was particularly fortunate in his choice of province and topic, since a large proportion of the material relating to the Danubian country has been discovered in recent years and is still practically unworked. Thus the original form of the third volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (1873) contained only 41 pages devoted to Moesia; the supplements appearing up to 1902 add no fewer than 116 pages. The coins of the region also were made more accessible by Pick's publication in 1899. But though the army of the province has been studied within the last decade by Beuchel, Filow, and Van der Weerd, no thoroughgoing attempt has been made to discuss the civil officials since the very unsatisfactory treatment by Liebenam in 1888.

The reviewer has nothing but praise for the accuracy and skill with which Dr. Stout has performed his laborious task. The citations from the sources are exhaustive, the reasoning sane and independent, the external form beyond reproach. The reader's convenience is consulted by a brief conspectus of the 106 certain governors (pp. 82–85), an *index nominum et rerum*, and an *index verborum* citing 339 inscriptions and 162 passages of 34 authors. One's chief regret is that the historical introduction (pp. ix–xi) is so condensed. For example, Dr. Stout believes that after its conquest by Crassus in 29–28 B.C. Moesia was controlled for a time by native princes but was probably organized as a province several years before 6 A.D.; we should have liked a more detailed presentation of these points, with the evidence for and

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against von Premerstein's theory that the provincial organization dates only from 15 A.D. (cf. § 2 and n. 18).

There is a short appendix on certain titles of Septimius Severus, proving that Parth. Max., Imp. XI and XII, and Cos. II fall in 198 A.D. One or two new arguments (§ 4) are added to Gsell's proof that the province was divided by Domitian, probably in 86 or 87 A.D. Until Diocletian the governors were regularly *legati Augusti pro praetore* of consular rank. Between 15 and 44 A.D., however, the consular legate resided in Macedonia and had general oversight of Macedonia and Achaia as well as Moesia, while the legions stationed in Moesia were commanded by a praetorian *legatus*. Dr. Stout infers (§ 9) that the civil and judicial functions in Moesia belonged to the non-resident consular. Yet the grouping of provinces into larger administrative units was generally, if not always, a war measure (so in Moesia itself in the third century; cf. § 5). Is it not more natural, then, to consider the resident, even though only a praetorian, as the real governor, exercising both civil and military power? The extraordinary military ruler of the district (the later *dux* or *praepositus*) would of course outrank any provincial or legionary *legatus* in matters affecting the general conduct of a campaign. There is great need of a thorough treatment of such anomalous and temporary officials in the whole Roman world. Thus I do not believe that the defense of Noricum and Raetia by Pertinax shows him to have been governor of those provinces. (Cf. n. 71 and *University of Chicago Studies in Class. Phil.*, IV, 197, n. 1). On *Iudaea consularis* in *CIL* III, 12117 (n. 89) see *University of Chicago Studies in Class. Phil.*, IV, 200, n. 11; *Class. Phil.*, V, 117.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Stout will continue his work on Moesia.

MARY BRADFORD PEAKS

VASSAR COLLEGE

---

*Menschenart und Heldentum in Homers Ilias.* Von DR. HEINRICH SPIESS. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913. Pp. vi+314. M. 4.50.

Doctor Spiess set for himself the task of presenting a series of descriptions or pictures of life and character as represented in the *Iliad*. The pictures are of the men themselves, not of their material or economic conditions. As an introduction there are three chapters dealing with the joys and activities of life, with the ties of society, friendship, and the family, and with religion, piety, and morals. After this general introduction there follow detailed and separate portraits of each of the leading actors of the poem. The book makes no pretense of handling the literature or any of the problems of composition. The Homeric question is ignored, and each character of the poem is presented exactly as he appears in the poem itself. Every part of the *Iliad* is treated as original, and nothing is omitted. The unity of character and personality thus shown is a striking and effective answer to the statement made by Wilamowitz: "It is folly to speak of Achilles or Odysseus, as if either of them had a character."

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The book is written with deep and accurate knowledge of the *Iliad*, and shows sympathetic appreciation of its poetic beauties. The very nature of the work makes a detailed review impossible, since it has no single theme, but presents a train of comments grouped about the individual characters drawn by Homer. These comments are all excellent, some are brilliant.

No other writer of my acquaintance has given such an adequate description of humanity as shown in the *Iliad*, or has so fully appreciated the poet's great ability in the individualization of character. The author has added to the pleasure of the book by the modesty with which it is written.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

---

*A Student's Edition of the Odes of Horace, Books I to III. The Monumentum Aere Perennius.* By E. R. GARNSEY. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910. Pp. 321.

The purpose of this edition, which is to be followed by a volume on the "so-called Fourth Book of *Odes*," is to "deliver Horatian exegesis from the rut in which it has lain impeded for so long." In Mr. Garnsey's opinion "the body of Horatian comment is incohesive and the first touch of analysis is fatal to it." Other statements that will serve to give some idea of his contempt for the rank and file of Horatian editors are (p. 3): "That Q. Horatius Flaccus had a soul at all, above that of the merry king in the nursery rhyme who called for his glass and his fiddlers, is, I find, not yet a fact of universal admission"; and the following: "Yes, that is true, many critical mountains have been in labor over Horace, and they have brought forth something, which, if it be disrespectful to call it ridiculous, may be fairly described as puzzling. With regard to the *Odes* this is not surprising, if they have tried to explain him without reference to his real subject." This "real subject," Garnsey thinks, is the career of Murena. The three books form a unit, and are founded on a tragedy involving many motives. The first book serves as a prologue, touching on events that precede the dénouement. Among the odes containing political allusions are others referring to the character or career of Murena, who is the villain of the play. In the second book we find more direct references to the protagonists (cf. ii. 2; ii. 10; ii. 17). At the beginning of the third book the poet seizes the opportunity to give expression to the aspirations of Roman patriots, but his verses are throughout affected by the special circumstances of Murena's plot. Then the story is resumed and the tragedy is unfolded.

This interpretation of the *Odes* seems to have been inspired by Verrall's essay on Murena in his *Studies in Horace*. Verrall, placing the publication of the collection in the winter of 20–19 B.C., sees in these three books "'An Ode of Fortune,' a descant in various moods upon the perishing pleasures, the certain, and often sudden, death of man—touched with something of

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tragedy by the awful story, so near to Horace and to his readers, of which the outline is so powerfully dashed in. What the fall of Antonius is to the hymn to the Queen of Antium, that the fall of Murena is to the entire work." But Garnsey goes much farther than Verrall. He is obsessed by the idea that allusions to Murena lurk everywhere in the *Odes*. Through Murena he believes that he can solve all the old puzzles of the *Odes* and give a new and profound significance to innumerable passages where current interpretation only touches the surface. As regards the question of date, he not only assumes that the publication could not have taken place before 22 B.C. (the date of Murena's conspiracy), but thinks it possible that not a single one of the odes was composed before that year.

It would be tedious to enumerate the passages where Garnsey discovers references to Murena. The mildest moral commonplaces, philosophic reflexions of the most general type, descriptions of wealth and luxury, and pictures of dinner parties or drinking-bouts are one and all dragged into connection with the conspiracy of 22 B.C. For example, the career of Murena and its effect on the fortunes of Maecenas are said to be the real theme of vss. 9–29 of the first ode of the first book. In *Od.* i. 2. 13 ff. (*Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis*, etc.) the reference is not merely to the assassination of Julius Caesar but also to the situation in 22 B.C. The note on *monstra natantia* (i. 3. 18) is typical of our editor's attitude, for he tells us here that we must not assume that Horace's words are without point because we fail to see one: the subject of sea monsters is not unassociated with the story of Murena. These examples are taken from the first three odes of the first book. So far as my examination has gone, the ode in which there is not some equally pertinent reference to Murena is an exception.

As an example of the driving power of an *idée fixe* the book is remarkable, but as a contribution to the literature of Horace it cannot be taken seriously.

G. J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

---

*Studies in Fronto and His Age.* By M. DOROTHY BROCK. "Girton College Studies," No. V. London: Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Few readers of these "Studies"—and they merit attention from the many—will approach the subject with any considerable interest in Fronto. Scholars have been largely guided in the case of this author by the pronouncements of his first editors, at whose hands he had short shrift and little justice. The present work is not an attempt at wholesale rehabilitation. The author has admitted perforce the failure of Fronto as a historian, has sensibly allowed his oratorical claims to remain in abeyance, and has grounded her defense upon the contributions of Fronto to literary criticism, and his achievements, as, not the founder, but the earnest and influential advocate of

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an important and, as may appear, a salutary movement by Latin writers for the enrichment of the written speech.

The most suggestive chapters in Miss Brock's work deal with Archaism, Fronto's Theory of Oratory and Style, Fronto as a Literary Critic and Fronto's Vocabulary and Style. The conclusions reached impress one as sound, and are certainly the result of a careful study of all the literature in any way concerned with these topics. In addition to a complete bibliography, there are numerous footnotes containing exact references to the authorities cited. Since many important contributions to this subject have appeared only in periodicals, the exhaustive references here contained are particularly valuable. The elaborate appendix on African Latinity has the same merits as the foregoing, though it contains little that may be called original. The theory of a peculiar literary language indigenous to Africa hardly requires further reputation, since it has been abandoned and exploded by its chief apostle. Miss Brock reviews and compresses the scattering discussions of this theory and, in support of her negative conclusions, presents a collection of so-called Africanisms, paralleled, so far as possible, by similar examples from non-African authors. This collection, with the appended bibliography, might well serve as an introduction to the study of Vulgar Latin.

Besides these features there is added a fairly full selection from the *Letters* of Fronto, with a translation which is generally adequate. The text alone represents considerable labor, as it owes much to conjectures published in various periodicals since the appearance of Maber's edition. The intrusion of "ad" in iv. 3, l. 52, "ad significando," seems to require some explanation. In the famous Fable on Sleep, the rendering of "Iunonem partus plerosque nocturnos ciere," "that Juno gave birth to most of her children at night," is quaintly ambiguous, if not a palpable mistranslation. It is possible also to doubt some other interpretations, for example, on "feci compendium" (i. 1. 3.), but there is surprisingly little place for unfavorable criticism in this thoroughly interesting and valuable piece of work.

KEITH PRESTON

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

---

*The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus.* By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xviii+504.

In this work Professor Fowler has collected the two series of Gifford Lectures which he delivered in 1909–10 at Edinburgh University. To each lecture he has appended numerous notes which give references to ancient and modern authorities together with many *obiter dicta*. This arrangement is a good one, affording the general reader an uninterrupted view of the development of religious ideas among the Romans, and giving

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the specialist ample material for the investigation of abstruse questions. Adopting in Lecture I Professor I. W. Howerth's definition of religion as "the effective desire to be in right relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe," he discusses the difficulties of the subject and the proper use of evidence furnished by archaeology and anthropology; in Lectures II and III he treats the survivals in later times of the magic and taboo of the primitive ages; in IV, the more developed and animistic worship of the early agricultural family; in V, the beginnings of organized state-religion as shown in the "Calendar of Numa;" Lectures VI and VII are devoted to a consideration of the early Roman ideas of divinity and the character of their deities; VIII and IX treat the rites pertaining to sacrifice, vows, purifications, etc.; X summarizes the merits and defects of this early stage and explains the later influx of new gods and new conceptions.

In the second series the topics are: (XI) admission of Greek deities into the state-worship and the influence of the Sibylline Books; (XII and XIII) the work of the pontifices and augurs; (XIV) the prodigies and religious panic during the war with Hannibal; (XV) the manipulation of religious institutions for political purposes and the excesses of foreign cults in the second century B.C.; (XVI and XVII) the influence of Greek philosophy and mysticism on the religious beliefs of the last centuries of the Republic; (XVIII) Virgil as the exponent of Roman religion, especially of *pietas;* (XIX) the Augustan revival of worship; (XX) the contribution of Roman religion to Christianity. The book closes with several appendices on mooted questions such as the Lupercalia and the pairs of deities named in Aulus Gellius xiii. 23.

It is impossible in this review even to mention all the merits of these lectures, which are a mine of information upon Roman religion and contain many suggestions for other fields of study. However, the reviewer is especially impressed with the sane remarks on the proper use of evidence upon the subject; the vivid portrayal of the simple religion of the early farmers; the vindication of Roman prayers and ritual from the charges of dull formalism and of mercenary bargaining; the clear description of the work of the pontifices in systematizing the worship; the brilliant description of the new ceremonies introduced to allay the panic during the Second Punic War; and the account of Virgil's work in reviving faith by the example of Aeneas' *pietas*.

Dr. Fowler adheres closely to the principles which he lays down on p. 7 of the book, viz., to keep the subject in continual touch with Roman history, and to exercise all possible care in dealing with the technical matters of religion. The reader becomes absorbed in the volume as a history, not only of Roman religion, but also of the development of the nation; and the accuracy and sober judgment with which the author has sifted the evidence on doubtful points are everywhere conspicuous. Thus he admits the presence of taboo and magic in many religious rites, but sees no sign of totemism.

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He convincingly refutes Frazer's theory of the magician-king (pp. 49–53) as well as his theory of married deities. He advances strong arguments against Wissowa's conjecture that the *Argei* represented Greeks who were at some earlier period sacrificed by drowning. On the other hand, he supports Wissowa's explanation of the *indigitamenta* as forms of invocation.

Furthermore, many original suggestions and theories occur. One of these, of especial interest to students of literature, deals with the manner of singing the *Carmen Saeculare*. On p. 108 it is conjectured that the *Flamen Dialis*, whose bondage to the taboos imposed upon him points to a very primitive origin, was the representative of the ancient priest of Juppiter Latiaris, who was transferred to Rome when that city became the chief center of Latium. The sacrificial words *macte esto* are explained (pp. 182 ff.) as based on the idea that "a mystic current of religious force passed through the victim from priest to deity and perhaps back again." As a solution of the vexed problem of the original function of Mars the author suggests (pp. 132 ff.) that the god was not a spirit of either agriculture or war alone, but a divinity of the wilder regions on the outskirts of civilization, to be propitiated both for help against enemies beyond, and for the protection of crops and cattle within, the boundaries of human activity.

On p. 77 we find the theory that the Lar was not the spirit of the supposed founder of the family, but presided over the ground belonging to a household; and that his cult was introduced into the house through the slaves who were allowed to participate in the worship of these *Lares Compitalicii* at the hearth as well as at the *compita*. This view, however, rests upon a rather narrow definition of the word *compitum* and upon an ambiguous quotation from Cato *De Agricultura* 5, which is open to another interpretation.

The appearance of the volume is exceptionally good. Misprints and other errors are rare. For the word "latter" on p. 416 "former" should be read. On page 45, the *Classical Quarterly* is meant.

HAROLD L. AXTELL

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

---

*The Works of the Emperor Julian.* With an English translation by WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, PH.D. Vol. I. "Loeb Classical Library." New York: Macmillan, 1913. $1.50.

This first volume contains the two panegyrics on Constantius, the panegyric in honor of Eusebia, and the two difficult neo-Platonic essays, the hymn to King Helios, and the hymn to the Mother of the Gods. Mrs. Wright was well equipped for her task, and has accomplished it in a fashion that does not disappoint the expectations raised by her dissertation on Julian and her history of Greek literature. The translation is smooth, accurate, and idiomatic. The brief introductions place the reader at the right point of view. The footnotes supply all needed dates and references

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to the numerous passages of classical literature imitated by Julian. A number of plausible emendations due to Mrs. Wright herself, or communicated by friends, improve corrupt passages of the text, if they do not certainly restore Julian's hand. In 15A she reads with probability from Plato *Rep.* 424D παραδυομένη instead of ὑποδυομένη. In the desperate passage 12D ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε ποικίλων ἠθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεία she suggests ἀλλά τῳ μὲν ὃς. This, I think, indicates the true remedy. But it will hardly bear her translation "Yes, *even* Odysseus who never ruled an empire, etc." (italics mine). By keeping her emendation, and inserting the interrogative τίς after ἐβασίλευσε, we get, I think, the required meaning: "But what need had Odysseus, who never ruled an empire . . . . of manifold experience." This prepares us for the contrasted case of Constantius who does need the wide experience which Homer superfluously bestowed upon Odysseus.

PAUL SHOREY

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*The Old Testament in Greek, According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint.* Part III: Numbers and Deuteronomy. Edited by ALAN ENGLAND BROOKE and NORMAN MCLEAN. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. Pp. 407–676. $5.

The sumptuous Cambridge edition of the Septuagint which began to appear in 1906 moves slowly forward. Without undertaking to construct a text, it prints that of Vaticanus where it is preserved, falling back where it fails upon Alexandrinus, and giving an elaborate apparatus of the readings of other manuscripts and versions. With the second part (1909) this change was made in method, that where the first hand of Vaticanus stood alone or nearly so, while the second or third had good support, the reading of the first hand should give way to the better attested reading. In this particular, therefore, the printed text of Parts II and III is an improvement upon that of Swete. The fifth-century manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua now designated Θ, which Mr. Freer obtained in Cairo in 1906, was fortunately available in time for use in the apparatus. The accounts given in the Prefatory Note of the manuscripts employed are necessarily brief, but might at least include such particulars as date and contents. The Cambridge editors agree with Professor Sanders that the chief interest of Θ is its evidence of the early existence of a text closely related to that of the valuable but late cursives g and n. Some ambiguities and omissions noted by Mr. Sprengling in Professor Sanders' collation of Θ (Deut. 7:15; 8: 14; 9:11; 18:20; 19:14; 22:8; 27:15, 26; 28:63; 32:8; cf. *Amer. Jour. Theol.*, XV [1911],

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114, 115) the editors have settled by the use of the facsimile edition of that manuscript; a few other slight defects remarked by Mr. Sprengling (ποιησῃ[?]-ται [Sanders, ποιησεται] for ποιησετε Deut. 4:6; κατα for κατ' 4:47; δασεως for δασεος 12:2) have escaped even their practiced scrutiny. The work is as a whole admirably done and well maintains the great Cambridge Septuagint tradition. Since Part III appeared the ninth Oxyrhynchus volume has supplied two mutilated but very ancient papyri of Gen., chaps. 16 and 31, from the third and fourth centuries respectively.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

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---

*Antike Porträts.* Bearbeitet von RICHARD DELBRÜCK. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912. Pp. lxxi; Plates 62. M. 6.

This admirable book, whose price appears to be only six marks, follows close upon the similar, but more extensive, work of Dr. Anton Hekler, published in this country under the title *Greek and Roman Portraits*. Both testify to a widespread interest in one of the most fascinating branches of ancient, as of modern, art.

Unlike Dr. Hekler, Professor Delbrück begins with Egyptian portraits, of which he presents fourteen examples on twelve plates. Then follow on Plates 13–57 Greek and Roman portraits, beginning with the Pericles in the British Museum and ending with the painted portrait of one Turtura on the wall of a Roman catacomb. Five additional plates are devoted to intaglios, cameos, coins, and the like.

A reviewer wonders at some omissions from the collection, as well as at some inclusions; but that is the way with reviewers of anthologies generally. Professor Delbrück claims no more for his plates than that they contain "a portion of the best which has survived to us from antiquity in the way of portraiture," and from this modest claim there can be no dissent. It is gratifying to an American to see the extent to which the museums of this country have been drawn upon. No less than ten pieces of sculpture now in New York, Boston, and Cambridge are presented, one of them, the wonderful terracotta head of an elderly Roman in Boston, in three views.

The text is brief. The introductory pages contain illuminating comments on the history and the underlying motives of portraiture in the ancient countries about the Mediterranean. Then follow condensed notes on the individual examples presented. These notes are models of their kind. Although the work is described by its author as addressed to amateurs and not to actual or prospective specialists, there are few, even among serious students, who will not find guidance, as well as gratification, in the materials here brought together.

F. B. TARBELL

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